

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

Tourism as a Poverty Alleviation Strategy:
Opportunities and Barriers for Creating Backward Economic
Linkages in Lang Co, Vietnam.

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of
requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy
in Development Studies at Massey University New
Zealand

David F Redman
2009

Abstract

This thesis looks at the potential for using tourism as a poverty alleviation strategy in the context of Vietnam and the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS). The theoretical basis for this research stems from the growing recognition within development rhetoric of the place of tourism as a key industry in many developing nations, and the formation of a Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT) approach. The fieldwork section of this thesis looks at the barriers and opportunities for those in the poorer communities of Lang Co, a small town on the central east coast of Vietnam, to supply the burgeoning tourism industry with locally produced products that are compatible with their current livelihood strategies.

Results show that there are many opportunities for the poor to benefit from the rapidly growing tourism industry in Vietnam and the region. There is a strong recognition of tourism in national and regional development strategies, there is a rich cultural, environmental and social context driving the tourism industry and there are several initiatives taking place, such as the Vietnamese National Tourism Law, which include many elements of pro-poor tourism principles. However, this thesis has found many barriers also prevent poorer people from benefiting from tourism. In the case of Lang Co, the poor were often limited in their ability to participate in the industry by debt and lack of access to credit, lack of education and training opportunities, a declining natural resource base and by a lack of awareness and participation in the planning of the tourism industry. More widely, the tourism industry is centrally driven and focused on high growth and large infrastructure type developments which in some cases conflict with the principles of PPT and the ability of people at the ground level to participate.

This research highlights the complexity of attempting to use tourism as a poverty reduction strategy given the wide range of stakeholders involved and various levels involved in the planning and implementation of the tourism industry. The potential applicability of a concept of pro-poor tourism in a rapidly changing context such as Vietnam is contingent on the ability of the poor to have influence on an industry which is having an increasing effect on their lives and livelihoods.

Acknowledgements

I firstly would like to thank all those who participated in this study and were extremely welcoming and generously open with their personal information. I would like to thank all those at SNV who collaborated with this research, and shared their resources with me. I would like to thank my two research assistants in dealing with me through the long hot days in Lang Co and without whose help I would have been extremely lost.

I would like to thank Massey University for their ongoing support and my supervisors for their patience and guidance. I would especially like to thank Regina Schevyens for your expertise and for going beyond the call of duty in joining me in Vietnam.

Lastly and I would to thank my family for their constant encouragement and support without which this thesis would not have been possible.

Contents

ABSTRACT	II
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	III
CONTENTS	IV
LIST OF FIGURES	VII
LIST OF TABLES	VIII
GLOSSARY OF ABBREVIATIONS USED	IX
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
VIETNAM	2
VALUE CHAIN ANALYSIS	3
CENTRAL AIMS	4
THESIS STRUCTURE	5
CHAPTER 2: EVOLUTION OF PRO POOR TOURISM	7
INTRODUCTION	7
IMPORTANCE AND PROGRESSION OF TOURISM IN THE 20TH CENTURY	7
Development of Alternative Tourism	10
Rise of Pro Poor Tourism (PPT)	13
THE GROWING POPULARITY OF PPT WITHIN THE DEVELOPMENT INDUSTRY	15
Pro-Poor Tourism Partnership	15
United Nations World Tourism Organisation	15
Other Research	18
MAINSTREAMING PRO POOR TOURISM	19
SUMMARY	21
CHAPTER 3: RHETORIC TO REALITY? APPLYING PRO POOR TOURISM TO THE GREATER MEKONG SUBREGION	22
INTRODUCTION	22
CAN PPT EXIST WITHIN A NEO-LIBERAL FRAMEWORK?	22
DEVELOPMENT OF THE TOURISM INDUSTRY IN VIETNAM	25
Growing Civil Society Reaction to Neoliberal Policies	30
Criticism from Above	33
CONCLUSION	35
CHAPTER 4: A NATION IN TRANSITION	36

INTRODUCTION	36
SHORT HISTORY	37
From Reunification to Doi Moi (1975 – 1986)	37
From Doi Moi to WTO (1986 – 2005)	39
LANG CO	47
SUMMARY	51
CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY	52
INTRODUCTION	52
RESEARCH SITE	53
ETHICAL PROCESS	54
Pre-departure Ethical Process	54
Ethics in Practice	55
RESEARCH PERMISSION	55
RESEARCH ASSISTANTS	56
FIELDWORK AIMS	57
FIELDWORK METHODOLOGY	57
Social Mapping and Semi-structured Interviews	58
The Rise of Value Chain Analysis (VCA)	59
Value Chain Analysis Format	61
Table 5.1: Weighting of Value Chain Criteria (Source: Author)	63
ASSESSMENT OF METHODOLOGICAL STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES	64
SUMMARY	66
CHAPTER 6: RESULTS	67
INTRODUCTION	67
SOCIAL MAPPING FINDINGS	67
Lang Chai	67
Hoi Mit (Ancutaydong)	69
Lap An Village (Thuyen Loai)	71
Hoi Dua	72
Resettlement Area	73
Mussel Shell Village	74
Transitional Villages	75
VALUE CHAIN ANALYSIS (VCA) FINDINGS	78
Initial Selection	78
Sea Bass Farming Findings	80
Shrimp Fishing Findings	84

SUMMARY	88
CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	90
INTRODUCTION	90
OPPORTUNITIES	90
BARRIERS	92
CENTRAL CONCLUSIONS AND REFLECTIONS ON AIMS OF THIS RESEARCH	96
CLOSING REMARKS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR PRO-POOR TOURISM	100
BIBLIOGRAPHY	101

List of Figures

Figure 2.1:	International tourist arrivals by region.....	7
Figure 3.1:	International visitors to Vietnam 1990 – 2007.....	25
Figure 3.2:	GMS tourism sector strategy.....	28
Figure 3.3:	Organisational structure of the tourism sector strategy.....	29
Figure 4.1:	GDP growth by economic sector.....	44
Figure 4.2:	GDP growth by state, FDI and private sectors.....	44
Figure 4.3:	Monthly income by area of residence	44
Figure 4.4:	Income growth by income quintile.....	44
Figure 4.5:	Poverty rates.....	44
Figure 4.6:	Population growth.....	44
Figure 4.7:	Thua Thien Hue province.....	47
Figure 4.8:	Lang Co – Thua Thien Hue.....	48
Figure 4.9:	East-West economic corridor	49
Figure 4.10:	Chan May – Lang Co economic zone.....	50
Figure 5.1:	Lang Co township.....	53
Figure 6.1:	Street in Lang Chai	67
Figure 6.2:	Household in Hoi Mit.....	69
Figure 6.3:	Sea bass disease	81
Figure 6.4:	Mr Hao’s Sea Bass Farm.....	83
Figure 6.5:	High flow fishing method.....	84
Figure 6.6:	Square net fishing method A.....	85
Figure 6.7:	Square net fishing method B	85
Figure 6.8:	Original fishing method.....	86
Figure 7.1:	Lap An Lagoon at low tide.....	92
Figure 7.2:	Rice farm A	95
Figure 7.3:	Rice farm B.....	95

List of Tables

Table 2.1:	Tourism growth in developing countries.....	8
Table 4.1:	Key socioeconomic indicators 1986 and 2005	46
Table 5.1:	Weighting of Value Chain Criteria.....	63
Table 6.1:	Summary of Lang Co Villages.....	76

Glossary of Abbreviations Used

ADB	Asian Development Bank
APEC	Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation Group
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
BIC	Bank Information Center
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CBT	Community Based Tourism
CMEA	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
CPC	Commune People's Committee
DFID	Department For International Development (U.K)
<i>Doi Mo</i>	Renovation
DOT	(Vietnamese) Department of Tourism
DPI	Department for Planning and Investment
DPC	District People's Committee
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
GAD	Gender and Development
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GMS	Greater Mekong Subregion
GTZ	German Development Organisation
HCMC	Ho Chi Minh City
IIED	International Institute for Economic Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund

ICRT	International Center for Responsible Tourism
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MTCO	Mekong Tourism Coordination Office
NTA	National Tourism Association
NGO	Non Government Organisation
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PPT	Pro Poor Tourism
SPS	Safeguard Policy Statement
SME	Small to Medium Enterprise
SNV	The Netherlands Bilateral Development Organisation
SOE	State Owned Enterprise
ST-EP	Sustainable Tourism – Eliminate Poverty (programme of the UNWTO).
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
VCA	Value Chain Analysis
VND	Vietnamese Dong (currency)
VNAT	Vietnamese National Association of Tourism
WTO	World Trade Organisation
WTTC	World Travel and Tourism Council

Chapter 1: Introduction

Today the countries of the world are becoming increasingly integrated in a way unprecedented in history. Through advancement in technology and the rapid development in international trade, the movement of goods and services has exploded, and the transfer of knowledge and migration of people now occurs rapidly and over vast distances not possible in the past. One of the most evident forms of this closer integration can be seen through the dramatic increase in tourism over the last half century (UNWTO, 2006, p.10). Tourists can now travel to virtually any country in the world which is one of the key factors in the dramatic rise of tourism in the developing world.

In 2000, developing countries had over 290 million international arrivals, an increase of over 95% from 1990 (WTO, 2002, p.10). Tourism is now a major export for over 80% of developing countries and is the top export for over a third of them (WTO, 2002, p.10). Consequently, within development discourse, more attention has become focused on tourism as a poverty reduction strategy. The 1980s and the 1990s saw a range of alternative forms of tourism develop, such as eco-tourism and Community Based Tourism (CBT). These initiatives sought to change the way tourism was viewed and used as a development strategy. However, many of these alternative forms of tourism were just that, alternative, and did not look to address methods of harnessing or transforming the still dominant mainstream tourism industry.

In the late 1990s a school of thought was developed to address this shortcoming. This approach became known as Pro Poor Tourism (PPT). It aimed to place poverty reduction at the center of tourism development strategies, alternative or not, and is defined as “tourism that generates net benefits for the poor” (Momsen, 2004, p.296). The focus towards poverty reduction is reflective of the general shift within development rhetoric and policy following the formation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). PPT also encompasses a range of development principles that have arisen over the latter part of the 20th century, including participation, empowerment, sustainability, using a

multidimensional strategy, and using a multilevel approach, from policy level to the individual with a focus on the local effects. As was stated at a conference on PPT in 2005:

“the focus of pro-poor tourism is on additional and supplementary livelihoods at the individual and household level. It is far less risky for communities to engage in tourism if the engagement compliments their existing livelihood strategies rather than competes with or replaces them” (Goodwin, 2005, p4).

It is on this concept of Pro Poor Tourism that this research is centered. The context in which this research is centered is a small town on the central east coast of Vietnam, called Lang Co.

Vietnam

Vietnam is a country with an extremely turbulent past. By 1975 Vietnam had just come out of three decades of war preceded by over one hundred years of foreign ownership. Despite this tragic past, Vietnam is one of the first countries in the world to achieve Millennium Development Goal One (MDG) of reducing poverty by half (Socialist Republic of Vietnam, 2005, p14). Vietnam is also rapidly becoming increasingly integrated with the regional and global communities through a concerted effort to expand its economy, including liberalizing many of its economic policies. As a consequence of this, tourism in Vietnam has exploded. International tourism into Vietnam was almost non-existent post the American War¹ but it has now grown to an industry that attracts over four million (international) tourists a year and that contributes, directly or indirectly, to one in every 9.0 jobs in Vietnam (WTTC, 2008, p.1). Tourism in Vietnam is continuing to grow at a rapid rate and thus the country faces the challenges of balancing the positive effects of tourism and the potential negative impacts. Vietnam thus provides an ideal context for investigating and analysing the linkages between tourism and poverty reduction.

¹ What is commonly referred to as the Vietnam War outside of Vietnam is referred to as the American War within Vietnam. This occurred between the early 1960s and 1975.

Within Vietnam, the chosen research site is a small town called Lang Co, situated between one of the largest cities, Da Nang, and one of the most historically important cities, Hue, on the central east coast. Lang Co has a small established tourism industry and is planned to become a major tourism hub in the near future with a range of resorts and large scale infrastructure projects soon to be completed in the area. Many of the poorer villages within Lang Co are heavily dependent on the natural environment for their livelihood, as most are involved in fishing and aquaculture, and the risk of tourism having a negative effect on this resource base is compounded by lack of infrastructure such as a waste management system. Also, there is the question of whether those in the poorer communities will benefit from tourism as it has had little positive effects on the livelihoods of the poor within those areas so far. Lang Co is thus somewhat reflective of the national and regional struggle to use tourism effectively as a development strategy.

Some preliminary work on assessing PPT tourism opportunities has been done by the Dutch bilateral aid agency SNV. My research hopes to expand on this work, and more closely analyse the linkages between the growing tourism industry and the poorer communities in the area using a range of diagnostic techniques, including Value Chain Analysis (VCA).

Value Chain Analysis

One of the key elements of PPT is moving away from traditional assessments of the value of tourism, which generally use macroeconomic indicators such as international tourist arrivals and gross earnings, towards more micro level analysis. More specifically, there is a growing amount of research within PPT discourse on assessing the linkages between tourism enterprises and the local communities. However, given the relative youth of this field, there are a limited number of diagnostic tools to properly assess the efficacy of these linkages. This research attempts to fill this gap by using a method known as Value Chain Analysis (VCA), a method more traditionally used in product supply chains but one that has a growing recognition within development practice.

A value chain can be broadly defined as a “complex range of activities implemented by various actors (primary producers, processors, traders, service providers, etc) to bring a raw material to the retail of the final product” (M4P, 2006, p.7). Value chains are more multifaceted than traditional supply chains as they aim to include issues such as organisation of the relationships between the various actors in the chain. Thus, conceptually, there are some parallels with PPT theory as both aim to create a greater understanding of linkages. There have been some cases of applying VCA to tourism but they are mostly confined to assessing the financial aspects, such as profit margins at each level of the chain (Torres, 2004). This research aims to use VCA to specifically look at the potential for creating linkages between the mainstream tourism industry and poorer communities. It is thus more future orientated and less orientated to an in depth study on an existing value chain.

Central Aims

The central aims of this research are as follows:

- I. Assess the applicability of the concept of Pro Poor Tourism within the context of Vietnam and more broadly the Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS). This aim can be broken down into two parts. Firstly, gaining a greater understanding of the cause for the rapid growth of the tourism industry both in Vietnam and in the region. Secondly, looking at new initiatives such as the national Law on Tourism, and evaluating whether there is potential for PPT given the structure of Vietnam’s tourism growth strategy.
- II. Determine the potential for creating backward economic linkages between the mainstream tourism industry and the poorer communities in Lang Co. This aim specifically looks at the field research site of Lang Co and aims to see whether there is potential for those living in the communities of Lang Chai, Hoi Mit, Hoi Dua and Thuyen Loi to benefit from the growing number of resorts, guesthouses and restaurants in Lang Co. This will be done by choosing two or three value chains,

which fit in with current livelihood strategies, and analysing whether it is possible to create sustainable linkages to the tourism industry.

- III. Explore the strengths and weaknesses of using Value Chain Analysis (VCA) within the framework of PPT research.

Thesis Structure

This research is organised into seven chapters. First, it looks at the evolution of PPT. To do this a brief history of tourism as a development strategy will be given in Chapter 2 with a focus on the rise of alternative forms of tourism, such as ecotourism, and how PPT was formed to address the shortcomings of these strategies. Chapter 2 will also consider the influence PPT theory has had on National Tourism Associations (NTA), international tourism institutes such as the United Nation World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO), and the formation of research groups such as the Pro Poor Tourism Partnership. Chapter 3, Rhetoric to Reality, will discuss the central criticisms of PPT found within development literature against the development of the tourism industry in the Greater Mekong Subregion and Vietnam.

In Chapter 4 of this thesis, Vietnam will be examined more closely. This will be done by giving an overview of its recent history following the American War with a special focus on the innovative Doi Moi policies introduced following the election of Nguyen Van Linh in 1986. Lastly, the specific field site, Lang Co, will be described in detail and reasons given why this particular area was chosen for this research. Chapter 5, Methodology, will focus specifically on the field research and will cover the aims of the fieldwork, chosen field site and practical issues such as ethical processes, gatekeepers, and using research assistants. Then the two main stages of the field research, the social mapping exercise and the VCA, will be explained in more depth. Lastly, this chapter will provide an assessment of the methodological strengths and weaknesses of this study.

The field research findings will be assessed in Chapter 6, in two sections. The first provides a socio-economic summary of each of the poorer villages, using the framework of the social mapping exercise. The second section looks at the results of the VCA, more specifically the strengths and weaknesses of the two chosen value chains, sea bass farming and shrimp fishing.

Finally, in Chapter 7, a summary of all the findings will then be provided, in the form of potential opportunities and potential barriers for establishing PPT linkages. Central conclusions will then be drawn from these findings and then these will be weighed against the aims of the research. Lastly, closing remarks and implications for PPT tourism research given.

Chapter 2: Evolution of Pro Poor Tourism

Introduction

This chapter looks at the evolution of the way tourism has been viewed from a development perspective. Firstly, it gives an overview of the changing perceptions during the late 20th century. Secondly, it points out how Pro Poor Tourism (PPT) has arisen from the lack of focus, of alternative forms of tourism, on poverty alleviation and the change of focus in development discourse following the millennium development goals. Next, this chapter identifies the central principles of PPT and how it differs from previous perspectives. Lastly, it analyses the growth of PPT by looking at the growth of PPT organisations and the influence PPT has had within global institutions, and problems that PPT research has had in addressing the mainstream tourism industry.

Importance and Progression of Tourism in the 20th Century

Since the mid twentieth century, tourism has grown rapidly worldwide, while also becoming progressively more important within development discourse. In 1958 the first passenger jet is “credited with inaugurating modern mass and charter tourism, with all its attendant problems of overcrowding and pollution” (Eadington, 1994, p.44). Since this

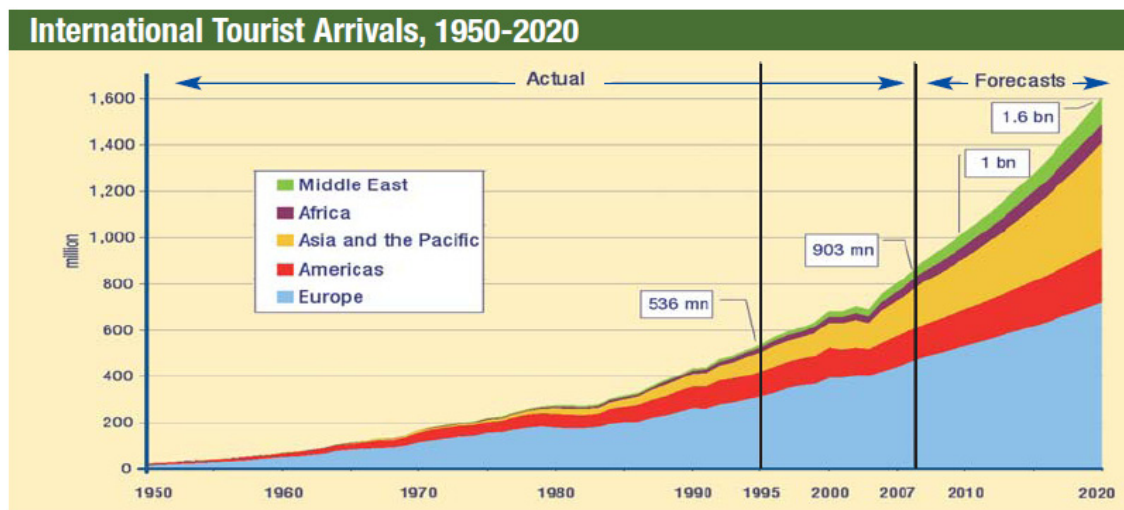


Figure 2.1: International tourist arrivals by region. (Source: UNWTO, 2008, p.10)

period, tourism has been steadily increasing as can be seen in Figure 2.1 which shows that international tourist arrivals have grown from 25 million in 1950 to 808 million in 2005 (UNWTO, 2008, p.10). In terms of dollar values, tourism is one of the largest industries in the world. In 2005 international tourism receipts reached a level of US \$682 billion and if airline tickets are included the figure exceeds (US) \$800 billion, “this trade volume equals or exceeds that of oil exports, food products, or even cars” (Hall, 2007, p.111).

Developing countries have almost 40% of the international tourism market and their market share has increased rapidly in recent decades (see table 2.1 below). The growth rate of tourism, since 1990, in developing countries is almost double that of the growth rate worldwide, 9.5% compared to (Urquhart, 2001, p.2). The impact of tourism in developing countries is substantial. Table 2.1 shows the growth (in millions) for the periods 1990 to 2006 and the corresponding growth rates.

	(million)			Market Share (%)			Average Annual Growth (%)	
	1990	2000	2006	1990	2000	2006	1990-2000	2000-2006
World	436	684	846	100	100	100	4.6	3.6
Developing Countries	112.8	233.8	333.4	25.9	34.2	39.4	7.6	6.1
50 Least Developed Countries (LDCs)	2.9	6.3	11.4	0.7	0.9	1.3	7.9	10.5
Other low- & low-middle income countries ¹	43.8	100.5	162.5	10.0	14.7	19.2	8.7	8.3
Upper-middle income economies ¹	66.1	127.0	159.5	15.2	18.6	18.8	6.7	3.9
High income countries and other	323.2	449.7	512.8	74.1	65.8	60.6	3.4	2.2

Table 2.1: Tourism growth in developing countries. (Source: UNWTO, 2006, p.6)

As can be seen in Table 21, the growth of tourism in developing countries is almost double of that of high income countries in the period 1990 to 2000 and almost triple in the period 2000 to 2006. It is obvious that tourism has a significant impact on developing countries. Development discourse, with regard to tourism, has also transformed and grown along with tourism.

The way in which tourism has been viewed is reflective of what has been happening throughout the world during that time. The 1950s and 1960s, saw the dominance of modernisation theory which viewed development as a linear path on which developing

countries were simply at a lower stage (Harrison, 1988, p.9). With the advent of commercial jets, tourism was seen as a way to gain foreign currency and get a boost forward in the modernisation race (Scheyvens, 2002, p.22). The 1960s, then saw the growth of dependency theory, in opposition to modernisation, which placed the cause of underdevelopment on exploitative neo-colonial relations. From this perspective, tourism can be viewed as another means of strengthening exploitative relations (Palmer, 1982, p.332).

Through the 1970s and early 1980s a growing concern about the negative impacts of tourism arose. Environmentalists started to question the sustainability of tourism practices. There was a rise in a range of alternative theories of development which encompassed elements of participation, empowerment and bottom up approaches rather than the imposition of western styles of development (Telfer, 2008, p.14). Consequently, there was the beginning of alternative tourism, which focused more on small scale tourism which had fewer negative social or environmental effects.

The mid 1980s to late 1990s saw the dominance of neo-liberal views of development, which called for closer integration of national economies, removal of tariffs, subsidises and any other barriers which interfered with the free market. This positioned tourism as a good way to encourage an influx of foreign currency and pay off debt. At the same time, the greening of tourism continued with notions such as eco-tourism. There was more recognition of the imperfections of tourism. There was greater acknowledgment of the rights of communities to resist tourism, plus the continued growth of bottom up approaches to development (Scheyvens, 2002, p.22). Pro poor tourism started to emerge at the end of this period, as will be explained further on in this chapter.

The year 2000 onwards has seen the continual growth of tourism and especially alternative forms of tourism. Also, debate arose over the legitimacy of the effectiveness of alternative types of tourism and whether or not they have just as many negative effects but are just dressed to suit the more 'conscientious' tourist (Burns, 2004, p.5). Plus, there has been a mainstreaming of inclusive, bottom up, participatory approaches to development.

Development of Alternative Tourism

As noted above there has been a continually growing interest in alternative tourism since the 1970s. The rise of alternative tourism has happened for a number of reasons including the growing concern about the environment, the inability of mass tourism to affect those in local communities positively, and the increased interest of overseas tourists in experiencing something different. Alternative tourism has also spawned a veritable plethora of forms: ecotourism, agrotourism, equity tourism, culture tourism, just tourism, responsible tourism, village tourism, ethical tourism, rural tourism, soft tourism, green tourism and community-based tourism. There is a large variety of approaches, which vary widely from each other and thus a definition is hard to find. One appropriate definition is the one proposed by Medlik (1996, p.17):

a term generally used to refer to forms of tourism which seeks to avoid adverse and enhance positive social, cultural and environmental impacts. Usually characterized by: small scale; individual, independent or small group activity.

Two of the most popular forms of alternative tourism are ecotourism and community-based tourism (CBT). They are not necessarily mutually exclusive but they do stem from a different basis, and have different focal points. These two forms will now be looked at more closely in order to illustrate some of their problems, in terms of poverty reduction, and to show some of the central differences between alternative tourism and PPT.

Community Based Tourism (CBT)

Community based tourism ventures are generally small scale and located near or within local communities. They are intended to be locally run and locally owned. The key objective of CBT operations is enhancing the well-being of local communities through enhanced economic opportunities and to build the social capital of a community through community involvement and participation. CBT could be considered the antithesis of traditional mass tourism. This new form of tourism shows a progression, from a

development perspective, as it incorporates the ideas of participation, empowerment and the importance of the social, rather than just economic or environmental, aspects to development.

However, the ways in which CBT has been practised and viewed does have some flaws. Blackstock (2005) identifies three weak points. Firstly, there is the problem of whether the community is using tourism as a mechanism for development or whether CBT is just a way of co-opting communities into the tourism machinery (p.41). Secondly, the literature generally fails to address the structural inequalities found in communities and views a community as a single homogenous group. As Scheyvens (2006, p.8) points out “communities are split into various factions based on a complex interplay of class, gender and ethnic factors, and certain families or individuals are likely to lay claim to privileges because of their apparent status”. Thirdly, CBT does not often recognize the constraints to local control (Blackstock, 2005, p.44). Constraints to local control may include policies, both at the regional and government level, lack of capacity of communities to run and control a tourism operation, and disengagement from the private sector resulting in an unsustainable business.

Ecotourism

The term ecotourism was introduced into tourism discourse in the mid 1980s (Weaver, 2002, p.153). It is perhaps the most popular form of alternative tourism and it is the fastest growing sector of tourism with a growth rate of 10-15% (Scheyvens, 1999, p.245). It includes aspects of community-based tourism but has more of a focus on the environment. Ecotourism can be defined as:

Environmentally responsible, enlightening travel and visitation to relatively undisturbed natural areas in order to enjoy and appreciate nature (and any accompanying cultural features both past and present) that promotes conservation, has low visitor impact, and provides for beneficially active socio-economic involvement of local populations (Scheyvens, 1999, p.245).

The growth of ecotourism coincides with the growth of sustainable development and the growing concern of the sustainability of the environment; due to this the term ecotourism is often used synonymously with the term sustainable tourism. Since the environment is the central attraction for tourists, and since tourism is seen as a way for the community to develop, ecotourism, which encourages tourism while preserving the environment, is seen as the perfect solution. However, in terms of the development of the local people, it is by no means perfect. Although the definition above, and many other ecotourism definitions, generally include the local community and socio-cultural element, ecotourism and community development are not always congruent. The setting up of protected areas for ecotourism epitomises this problem, as can be seen in this quote from Akama (1996, as cited in Scheyvens 2002, p.87):

In summary, for many Third World peoples the creation of protected areas – now the focus of major ecotourism activities in Africa, Asia and Latin America – has now led to forced, uncompensated resettlement, alienation from resources and sacred sites and damage to crops, livestock and humans living within the protected area.

This conflict within ecotourism comes from the fact that the driving force behind ecotourism is the demand of tourists, not the needs of local people. This can lead to the creation of a false reality in order to suit the expectations of tourists. As West (2004, p.485) puts it, “This reshaping underlies what we see as an important contradiction in ecotourism: its tendency to lead not to the preservation of valued ecosystems but to the creation of landscapes that conform to important Western idealizations of nature through a market-orientated nature politics”. In an ecotourism operation in Negil park, Jamaica officials often reported that tourists complained about small fishing boats in the park waters as this was seen to be incompatible with their notion of pristine nature, even though the local people had been fishing in that area all their lives (West, 2004, p.488). This example illustrates the conflict found in many ecotourism operations. Not all ecotourism operations conflict with local interests, but an approach where the local needs are not the top priority is always going to be problematic from a development perspective.

As we can see there are several problems with alternative forms of tourism. One which has not been mentioned is the re-packaging of mass tourism to appear more environmentally friendly and culturally sensitive while not actually changing any practices at all. In terms of poverty alleviation and development, the major problem with these forms of alternative tourism, is that they are still, although growing, a relatively small sector of mass tourism and by no means a replacement.

Alternative tourism tries to capture niche markets and does not address mainstream tourism. Further, alternative tourism is not an unvarying group, there are many different types all with their own objectives, view points and priorities. Although many of these forms of tourism include reducing poverty as one of their goals, none of them judge the success of a tourism enterprise purely by the impacts it has had on poorer communities.

Rise of Pro Poor Tourism (PPT)

In 1998 the Department for International Development (DFID), the British bilateral aid agency, commissioned Deloitte & Touche with the International Institute for Economic Development (IIED) and the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) to produce a report on harnessing tourism for poverty reduction (Goodwin, 2005, p.3). It was in this report that the term 'pro-poor tourism' (PPT) was coined. PPT is defined as "tourism that generates net benefits for the poor" (Momsen, 2004, p.296). This approach to place the poor as the primary stakeholder is reflective of the shift in development rhetoric to a focus on poverty reduction. This shift is embodied in the Millennium Development Goals, particularly the goal of reducing the proportion of the people living in extreme poverty by half.

PPT differs significantly from alternative forms of tourism. Firstly, and most importantly, the success of a PPT initiative is judged purely on what effect it has on the primary stakeholders, the poor. The inclusion of the term, *net* benefits for the poor, is in recognition of the fact that many tourism projects have some positive effects, but often the negative effects, in terms of environmental, social and cultural, may outweigh the

positive effects. Thus, if a tourism project, as judged by the primary stakeholders, has an overall negative effect, it is not pro poor tourism. This is an important point for two reasons: firstly, by including the poor as primary stakeholders it shows an inclusion of participatory principles within the foundation of PPT. This shows a progression in the way tourism is viewed as a development strategy. Secondly, if the poor have a large influence in the process of assessing the effects of a particular initiative, the criteria by which the initiative is judged is likely to be multi-dimensional and reflective of the cultural and societal values of those particular people. Too often in the past tourism has been judged on a one dimensional level – economic – and by those who do not have to live with the consequences of tourism.

It should also be noted that PPT does not promote tourism, but rather looks to change the distribution of benefits of tourism in favour of poor people. PPT has a growing number of methods to achieve this. One central method is recognising that tourism is a private sector, market driven activity and to be effective (to reduce poverty) there needs to be ways of connecting business with those in poorer communities. Further, there needs to be a focus on creating linkages and eliminating leakages (Goodwin, 2005).

Another way in which PPT differs from alternative tourism is that it focuses on all types of tourism, with recognition of the fact that “PPT will contribute little to the eradication of poverty unless it is mainstreamed” (PPT Partnership, 2005, p.1). This provides a great challenge for several reasons: it means working with a wide range of stakeholders including the private sector, who will have alternative and sometimes conflicting objectives to poverty reduction; it means working at different levels of the tourism industry, from the policy level right down to the individual; it means trying to change an existing industry, rather than starting new forms of tourism, which are based on different objectives and are planned and set up in a manner often opposing PPT principles; and it means trying to adjust the demand of tourists, even those in the five star, luxury, resort sector.

The growing popularity of PPT within the development industry

Since PPT's inception in 1998, a number of institutions have formed and a number of development organisations have adopted a PPT approach. One institution, which is central to the promotion and refining of PPT, is the PPT Partnership.

Pro-Poor Tourism Partnership

The PPT Partnership was formed following a report called "Pro-Poor Tourism Strategies: Making Tourism Work for the Poor. A review of experience" in 2001, which was conducted as a follow up to the study done by DFID previously mentioned. As a consequence of this report, the researchers involved formed the PPT Partnership which is a collaboration between Caroline Ashley (Overseas Development Institute), Harold Goodwin (International Centre for Responsible Tourism) and Dilys Roe (International Institute for Environment and Development). Since this time this partnership has spawned a large amount of reports, business briefings, and working papers based on a number of locations worldwide. One incisive way to see the influence of this Partnership is through the growing influence PPT has had in the UNWTO.

United Nations World Tourism Organisation

The United Nations World Tourism Organisation began as the International Congress of Official Tourist Traffic Associations in 1925. After World War Two it was renamed the International Union of Official Travel Organisations (IUOTO) and moved to Geneva. In 1969 a resolution was passed by the United Nations General Assembly recognizing the "decisive and central role the transformed IOUTO should play in the field of world tourism" (p.2) and by 1977 a formal cooperation agreement with the United Nations was signed and the World Tourism Organisation was born. The United Nations added the UN to the abbreviation WTO to avoid confusion with the World Trade Organisation on February 1st 2005. By this time the UNWTO included 145 countries and 350 affiliate

members including local tourism authorities, the private sector, educational institutions and tourism associations. The UNWTO promotes itself as the leading international organisation in the field of tourism and the best source of information on tourism issues and practical tourism know-how, thus it is an appropriate place in which to view any shifts in discourse on tourism and development.

In March 2001, the UNWTO held a high level meeting on “Tourism and Development in the LDC’s” in Gran Canaria Spain. From this meeting a report was produced titled ‘Tourism and Poverty Alleviation’, released in 2002. As stated in the acknowledgments, ‘key input’ was sourced from Harold Goodwin from the International Centre for Responsible Tourism (ICRT), Caroline Ashley of the ODI and Dilys Roe of the IIED (UNWTO, 2002). These three organisations are also the three organisations which constitute the PPT Partnership mentioned previously. Although the term ‘pro-poor tourism’ is not mentioned directly, the report includes a strong PPT component. As stated in its introduction:

The WTO is convinced that tourism can be harnessed to bring local economic development in forms that will assist in the reduction of poverty, and believes that poverty reduction criteria should play a more prominent role in decision making about tourism development (WTO 2002, p.21).

The report ‘Tourism and Poverty Alleviation’ also talks of the importance of linkages between the formal tourism sector and the local economy (p.37); increasing market access to local people and the problem of ‘all inclusive’ packages (p.40); methods which will disproportionately benefit the poor (p41); forms of tourism participation which complement existing livelihood strategies (p42); multi-stakeholder involvement (p14); and local management of tourism (p43). All these aspects are central to PPT theory.

Recently the UNWTO launched the Sustainable Tourism Eliminate Poverty Programme which sought to focus efforts more specifically towards poverty reduction following the MDGs.

Sustainable Tourism – Eliminate Poverty (ST-EP) Programme and Foundation

In 2002 the UNWTO launched the ST-EP Programme. This was established to increase the UNWTO capacity to use tourism as a poverty reduction strategy. Following this, efforts were mainly directed towards fundraising, which received support from a number of donors including the Governments of the Republic of Korea, Italy, Macao S.A.R China, and the Netherlands development organisation SNV. From a large donation from Korea the ST-EP Foundation was set up in Seoul in September 2004 as an “international, non-profit umbrella body overseeing the ST-EP Programme” (UNWTO, 2007, p.6)

The framework for poverty alleviation by these organisations (UNWTO, ST-EP Programme, and ST-EP Foundation) focuses on four main areas, including: capacity building seminars, research, and publications, ST-EP projects, dissemination of information and raising awareness.

So far a number of regional seminars have taken place throughout the world, involving, in total, over 1000 government officials and decision makers from NGOs, the private sector and other organisations from more than 60 countries. Capacity building seminars have taken place for West and Central Africa (2004), South East Asia (2004), Eastern Africa (2004), South Asian region (2005), Africa (2005), Andean Community countries (2005), Central American countries (2005), South America (2006) and Africa (2006) (UNWTO, 2007, p.6). These conferences are regional specific and thus the topics vary widely. Some examples have included raising awareness of sustainable hotel practices, managing protected areas, and creating linkages between Small and Medium Enterprises (SME) and the tourism industry.

The ST-EP Programme has produced four main reports related to tourism and poverty reduction including Tourism and Poverty Reduction (2002), Tourism and Poverty Alleviation: Recommendations for Action (2004), Tourism, Microfinance and Poverty Alleviation (2005), and Poverty Alleviation Through Tourism: A Compilation of Good Practices (2006).

The implementation of ST-EP projects started towards the end of 2005 and is currently expanding. In 2006, 30 projects were active and in 2007 another 21 projects were launched. The projects are located in different regions throughout the world, with 24 in Africa, 16 in the Americas, 10 in Asia and 1 in Europe. The projects selected range in type and level: at the project level, there is a focus on human resource development, particularly with direct labour for the tourism industry; at the district level there are projects which focus on developing links between the tourism industry and local business; at the national level, projects are directed towards providing adequate financial and business services to small to medium enterprises involved in the tourism industry; and at the regional level there is an aim to provide joint marketing for community initiatives (UNWTO, 2007, p.12)

Progress in the dissemination and awareness raising aspect of the ST-EP Programme is somewhat harder to assess. This seems to be mainly done through annual meetings that are held in Berlin, within the framework of the international tourism industry fair. As put in the report “The forum provides the opportunity to disseminate information on the work being carried out for the ST-EP Programme, whilst engaging a wide range of institutions, companies and individuals to further the support for the programme towards the fight against poverty through sustainable tourism development”(UNWTO, 2007, p.9). However, the implications or effects this has had are unclear.

The founding of a UN organisation specifically designed to look at methods of using tourism as a poverty reduction strategy is a strong indication of the growing importance of tourism in the development field.

Other Research

As can be seen, the change in the way tourism and development is viewed has dramatically altered with the emergence of PPT. Further, the change has been influential in some of the largest global institutions and a range of development institutions such as SNV, ODI, IIED and DFID. This change in perception can also be seen in smaller

organisations across the world. There are many examples but the following is included to illustrate the diverse range in way that tourism is viewed as an agent of change.

Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa

On the 13th of June 2002, a Fair Trade in Tourism SA trademark was officially launched and for the first time in history a fair trade label for the tourism industry was created (FTTSA, 2008). On the 22nd of October 2003, the first Trademark Users were accredited.

The accreditation is based on 13 criteria. Some of the criteria include: Skills development, one of which is “must show a commitment to using skills development as a mechanism for redressing the legacies of colonialism and apartheid” (FTTSA, 2008, p1); employment equity; ownership and control; procurement equity in which a clause states that the tourism business “must actively promote linkages with neighbouring tourism enterprises and enable guest to spend money in the local economy”(p.2); community and investment interaction, the first clause being “ certified establishments must invest in community development initiatives”(p.3); and environmental management.

Although, not stemming directly from PPT theory, this view of tourism is reflective of the changing perception on the way tourism can be used. The Fair Trade Tourism in South Africa project does not only look at environmental or economic factors but includes aspects of social justice, racial equity and predisposition in policy towards helping local communities.

Mainstreaming Pro Poor Tourism

As mentioned previously, PPT is not a form of niche tourism and one of the greatest challenges is to try and introduce PPT into the mainstream tourism industry. As we have seen in the previous section, PPT has entered mainstream rhetoric, but in development practice, there is still a tendency towards a focus on niche market tourism such as

ecotourism and community based tourism. This can also be seen within the latest UNWTO publication *Poverty Alleviation through Tourism: A Compilation of Good Practice* (2006). That is aimed at providing “concrete examples of projects and good practices in tourism that have effectively contributed to reduce poverty levels” (UNWTO, 2006, p.1). The report summarizes 26 case studies from over 20 countries, seven from the Americas (Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Mexico), seven from African countries (Ethiopia, Mali, Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Mauritius and Morocco), three from the Asia (China, Indonesia and the Philippines), two from the Middle East (Saudi Arabia and Jordan) and one central Asian country (Kazakhstan).

In nearly all the case studies provided in the UN report there is a high degree of participation and local ownership, both in the planning and the implementation of the initiatives. The cases generally have a multi dimensional outlook and include a high recognition of environmental and social issues. However, all but one of the case studies are either CBT, cultural tourism, agrotourism, ecotourism or a mix of these. The projects are small scale and the benefits are generally highly localised. Often in the results section or contribution to poverty alleviation section are conclusion such as “the recruitment of 39 community members” (p.60), or “infrastructure works under construction” (p.67). Although these cases are true to a high degree of PPT principles, they are clearly, except in one case, various forms of niche tourism.

Thus we can see that although there is a consensus at the discourse level, when it comes to the implementation, there is a focus on niche forms of tourism. Niche tourism, although it may be (or may not be) very pro-poor, is generally small scale and indicates a reluctance to influence or place restrictions on large scale tourist developments which may be more aligned to various government growth strategies and private sector profit motives.

Another indication of the focus towards niche tourism at the implementation level can be seen through the selection of projects that the UNWTO funds through its ST-EP program. As mentioned previously, the ST-EP started to fund projects in 2005. Currently there are

51 projects underway. Information from 41 of their projects is available. Of the projects in which the ST-EP is the principal source of funding, all, but one, are various forms of niche tourism. Out of all the projects listed, only 12 could be considered PPT projects which affect the mainstream industry.

The latest PPT Partnership registry confirms this lack of focus towards trying to engage with the mainstream industry. Despite their call for evidence on initiatives which show demonstrable evidence, they were able to produce very little. As stated in the editorial “all too often there is an unwritten assumption that if tourism is community based then it must be pro-poor. Or equally falsely, that if tourism is to be pro-poor it must be community based. Progress has been painfully slow” (PPT Partnership, 2005, p.1). This thesis hopes to address this gap in the literature by focusing purely on the potential opportunities and barriers for the mainstream tourism industry to become pro-poor.

Summary

This chapter has shown that tourism is becoming an increasingly recognised tool for development and poverty reduction. Views of tourism have evolved along with the change of philosophies and viewpoints within development literature. Tourism now has a plethora of forms, from small niche forms of tourism such as CBT to new approaches to tourism such as PPT. Pro-Poor Tourism has grown significantly since its inception in the late 1990s and influenced a variety of organisations, from larger UNWTO programmes through to smaller initiatives such as the Fair Trade Tourism in South Africa. However, PPT still faces many challenges, such as having an impact on the mainstream tourism industry.

Although PPT rhetoric can now be found in many organisations, there are also growing criticisms. The next chapter will focus on some of the criticism at the theoretical level and then at the problem of implementing PPT into reality with a focus on Vietnam and the Greater Mekong Subregion.

Chapter 3: Rhetoric to Reality? Applying Pro Poor Tourism to the Greater Mekong Subregion

Introduction

The previous chapter outlined what PPT was, how it evolved and the influence it has had in development discourse on the way tourism is viewed. This chapter attempts a more critical in-depth analysis on PPT with reference to literature found in a variety of journal articles, UNWTO and ST-EP publications, working papers from PPT research institutes such as the Pro Poor Tourism Partnership, and from the growing amount of NGO and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) which have arisen as a reaction to the great change that tourism has brought to their societies.

The chapter centers around the criticism that PPT cannot exist in a growth orientated environment. This chapter will assess this criticism against the context of the Greater Mekong subregion which includes the southern provinces of China, Yunnan and Guangxi Zhuang, plus Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. This area is focused upon as the GMS provides the wider setting for the field research and it also is an area which has identified tourism as a major means of development.

Can PPT Exist within a Neo-liberal Framework?

“The nebuleuse of neoliberalism prevents government intervention targeting equity within tourism, which realistically restricts ‘pro-poor tourism’ strategies to those in sync with the growth mentality” (Schilcher, 2007, p.183).

One of the major misconceptions of PPT is that it promotes tourism as a development strategy, this is not true. PPT aims to look at the ways to utilise tourism as a tool for poverty reduction but does not promote tourism in itself. This is a dangerous

misunderstanding because looking at tourism as a panacea for countries' troubles ignores many of the negative impacts that tourism has and can have. One of the major problems in introducing a new concept into the development field is that the term will be manipulated and used to justify any means of development that a particular institution sees fit. For many institutions the focus on development is large scale, economic growth. Chok et al states that, "globally, poverty reduction strategies tend to emphasise the need for more growth, in the absence of redistributive policies" (2007, p.159). A good starting point for assessing this claim in the Asian Development Bank's Greater Mekong Subregion Tourism Sector Strategy.

The Greater Mekong Subregion Sector Strategy is a ten year plan (2006 – 2015) developed by the countries of the GMS with the technical assistance of the ADB. The plan is part of eleven programs which form the GMS Economic Cooperation Program. The objective of the tourism part of the program is "to contribute toward the ten-year GMS framework that seeks to develop the vision of a GMS that fulfils its vast potential, frees its people from poverty and provides sustainable development opportunities for all" (ADB, 2005, p.22). The plan was developed between June 2004 and November 2005 by a wide range of stakeholders, including government institutions (including the NTAs), the private sector, and NGOs over 13 national and 3 regional strategic planning workshops.

Throughout the strategy (ADB, 2005), PPT is mentioned frequently, and is one of the seven programs² through which the strategy will be implemented. Much of what is written in the PPT section is based on the PPT Partnership principles of PPT, including creating linkages with local communities (p.44), developing a multi level approach (p.46) and encouraging participation by local communities (p44).

Another aspect of the ADB programme, which includes PPT elements, is the Heritage and Social Impact Management Program. It aims to "manage effectively the conservation of the subregion's cultural and natural heritage and reduce the risk of negative social impacts arising from increased tourism and greater distribution to the less developed

² The seven programs include marketing and product development, human resource development, heritage resource development, pro-poor tourism development, private sector development, facilitating the movement of tourists and tourism-related infrastructure development.

areas of the GMS” (p. 38). The management of negative social impacts, at least, provides recognition of the huge range of negative consequences of tourism. The strategy mentions human trafficking, drug trafficking, child sex tourism and the rise and spread of aids. It also mentions, briefly, issues related to land acquisition and resettlement.

In an extremely altruistic statement, the tourism sector strategy states:

Poor communities will be the primary beneficiaries in planning and owning their future in tourism development with the public sector, development partners, and non-government organisations providing policy, technical assistance, capacity building, and financial support (ADB, 2005, p45).

As can be seen, there are significant elements of PPT principles within ADB’s rhetoric. However, when looking more closely at the funds allocated to each sub program, a gross disparity can be found.

Near the latter part of the strategy, a broad indication of the financing for the first five years of the project is given, the total cost being \$440.78 million. The amount of money allocated to the PPT section of the strategy is \$13.5 million, which is just 3% of the total cost. The amount of money allocated towards the Heritage and Social Impact Management Program is \$21.7 million, 5% of the total cost. The amount of money allocated to tourism related infrastructure is US \$372.73 million, a colossal 85% of total expenditure. It is unlikely that the poor will be the primary beneficiaries in the ‘owning and planning’ (ADB, 2005, p.59) of this type of development. Although the inclusion of a PPT element in the ADB’s rhetoric is admirable, the gross disproportion of these figures is reflective of the current bias towards growth. Given that the strategy estimates that the amount of international tourists to the GMS by 2015 will more than triple, reaching between 46 and 52 million a year, this lack of focus towards equity is extremely concerning.

Developing infrastructure for the poorer region of the GMS is of course not in itself a negative goal. However, the lack of recognition (at the implementation level) of the possible negative consequences, not to mention the loss of potential benefits for real poverty reduction, shows an underlying neoliberal philosophy that growth will solve all

problems (the benefits will trickle down). The negative effects of this type of thinking can already be seen in many areas of the region. The Vietnamese tourism development path has also followed high growth strategy and has been influenced heavily by regional development plans.

Development of the Tourism Industry in Vietnam

The Vietnamese tourism industry has grown at an astonishing rate, from almost no tourism in the period following the American war to an industry that contributes over US\$11,000 million a year to GDP and is expected to rise to almost \$25,000 million by the year 2018, making it the fourth fastest growing tourist economy in the world (WTTC, 2008, p.6). The central role the travel and tourism industry plays can also be seen in



Figure 3.1: International visitors to Vietnam 1990 – 2007.
(Source GSO, 2006)

employment with an estimated 4,891,000 jobs, or one in every 9.2 jobs, being directly or indirectly related to the industry (WTTC, 2008, p.6). Vietnam has also become a major international tourist destination, receiving over four million international arrivals a year.

There are a number of factors which have contributed to the growth of this industry. Firstly, the absence of conflict in the region from the 1980s onwards gave a chance for Vietnam and countries in the region to rebuild themselves and recover from previous conflict. Secondly, the continual growth of the world wide tourism industry and particularly the advent of long haul tourism allowed international tourist arrivals in East Asia and the Pacific to grow faster than any other region in the world, with an average growth rate of 8.9% per annum between 1980 and 1990 (Jensen-Verbeke, 1995, p.216).

The lifting of the U.S led trade embargo in 1995 made it substantially easier for both foreign investment in tourism and visitors to head to Vietnam. Also, Vietnam's ascension and participation in various regional and global organisations gave Vietnam more credibility as a destination country and allowed Vietnam to learn from other countries' tourism experience and expertise. Some of these organisations include the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) in 1981, the Pacific and Asia Tourism Association (PATA) in 1990, Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 1995, and the Asian Pacific Economic forum (APEC) in 1998. More recently it has been an active participant in the Sustainable Tourism Eliminate Poverty Program (ST-EP).

From the beginning of the tourism industry the Vietnamese government has been very active in promoting, implementing and creating an environment congruent to tourism growth. In recent years the government has taken an even greater focus. In a press release (2006) the Deputy General Director of the Vietnam National Tourism Association (VNAT) stated that they (the government) had invested over VND \$1,146 billion in developing infrastructure in key tourism destinations and attracted over 190 FDI projects in tourism with a total capital of US \$3.64 billion over the previous five years (2001-2006) (VNAT, 2006, p.2).

Vietnam has also been one of the first countries to produce a separate Tourism Law. This was formed as a collaboration between Vietnam National Administration of Tourism (VNAT), SNV, the Netherlands bilateral aid agency, and the UNWTO, using an eight phase process from 2003 to 2006. The Tourism Law came into effect on January 1st 2006. The Tourism Law is unique in the sense that it was formed with help from development agencies and sought specifically to be inclusive of PPT principles. Within the law, specific chapters focus on supporting local employment, contributing to the local community, respecting and establishing natural and cultural heritage laws, and increasing opportunities for local communities and individuals to engage in tourism activities (Hainsworth, 2005, p.2.) Although providing a general framework, the Law on Tourism does not have any easily enforceable regulations. Current sub-laws and various decrees are now being formed in order for the Law on Tourism to be integrated into practice. The effect this will have on the governance of tourism is yet to be seen but it does show the

intention of the government to control tourism in a way that is fitting to their growth strategy.

The Vietnamese government is clearly the driving force behind tourism growth, and there has been a very top down approach to development. It is important to take a further step back in order to assess the ways in which the Vietnamese government is affected by regional activities, organisations and development strategies. The obvious way to assess this is to look back to the influential GMS Tourism Sector Strategy.

The first section of this chapter showed the integration of PPT discourse to the regional development strategy but did not mention the full scope and goals of the ADB run programme. On the following page is a figure taken from the GMS Tourism Sector Strategy (ADB, 2005). Figure 3.2 shows some of the regional plans for the area including: five economic corridors, some which stretch across several countries; and a variety of tourism zones split up into adventure/adventure, culture/nature and marine/river based zones.

As we can see in these maps, the GMS is being increasingly interconnected and this is partly the result of the overall framework of the strategy. The strategy aims to achieve growth and integration in several ways. Firstly, it aims to develop infrastructure within countries and between countries such as the economic corridors (ADB, 2005, p22). Secondly, it aims to promote the GMS as a single destination. This is to be done through the creation of 13 tourism zones, circuits and lines, as can be seen in Figure 3.2 below, and by facilitating travel across different countries by initiatives such as the GMS wide tourism visa (p51).

In terms of quantifiable objectives, the strategy aims to attract 52 million international tourists by the year 2015, tripling the current number of international tourists. It also hopes to increase government revenues from \$2.3 billion (2004) to \$8.2 billion (2015) with employment aiming to increase from 3.8 million to 7.3 million over the same period (ADB, 2005, p.22). Comparisons can easily be made with Vietnam's high growth

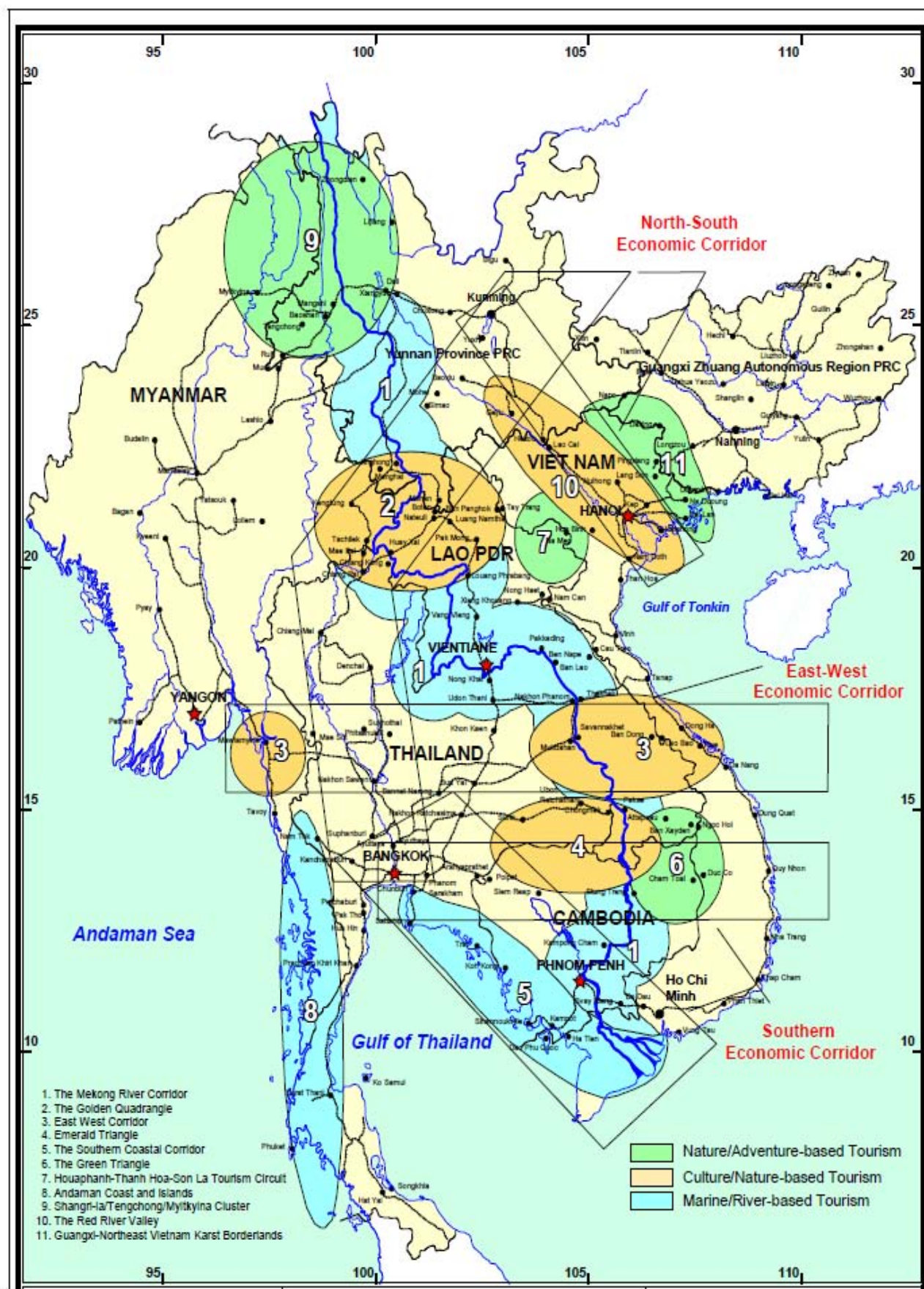


Figure 3.2 GMS Tourism Sector Strategy (Source: ADB, 2007, p.27)

goals of attracting 6 million international tourists and 23 million domestic tourists by 2010 and increasing government revenue to over US\$7,056.8 million by 2018 (WTTC, 2008, p.6).

The formation, governance and monitoring and evaluation of the strategy is done by a range of stakeholders from a variety of sectors and differs significantly project to project. At the head of the organisational framework is the Tourism Working Group (TWG) also known as the Mekong Tourism Coordination Office (MTCO) Board which is responsible for the strategic direction of the various regional tourism projects. This group meets officially twice a year.

TWG is made up of high representatives from the various national tourism working groups and is advised by a multi sector board with organisations such as the Asian Development Bank (ADB), Pacific and Asia Tourism Association (PATA),

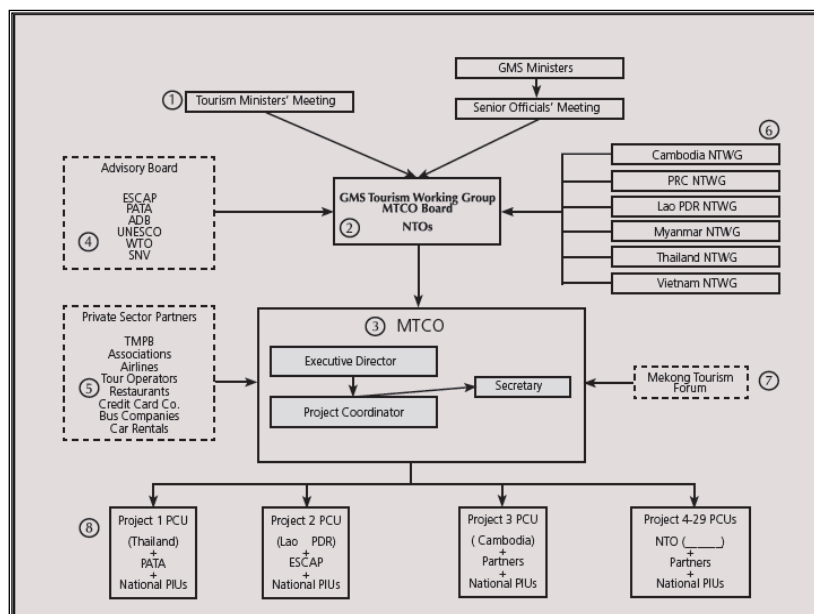


Figure 3.3: Organisational structure of the tourism sector strategy (ADB, 2002, p.55)

SNV, UNESCO and UNECAP. This group in turn advises the MTCO which works more closely with various private sector interest groups and is in charge of the implementation and running of the various regional projects. Below this is the project level where the stakeholders depend on the type and scope of the project.

It should be noted that the GMS Tourism Strategy is only one of eleven flagship programs which are elements of a wider GMS Economic Cooperation Strategy. Other programmes in this wider economic strategy include developing regional communications systems, regional power systems, flood control and waste water management systems, several economic corridors, developing an environmental

framework, and increasing trade (ADB, 2002, v). The extent to which the region is becoming interconnected through plans such as the GMS Economic Cooperation Strategy is extensive and places the tourism industry in a unique context. This context offers significant opportunity but places a huge amount of downward pressure on individual countries. These regional plans are focused on the development of large infrastructure projects, increasing trade by significant levels and generally can be considered a high growth orientated strategy which has had an impact in the way tourism has been developed in the region and in Vietnam.

The growth of tourism in Vietnam can thus be seen not just as a consequence of improved international relations and regional stabilisation but as a consequence of regional and national forces actively pursuing and including tourism in their development strategies. The tourism industry in Vietnam has a huge number of stakeholders involved, from local tour operators to multilateral lending institutions, from government ministries to private sector interest groups. The government is the central player in Vietnam's tourism industry, but even the government is subject to substantial regional influences, either through its increasing trade commitments, such as its recent ascension to the WTO, through its participation in regional plans, such as the GMS Tourism Sector Strategy or through its general adoption of a high growth, increasingly neoliberal growth strategy. The regionalisation of the GMS has given rise to a strong forms of civil society movements.

Growing Civil Society Reaction to Neoliberal Policies

The regionalisation of the GMS has not only seen the development of large scale, growth orientated development strategies, but also an increase of criticism of neoliberal policy from NGOs and Civil Society Organisations. Much of the criticism can be seen as a reaction to the negative economic, environmental and social impacts of the dominant high growth philosophies in the GMS. Organisations range from small locally based NGOs to large independent news agencies focusing on development across the region.

One notable initiative which is creating awareness of the negative effects of tourism is the programme known as Our Mekong: A Vision Amid Globalisation. This is a media fellowship programme for GMS nationals covering trans-boundary issues in the GMS. Since its inception in 2002 over 100 journalists have participated in the programme and produced a growing body of literature on development issues. Some examples include *Balancing Heritage and Development in Luang Prabang*, which covers the commercialisation of the traditional daily alms giving ceremonies of the Duangsavan's Buddhists. The story highlights the benefits of the area becoming a world heritage site, versus the cultural decay of the area. One local historian and cultural expert states, "The city is full of restaurant and internet cafes, and even the decoration in front of the shops look like western countries...is this the right way of development?" (Malikaew, 2006, p.2).

Another article which looks at the more positive side of tourism is entitled *Tourism Offers Irrawaddy Dolphins Protection, and Farmers Income*. This article illustrates how tourism has led to growing awareness of the importance and the dangerous decline of the Irrawaddy Dolphin, mainly due to the effects of war in Cambodia and fishing practices, such as explosives and grill nets, and, consequently to the creation of protected areas. The article shows over 51 local communities, local NGOs and provincial authorities working together on the issue. Other articles, documentaries, books and reports produced through the Our Mekong initiative cover issues such as environmental and social effects of large infrastructure projects, migrant workers rights, human trafficking, the drug trade, prostitution and social decay, and generally illustrate the effects of the huge pace of change in the GMS of which tourism is a major contributing factor.

Many of local CSOs in the region are working together with international organisations to try and affect policy in the region. A recent example which epitomises the conflict between large scale, top-down development and the growing civil society based influence is the ADB's attempt to upgrade its three safeguard policies. The new Safeguard Policy Statement (SPS) is to be a consolidation of the three existing policies including Environment Policy (2002), Policy on Involuntary Resettlement (1995), and Policy on Indigenous People (1998). A draft SPS was released in October 2007 and since then there

has been a strong, negative reaction from International NGOs such as Oxfam and Environmental Law Alliance through to national NGO organisations.

The new draft has been reviewed as substantially weaker in many areas, despite the ADB's public guarantee that it would not lead to the downgrading or elimination of any social or environmental protections (Fried, 2007, p.7). Criticism has come from a wide group of NGOs including the Bank Information Center, Center for International Environmental Law, Environmental Defence Fund, the Forest Peoples Programme, and the International Accountability Project.

The proposed SPS is criticised in a range of areas. Controversial changes include: the elimination of the requirement that environmental assessment be carried out before any loan approval, and the prerequisite that assessments be made on indirect and cumulative impacts of the proposed project. The rationale for these changes is that the borrower would be responsible for these areas. Other alarming issues include: free prior informed consent has been changed to free prior informed consultation when it comes to social and environmental rights. It should be noted that this is in direct opposition to the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Communities which includes free prior informed consent (Withanage, 2007, p.3); nothing in the new safeguards requires inclusion of gender issues despite the ADBs mandate that if a project has the potential to "correct gender disparities or significantly mainstream gender concerns" it is classified as Gender and Development (GAD) and requires a specialist to undertake a detailed gender assessment (Fried, 2007, p.9); the removal of the 120-day disclosure period which was used for public consultation and various assessment such as EIAs or SIAs. Overall, these changes generally try to shift the responsibility of the proposed projects solely on the borrower. According to some ADB officials, the changes reduce ADB's ability to ensure compliance as "the entire thing is unclear, filled with vague language, with a lack of clear statements about exactly what is required and how requirements will be operationalized" (Fried, 2007, p.7).

A group of NGOs in Burma wrote a letter to the ADB on the SPS in February 2006. Below is an excerpt:

Since the ADB has significant involvement in pushing specific controversial economic development projects in the country, such as the Asian Highway of the “East-West Economic Corridor” and the Ta Sang Dam of the “Mekong Power Grid” it is crucial that the ADB uphold environmental and social standards for these projects. For the Burma section of the Asian Highway, no social or environmental impact assessments have been completed or made publicly available. Moreover, local communities living in the project area in Burma have not been consulted about the project. Additionally, ERI has received concerning reports of forced labour related to the highway (Earthrights International, 2006, p.2)

This letter was produced by Earthrights International working with a range of Burmese NGOs such as Image Asia Environment, Karen Environment and Social Action Network. In early March, ADB attempted a consultation meeting on the proposed social policy updates. The meeting was almost universally boycotted by NGOs in the region (apart from three) on the grounds that the draft is a “step backwards for donor accountability, transparency, the rights of indigenous persons, housing rights and the environment” (BIC, 2008, p.1). The ADB has now agreed to the demands of the NGOs in the region and produced a new second draft (the outcome of this draft is yet to be seen). The ability of NGOs to influence the ADB in this case can be seen as a significant progress in terms of the creating of mechanisms for those in civil society to influence the top-down, centrally planned style found in the region. This mechanism for influencing the type of growth happening in the region is essential if tourism is to develop along a path which is sustainable and reflective of local context.

Criticism from Above

Much of the criticism of the bias towards growth in the GMS has come from NGOs, civil society organisations, independent development institutions and specialised agencies which focus on aspects such as human trafficking, aids, child sex and similar social issues. However, in July 2007, the United Nations Environmental Program released a report entitled Greater Mekong Environmental Outlook 2007. The report has been quoted as

ground breaking (Macan-Marker, 2007, p.1). as it provides criticism of the growth agenda by highlighting that despite huge growth rates, poverty is still prevalent and the income gap between the poor and rich in these countries is increasing.

The Greater Mekong Environmental Outlook 2007 (UNEP, 2007) highlights the disproportionate dependence that the poor have on the environment (p.66) and then identifies four main areas of growing concern: air, as a major public health threat, with the associated treatment costs being a potentially serious drain of public finances for GMS countries; land, with population growth and other factors causing per capita allocation to fall by over 11% between 1990 and 2003; water, although not suffering from water shortages as a region, many localised problems have occurred, as stated “rapid urbanisation and infrastructure development are putting pressure on existing water and sanitation systems, causing localised water shortages and pollution” (p.4); and lastly biodiversity, which again faces serious threats from population growth and human activity. The report does show that there are many national initiatives in place to counteract these problems but concludes that “neither traditional systems nor conventional economic planning have been able to protect the rights of the poor in the face of large scale changes” (p.68). This conclusion seems almost contradictory to the promise made in the GMS tourism sector strategy that the poor will be the primary beneficiaries in planning and owning their future. The environmental report also highlights the range of potential negative environmental effects if large scale infrastructure projects, often driven partly by tourism, are not planned properly.

Thus, from the evidence identified above, we can see tourism in the region does enter an environment of economic centred growth, making the potential for tourism to become pro poor extremely difficult. However, we should not assume that PPT cannot exist in this context. The main problem for tourism to become more pro poor is the lack of social mechanisms for civil society to voice their concerns and impact decision which affect their lives, especially given the centrally planned governance structures in the area. However, tourism can be seen as an avenue for these mechanisms to start to take root, perhaps not through western styles of democracy but through the growing network of NGOs, news agencies, and civil society groups which are coming together and are

gaining strength through their ability to highlight the gross inequities of purely economically determined strategies. The main concern is that the pace of growth in the region is too fast for these mechanisms to take place. This is especially relevant to tourism, given the growth rate of the industry and the high targeted number of tourists that government strategies wish to obtain.

Conclusion

Despite a seeming consensus at the level of rhetoric on the need, importance, and opportunities for PPT, there are several problems when it comes to the implementation stage. Firstly, PPT often has to be applied to growth orientated types of development found throughout the world and especially in the GMS. This provides a substantial problem as true PPT requires many elements such as participation, and in depth analysis on the social and environmental effects of tourism, which can be in conflict with rapid economic growth. However, in the GMS there is a rising civil society movement which provides an opportunity and mechanism for those affected by the changes in their society to hold those implementing tourism strategies to account, thus providing possible opportunities of PPT to be implemented in an effective way.

The Vietnamese tourism industry in particular has followed a unique path due to its turbulent history and relatively recent opening up of its economy. The tourism industry has been centrally driven and is recently under pressure from the increasing regionalisation of the Greater Mekong Subregion. In order to analyse this dynamic context in more depth, this research now looks specifically at Vietnam and the chosen field site of this research, Lang Co.

Chapter 4: A Nation in Transition

Introduction

Vietnam is a country with a tragic past and has been a site used for geo-political posturing since 1004 when the Chinese occupied the territory for most of a millennium. More recently Vietnam was under French rule as part of French Indochina from 1858 to 1945, and then gained independence following World War II only to be taken through a regional war with the French which divided it into the independent North Vietnam, led by Ho Chi Minh, and the French protectorate South Vietnam. This formed the setting of the extremely bloody American War which ended with the Communist North taking control of the South. Vietnam became officially reunified in 1975 as a country that had seen over a century of foreign occupation and nearly three decades of intense civil war, in which there were over two million casualties and much of the physical and environmental infrastructure was destroyed (Irvin, 1995, p726). This history of foreign occupation and conflict has marred Vietnam's development leaving a heavy environmental, economic and social impact, not to mention political isolation from much of the western world for some years.

However, today Vietnam is one of the fastest growing economies in the world; it has a growing role in regional and global politics, as can be seen by the joining of ASEAN in 1995 and the WTO in 2005, and is one of the first countries in the world to reach Goal One of the MDGs of reducing poverty by half (Socialist Republic of Vietnam, 2005, p14). This dynamic country has also become a recent hot spot for tourists, with a thriving local tourism industry. This dramatically changing social, environmental and political landscape provides the setting for this research.

This chapter will firstly, provide a short recent history of Vietnam, following its reunification in 1975, with a focus on the innovative Doi Moi policies which have led to the country becoming increasingly liberalised in many ways and provided an opening for its now thriving tourism industry. This chapter will then provide an analysis of Vietnam today, with an overview of its people, politics and the development situation.

Lastly, the chapter focuses on the province and town of the field research site, Lang Co. This section will look at the development of the area, the socio-economic setting and why this area was chosen to assess opportunities and barriers to creating linkages with the mainstream tourism industry.

Short History

From Reunification to Doi Moi (1975 – 1986)

Following the fall of Saigon in 1975, Hanoi eliminated the ruling body in South Vietnam and began an aggressive reform process of reunification in line with its socialist philosophy. The reform process included every sector with a special focus on collectivisation of agriculture in the South (John, 2006, p21). Collectivising the South faced many problems as government socialist systems were set up quickly and not adequately planned, leading to a build up of distrust from the general population in the South. Hanoi in turn viewed this dissatisfaction of new systems as counter revolutionary and often used force to try to eliminate any individualistic elements (often through means such as ‘education camps’, or labour camps) (Altmann, 1995, p76).

In 1976 the Fourth Party Congress, set a goal for complete social transformation of the South by 1980 (John, 2006, p.22). This was an ambitious, and some would say unrealistic goal, which faced many problems, not only in terms of difficulty of changing the South which had for a long time been the centre of open trade for the Vietnam, but also in the context of worsening international relations. One major event is the invasion of Kampuchea (now known as Cambodia) in late December 1978. This invasion and subsequent occupation of Kampuchea did not only divert scarce resources from a government trying to undertake dramatic changes but worsened relations with the Chinese who were supporting the Khmer Rouge in Kampuchea at the time. Relations with the Chinese continued to disintegrate to the point where all Chinese aid was cut off and there was a short but bloody invasion into the Northern provinces of Vietnam, leaving a large amount of destruction in their wake (Jeffries, 2006, p.5). Coupled with these factors was the trade embargo of Vietnam, carried out under the influence of the

United States, by all capitalist nations which not only greatly affected trade but meant the drying up of aid which amounted to over US\$350 million annually. This made Vietnam solely reliant on the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) countries³

In short, at the end of the 1970s, a reunified Vietnam found itself supporting a large army in the field under conditions of severe foreign exchange shortages, failing production and rising inflation. Vietnam was isolated diplomatically and faced a deep economic and political crisis (Irvin, 1995, p777).

A good indication of the severity of the situation was that despite being a nation in which over 80 percent of the population lived in rural areas and with agriculture accounting for over 50 percent of GDP, Vietnam was forced to import over 5.6 million tons of food in the period 1976-1980 (John, 2006, p.27).

By the beginning of the 1980s it was acknowledged that the rush to immediately impose a socialist system on the South was not working and more subtle economic reforms were introduced (John, 2006, p.46). One such reform was an experiment of an output contract system known as Contract 101. Contract 101 gave more autonomy to peasants in terms of control over the agricultural system. Through a cooperative, land was allocated to individual farmers. Inputs were provided from the cooperative and farmers did have to produce a quota; however, any surplus - above the pre-established quota level the individual farmer produced – farmers were able to sell in the free market. Contract 101 produced extremely positive results. From 1982-1987, rice production grew at 2.8 percent per annum as opposed to 1.9 percent per annum in the period 1976-1981, this meant an increase of 2.5 million tons in the South and over 2 million tons in the North from 1982 to 1987 (John, 2006, p.46). Although limited in scope, and tenuous in nature, Contract 101 “represented a virtual revolution in official thinking on collective agriculture” (p.46) and was the first of many experiments in reform that was to be undertaken throughout the 1980s. The success of some of these reforms was one of the key factors for the major change in 1986.

Concerned with the possible directions some of these reforms were taking, the Vietnamese government tried to introduce various measures to stem the ‘reformist

³ The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance was an economic organisation of communist states which began in 1949 and ended with the fall of the Soviet Union.

tendency' by attempting to eliminate elements such as private trading and continuing to enforce collectivisation of agriculture in the South. This produced much conflict and in the South, between 1984 and 1985 many farmers destroyed their crops and abandoned farming altogether. Meanwhile, the economic situation was steadily getting worse. Inflation continued to rise at an alarming rate; 166 per cent for the period 1980-85 (Irvin, 1995, p778). After the Eighth Plenum of the Fifth Central Committee in 1985, many reforms were introduced such as abolishing state subsidies. Many of the changes did not help the economy and in the following year the economic condition of the country got progressively worse. Again this can be seen in inflation, from September 1985 to September 1986, inflation rose 700 percent (John, 2006, p50). By the latter part of the 1980s, it was clear that the imposed reforms were not reunifying Vietnam in an effective manner. This set the scene for the Doi Moi (Renovation) reforms which indicated a substantial shift away from the hard line socialist transformation goals of the late 1970s and would be the central influence in Vietnam becoming progressively liberalised, and a major player on the global scene that Vietnam is today.

From Doi Moi to WTO (1986 – 2005)

At the sixth National Party Congress in December 1986 Nguyen Van Linh was elected. Nguyen was considered very progressive and forward thinking and talked about the errors of the previous ten years and the need for 'complete and radical socio-economic transformation' (Jeffries, 2006, p.96). In the following years a policy of *Doi Moi* or renovation was introduced. Doi Moi focused on many areas, including: establishing the independent status of public enterprise; moving the economic system from state determined prices to market driven prices; encouragement of non-state ownership and providing incentives for partnership between the state, cooperatives and private enterprises; opening up certain areas of the economy for foreign partnerships and encouraging foreign direct investment; more emphasis on the agricultural sector rather than the original move towards duplicating the heavy industry based economy of the North; and lastly an effort to separate state banking and commercial banking (John, 2006, p.71).

One of the most dramatic and influential changes was the 1987 foreign investment law, considered to be one of the most liberal in Asia at the time. Despite the US-led embargo still being in place, by the end of 1989 Vietnam had granted investment licences worth over \$832 million, and had half of those projects already underway (p.75). This set the scene for further liberalising policies. In 1989 to 1990 another wave of more radical reforms was introduced. These changes included tightening monetary policy by dramatically reducing subsidies to state owned enterprises (which resulted in 800,000 layoffs in three years), and demobilising almost half a million troops mainly due to the withdrawal of troops from Kampuchea (Irvin, 1995, p.728). Another notable change was the introduction of Decree 10 in April 1988, which could be considered a further progression on Contract 101 previously mentioned. The law replaced compulsory grain-purchase quotas by free trade at market prices.

The changes had a dramatic effect, especially in terms of agricultural production. Vietnam had moved from having to import large amounts of rice in the late 1970s to becoming the world's third largest rice exporter in 1989 to 1990. Inflation was substantially reduced, falling from 310 percent to 79 percent from 1988-1989 and further to 30 percent in 1990 while GDP increased at a rate of 8 percent in the same period (Irvin, 1995, p.728).

One of the central factors moving Vietnam towards building wider international relations was the loss of support from the Soviet Union and its allies. In 1989 CMEA countries accounted for almost 60 percent of total imports and by 1991 this was reduced to five percent (Altmann, 1996, p.90). The fact that Vietnam achieved growth during this period shows the increased ability of the government to move away from concrete socialist views on development to plans which were more adaptive and congruent to the changing regional and global environment.

Throughout the 1990s Vietnam continued to adjust policies and open its borders towards a more neoliberal stance. Notable changes and major policy shifts include: The April 1993 decree which created new regulations for “contractual business cooperation, joint ventures, and enterprise with 100% foreign capital” (John, 2006, p.75) and establishing special tax rates for projects located in Vietnam; new land laws in 1993 which created much greater land use rights in terms of renting out, transferring and mortgaging land use

certificates; the U.S government ended its opposition to loans from international financial lending institutions in 1993, and lifted the U.S trade embargo in 1994; continuous privatisation of State Owned Enterprises (SOE); and most notably Vietnam gained entrance into the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 1995.

The mid to late 1990s saw the first real test of the Doi Moi policy reform process. Foreign investment pledges fell by 50% between 1996 and 1997 (John, 2006, p.105) the first reduction in a decade, GDP and export growth both reduced in the same period (Pham, 2004, p.20), the Asian economic crisis began, and despite falling in 1997, inflation grew every month in the following year, plus there was increasing trade deficit problem, \$4.16 billion in 1996 which was an increase of 70% on the previous year (GSO, 2006). The international financial community responded by increasing pressure on Vietnam to speed up its economic reforms:

The global donor community, meeting in Paris in December 1998, endorsed the concept of aid conditionality, tying \$500 million in potential Vietnamese assistance to the adoption of an accelerated doi moi program (John, 2006, p144).

This period of turmoil brought to light the conflict between Vietnam maintaining its sovereignty with regard to deciding its own trajectory and the increasing susceptibility to global pressure when pursuing a neo liberal development stance.

By the end of the 1990s the crisis was over and Vietnam continued to grow in most areas. Despite continuing economic reforms, Vietnam still maintained state authority and kept measures in place such as providing incentives for certain state owned enterprises and placing restrictions on certain imports (Painter, 2005, p264). Even though there was a slight decrease in growth Vietnam continued building international relations through this period as can be seen by the joining of Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation group (APEC) on November 14th 1998.

From 2000 to 2005 Vietnam continued its reform process and continued strengthening international relations and creating an environment for stronger economic growth, averaging 7.8% between 2001 and 2005 (IMF, 2007, p52). A number of new laws and policies continued to be introduced. One such law was the Enterprise Law in 2000 which

led to 56,000 enterprises becoming newly registered by 2002 (Painter, 2005, p.264). The Vietnamese government also tried to accelerate economic growth and create an environment more likely to induce investment by increasing its spending on infrastructure. In 2000, 41 per cent of all state investment was spent on electricity, gas and water supply plus transport, storage and communication, compared to 22 per cent in 1993 (Beresford, 2008, p.228).

Vietnam managed to turn this economic growth into real benefits for different sectors of society. The national poverty rate fell from 58.1% in 1993 to 28.9 % in 2002 (Abbot, 2006, p2) and the percentage of the population living under \$1 US dollar a day slid from 40 percent to under 10 percent over the same period (p.2). The continuing agrarian reforms and growing trade relations have produced rapid growth in many areas, especially exports, such as rice, coffee (from 19 thousand tons to 768 thousand tons in 2005), cashew nuts, rubber, tea and pepper (Abbot, 2006, p.8).

Vietnam also has a growing civil society movement within which there is a higher degree of participatory approaches and democratic structures, although this is mostly focused at the commune level. The Vietnamese government has introduced a number of new laws and amendments in line with its goals of a socialist democracy. Some include the 'Law on Elections of Members of National Assembly' (1997), 'Law on Elections of People's Council (2003), and the 'Law on Citizen's Claims and Denunciations' (1998) (Minh, 2004, p.9). In May 1998 (later amended in 2003) the government issued the Grassroots Democratic Decree, formed in order to facilitate more participation at the commune level, broadly based on Ho Chi Minh's saying "the people know, the people discuss, the people do and the people monitor" (PPWG, 2007, p.5). This has led to the formation of groups such as the People's Participation Working Group (PPWG) and an increased interest in democratic systems. However, it should be noted there is little evidence showing the effect this decree has had on the ground level.

There are also a growing number of Vietnamese and international NGOs (iNGOs) working in Vietnam. During the 1990s with the easing of trade restrictions and the building of international relations, the numbers of iNGOs grew dramatically. In 1998 there was only one iNGO with a representative in Hanoi and by 1999 the number of

iNGO offices in Vietnam had grown to 42, with over 220 iNGO obtaining permits to work in Vietnam (Nguyen, 2001, p.15).

On the 11th of January 2007 Vietnam formally gained accession to the World Trade Organisation (WTO). The process of gaining entry began over a decade prior, in 1995 (Abbott, 2006, p.2). By 2000 Vietnam had negotiated over 129 either bilateral agreements or MFN tariff agreements (p6). The final bilateral agreement was negotiated in 2006 with a working party including 63 countries. In most cases, the period following the establishment of any of the various trade agreements has led to substantial growth in exports and imports from the country. Following a bilateral trade agreement with the U.S. in 2000, Vietnam's exports grew to \$6.5 billion in 2005, making the U.S. Vietnam's second largest export destination. This is a substantial change given that just over a decade prior Vietnam was still under a trade embargo led by the U.S.

Thus we can see that Vietnam has experienced significant changes in many areas since the start of Doi Moi. Below are several figures illustrating the dramatic changes that Vietnam has undergone with a focus on the last fifteen years.

The figures show several important trends. Firstly they show Vietnam has 'grown' significantly in many areas including population, foreign direct investment, state owned enterprises, gross domestic product and incomes, in all regions (Figures 4.2, 4.1 and 4.3). They also show that the growth in some areas is unequal and there is growing inequality

The monthly income per quintile graph shows the dramatic difference in growth of the highest and lowest income quintile (Figure 4.4). Between 1995 and 2004 the highest income quintile increased its monthly income by 663,000 VND per month while the lowest income quintile only increased by 67,000 VND per month. Large disparities can also be found between the growth and declining poverty rates of urban and rural areas as can be seen in Figures 4.3 and 4.5.

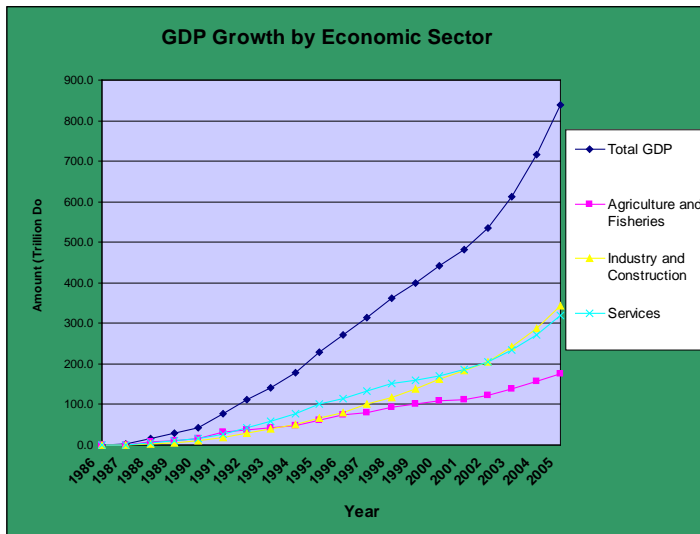


Figure 4.1: GDP growth by economic sector. (Source: GSO, 2006)

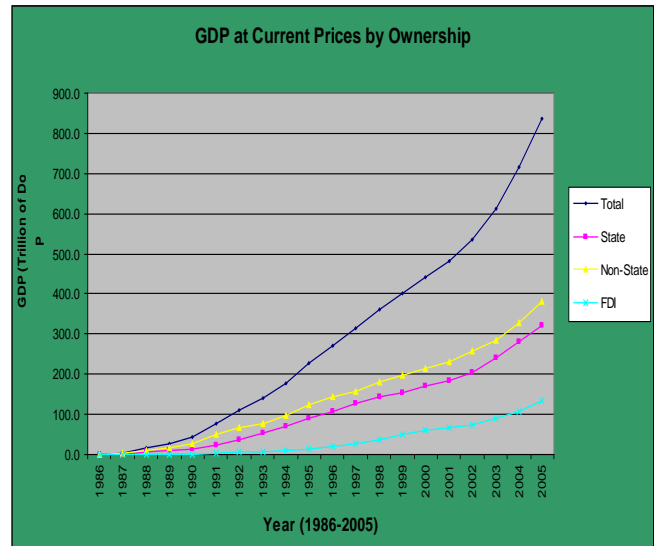


Figure 4.2: GDP growth by state, FDI and private sectors (Source: GSO, 2006)

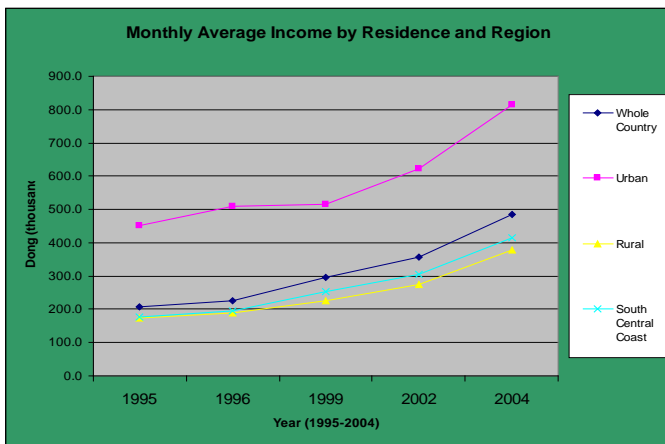


Figure 4.3: Monthly income by area of residence. (Source: GSO, 2006)

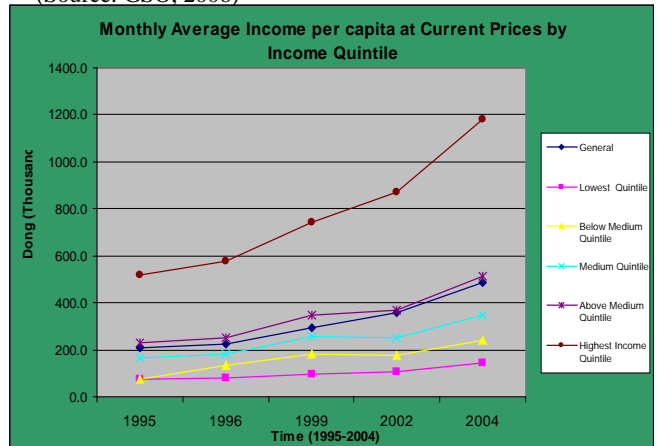


Figure 4.4: Income growth by income quintile. (Source: GSO, 2006)

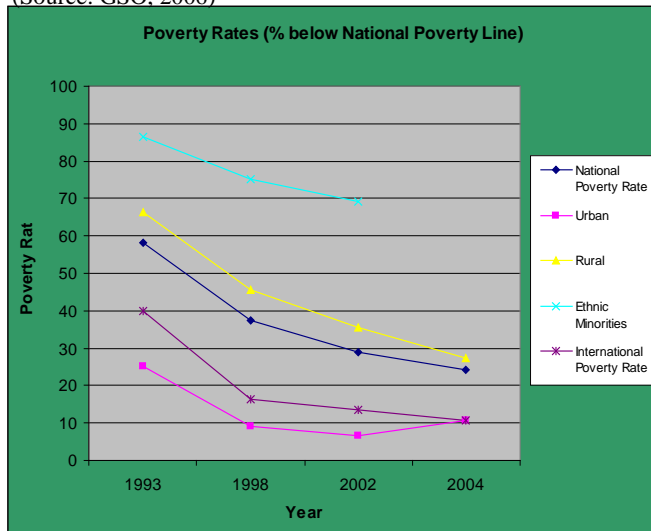


Figure 4.5: Poverty rates. (Source: GSO, 2006)

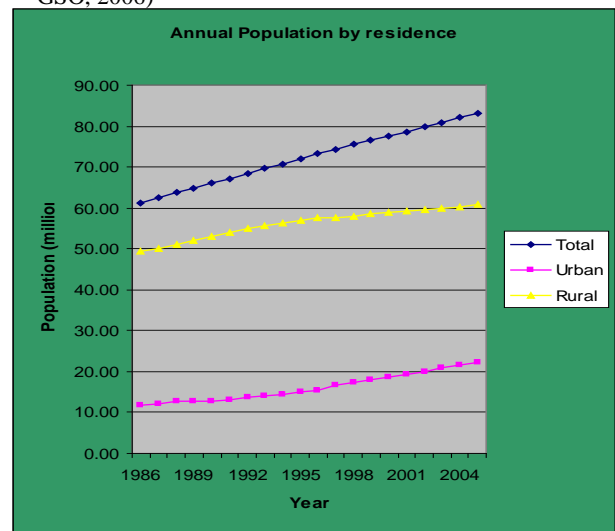


Figure 4.6: Population growth. (Source: GSO, 2006)

One other notable piece of information is the GDP by Ownership (Figure 4.2). It shows that despite mounting pressure for the international community, the state ownership contribution to the GDP is growing at a similar rate to foreign direct investment and private sector. This partly shows Vietnam's commitment to a 'socialist' market orientated democracy, and partly shows the governments' ability to adhere to its own philosophy of development.

Thus Vietnam today is very different from the war torn Vietnam following the American War or even from Vietnam before it introduced the innovative Doi Moi policies. Table 5.1, shown on the following page, includes key statistics that show the difference between 1986 (when Doi Moi was first implemented) and 2005 (last year from which many statistics are available).

In short, Vietnam over the past three decades has undergone many dramatic changes. It has moved from a period of extended foreign occupation to intense civil war to a country with an extended period of peace. It has moved from hardline socialist policy to a country with a unique mix of one party control and an increasing liberalising economy. It has moved from political isolation to becoming an influential member of many regional and global organisations such the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and more recently the World Trade Organisation (WTO). In many key development indicators, Vietnam has shown dramatic improvement, most notable being the first country in the world to achieve Millennium Development Goal One of reducing the international poverty rate of \$1 a day (PPP) to half.

However, Vietnam still has significant challenges ahead of it. Substantial improvements are still to be made in areas of secondary school education rate, with only 68% of the population completing upper secondary school, and child malnutrition rates are still high with 32% of children underweight. There is growing inequity between rural and urban areas (90 percent of the poor live in rural areas), rich and poor, regional growth disparities and large inequity between various ethnic groups (UNDP, 2005, p65).

Key socio - economic indicators 2005 over 1986

	1986	2005	Growth Rate
Average population (Mill. pers.)	61.1	83.1	1.4
Urban	11.8	22.3	1.9
Rural	49.3	60.8	1.2
GDP at constant 1994 prices (Trill. Dongs)	109.2	393.0	3.6
GDP per capita at exchange rate (USD)	86^(*)	638	5.4
Investment at constant 1994 prices (Trill.dongs)	15.3	212.0	13.9
Output value of agriculture, forestry and fishery at constant 1994 prices (Trill. dongs)	65.1	182.0	2.8
Agriculture	54.2	137.1	2.5
Forestry	4.2	6.3	1.5
Fishery	6.7	38.6	5.8
Output value of industry at constant 1994 prices (Trill. dongs)	43.5	416.9	9.6
FDI project licensed			
Number of projects	38 ^(*)	922	24.3
Total registered capital (Mill.USD)	322 ^(*)	6339	19.7
Exports and imports of goods (Bill. USD)	3.0	69.4	23.1
Exports	0.8	32.4	40.5
Imports	2.2	37.0	16.8
Kindergarten education			
Number of schools (Thous. Schools)	6.8	10.9	1.6
Number of pupils (Mill. Pupils)	1.8	2.4	1.3
General education			
Number of schools (Thous. Schools)	13.7	27.2	2.0
Number of teachers (Thous. Persons)	426.2	777.9	1.8
Number of pupils (Mill. Pupils)	12.5	16.8	1.3
University and college			
Number of schools	96	230 ^(**)	2.4
Number of students (Thous. Students)	91.2	729.4 ^(**)	8.0
Professional secondary education			
Number of schools	292	285 ^(**)	1.0
Number of teachers (Thous. Persons)	11.28	13.9 ^(**)	1.2
Number of pupils (Thous. Pupils)	135.8	365.0 ^(**)	2.7
Number of Health establishments (Thous. units)	11.8	13.1^(**)	1.1
Number of doctors (Thous. Pers)	19.9	50.1^(**)	2.5
Doctor per 10000 inhabitants	3.3	6.1^(**)	1.9

Table 4.1: Key socioeconomic indicators 1986 and 2005 (Source: GSO, 2006)

Nationally, Vietnam faces the challenge of balancing rapid and large scale globalisation and regionalisation in terms of foreign direct investment, and an increasingly liberalised macroeconomic structure. It has to face an increasing number of commitments to international groups and organisations with maintaining its own sovereignty and control of the country in a manner that is both reflective of its culture, history and needs and wants of its people. It is in this dynamic, some would say tumultuous, context that a tourism industry has grown to a size of significant levels. This research will attempt to look at ways in which this industry can be used to help reduce poverty and social inequity.

Lang Co

Lang Co is located at the southern end of the Thua Thien Hue province, which is located on the central east coast of Vietnam as can be seen in Figure 4.7. Thua Thien is a province made famous by its capital city, Hue. Hue was the capital of Vietnam's last dynasty the Nguyen Dynasty (1802-1945) (Che, 1962, p.111) and thus has significant historical importance and is home to a large number of tombs, relics and the world famous Citadel. Thua Thien Hue's heritage has caused tourism to be a major industry in the region and the socioeconomic development plan for the province aims to make tourism the top industry by 2010.

The strategy aims for the province to receive over 2.5 million international tourists by 2010 and achieve a growth rate, in terms of revenue, of 32% between 2006 and 2010 (SNV, 2006, p.1).

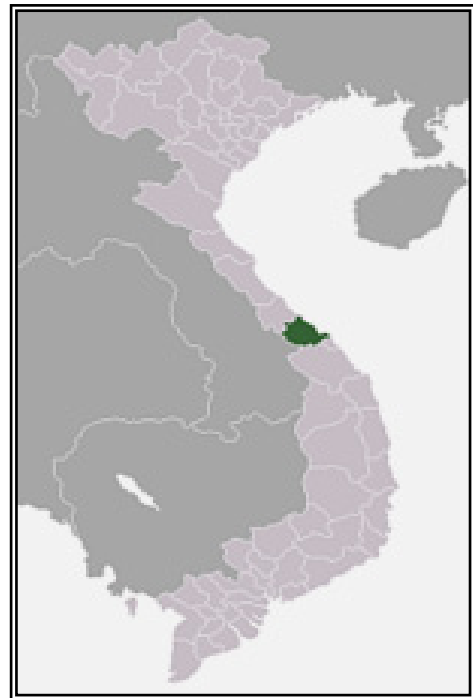


Figure 4.7: Thua Thien Hue province



Figure 4.8: Lang Co – Thua Thien Hue

Lang Co itself is a small town, with a population of just over 10,000 located on the South Eastern tip of Thua Thien province (as in figure 4.12). Lang Co is in somewhat of a transitional phase moving from small scale agriculture and fishing towards more trade and services with tourism identified as a major focus of development. The township currently has several small to medium scale resort operations in the area and a large number of family owned restaurants/ guesthouses. It is located on the main route between Hanoi and HCMC and thus has considerable amounts of people passing through the area on a daily basis. Many of the restaurants make a significant proportion of their money from tourist buses stopping for lunch. However, for the traveller who wishes to stay overnight there are a limited number of facilities, especially if one is not staying at one of the resorts. Despite growth with recent developments such as new resorts and the Hai Van tunnel, which makes it substantially easier to travel between Danang and Hue, Lang Co remains poor in some areas with an estimated 16% or 200 households living in poverty, (SNV, 2006, p2).

Lang Co was identified as a site for future tourism development for several reasons. The area has significant potential for tourism development, both in terms of natural capital and in terms of its location. Some of the natural capital features include: waterfalls, freshwater streams, 23 km of beaches, mountainous background, Lap An Lagoon, and it is located on the northern end of Hai Van (Sea Cloud) pass. It is positioned just between the old imperial capital of Hue (1.1 million people) and Da Nang (2 million people),

within 40km of two airports (Phu Bai and Da Nang), and is directly on the Trans-Vietnam railway. It is also located close to two large ports (Da Nang and Chang May) and is close to the Lao Bao border gate. It is also located near the end of the GMS East-West economic corridor (see figure 4.13).

The East–West economic corridor is a \$2.5 billion (US) Asia Development Bank (ADB) project, intended to increase trade and promote development within the Greater Mekong



Figure 4.9: East-West economic corridor (ADB, 2002, p.12)

Sub-region (GMS). It is a 1,450km road which stretches from eastern Burma to Thua Thien Hue province in Vietnam. The major components of this highway were due to be completed in 2007. This is part of the GMS tourism sector strategy previously mentioned.

Lang Co is an ideal location to assess the connection between mainstream tourism and poverty reduction as it has been zoned as a tourist resort area. There are several smaller scale resorts established in the area with many planned and under construction. One major project is The Laguna, an international class tourism and service complex, worth over US\$1 billion. This massive complex is a foreign owned initiative, by the Singaporean Banyan Tree Group, and is due to be completed by the end of 2014. In a recent press release some of the plans for the area were released:

The first stage, to be finished by 2009, includes two five-star hotels, the Banyan Tree and Angsana Resort with 440 rooms, and the Laguna Holiday Club with 180 rooms. In the second phase of the project, two more five-star hotels of 400 rooms each are to be built, along with an 18-hole golf course, exhibition and convention center, shopping area and accommodations (Thua Thien Hue, 2007, p.1).

The Banyan Tree Group project is the largest but only one of many investments going into the area as part of the Chang May-Lang Co Economic Zone. The Chang May-Lang Co economic zone, as can be seen in Figure 4.14, is the most recently approved and

central master plan for Lang Co and the neighbouring Chang May areas. The Lang Co tourist area includes a range of long term developments including golf courses, sea world and ecological parks, green parks, land for tourist centers, residential areas, schools, trade centers and hotels/resorts. According to the Thua Thien Hue center for tourism trade and investment, this economic zone has attracted 30 investment projects with a total capital of US\$1.66 billion. This type of ambitious planning is reflective of tourism planning in other regions of Vietnam and in other parts of South East Asia.



Figure 4.10: Chan May – Lang Co Economical Zone. (Source: Socialist Republic of Vietnam, 2006)

The third reason for selecting this area is that some PPT research has already been conducted in the area by the Dutch aid organisation SNV. From this, Lang Co has been identified as an area for which future developmental initiatives could take place (SNV, 2007). This research hopes to build on this information and contribute in the planning process by providing qualitative data on the possibility of creating linkages between the mainstream tourism industry and poor local communities.

Summary

The context in which this research attempts to analyse tourism as a poverty reduction strategy is an extremely complicated and dynamic one. However, it does have many elements which can be found in other countries, particularly those in the region. Vietnam is a country which has come out of a long period of conflict and foreign occupation. It is a country experiencing large scale and rapid changes and it is a country dealing with determining its own development path while becoming increasingly intertwined with global and regional pressures.

The growth of the tourism industry, in many ways, epitomises the growth challenges and the type of development Vietnam is facing. Tourism is an industry that has actively been pursued by the Vietnamese government as a means of achieving its own growth objectives. It is an industry growing at an astonishing rate and an industry that has stakeholders from almost all sectors, from construction to labour, and is influenced from many different levels, from global lending institutions to private sector organisations to communes, public committees and ministries.

The small coastal town of Lang Co in particular reflects this type of development and associated pressures. The town is in a transitional phase from traditional livelihood strategies, such as fishing, to trade and services. It faces immediate and large scale changes with a number of substantial infrastructure projects, such as the east west corridor, and a rapidly expanding tourism industry, with developments such as the billion dollar Laguna Resort. The small town has great capacity for implementing PPT growth strategies, especially with regard to its substantial tourism potential due to its location, abundant natural capital and already strong reputation as an ideal beach getaway. It provides the ideal setting to look at ways in which linkages can be made from this growing industry to the poorer parts of the community in order to encourage growth with equity and poverty reduction.

Chapter 5: Methodology

Introduction

This research seeks to add to the growing literature on PPT techniques, with a focus on a growing, liberalizing, South East Asian economy. The research used a mix of qualitative and quantitative approaches. The research was divided in to two phases, firstly, the social mapping⁴, which used only qualitative techniques and secondly the value chain analysis which requires a mix of these both qualitative and quantitative. As stated by Punch (2005) the main differences in these approaches is the purpose; “quantitative research thought to be more concerned with deductive testing of hypothesis and theories whereas qualitative is more concerned with exploring a topic, and inductively generating hypothesis and theories” (Punch, 2005, p.235).

This research sought to explore the PPT topic of creating linkages between the main stream tourism industry and poorer local communities. It did this through looking at a small town on the central east coast of Vietnam, Lang Co. The case study approach was chosen for a number of reasons: firstly, since this research sought to analyse a link between two parts of a community (mainstream tourism industry, poorer communities) a specific location had to be chosen; secondly, given the scope of a Master’s research project, a small village directly correlated with the objectives and constraints of the research. As Punch (2005) puts it “The case study aims to understand the case in depth, and its natural setting, recognizing its complexity and context”. A more in depth analysis on why this particular area was chosen was explored in Chapter 4: A Nation in Transition.

This chapter starts off with a short introduction to the research site. It then looks at ethical processes, before the research and during the research, and includes sections on gaining research permission and using research assistants. This chapter then looks at field work methods. This includes the social mapping and semi-structured interviews and the VCA. Lastly, an assessment of methodological strengths and weaknesses of the research.

⁴ The term social mapping is used as the objective of this initial phase was to gain a basic socio-economic overview of the area, where the poorer villages were located, and the livelihood strategies within those areas.

Research Site

Lang Co, a small town located on the central east coast of Vietnam (see figure 4.12), was the chosen site for this study. The villages within Lang Co were selected through a review of secondary resources (SNV, 2006) and interviews with a variety of stakeholders such as members of the local Commune People's Committee (CPC) and SNV advisors. An analysis of the local context and justification of this particular site is covered in more detail in Chapter 4: A Nation in Transition.

Essentially I was seeking to include the four poorest villages in Lang Co. These were: Lang Chai (1), located on the southern end of the Lang Co peninsular, Hoi Dua (2) and Hoi Mit (3), located on the south west side of Lap An Lagoon; and Thuyen Loi (4) which is a smaller sub-village of Lap An village, located on the north east side of Lap An Lagoon. Two other areas also had considerable poverty. These were the mussel shell village (5) and the relocation area (6). The rest of the areas are classified as transitional villages, meaning there was a wide range of livelihoods and socio economic levels. These areas are predominately located along side the main road running through the center of Lang Co and only interviews with key stakeholders, such as the village priest or the village leader, were conducted there.

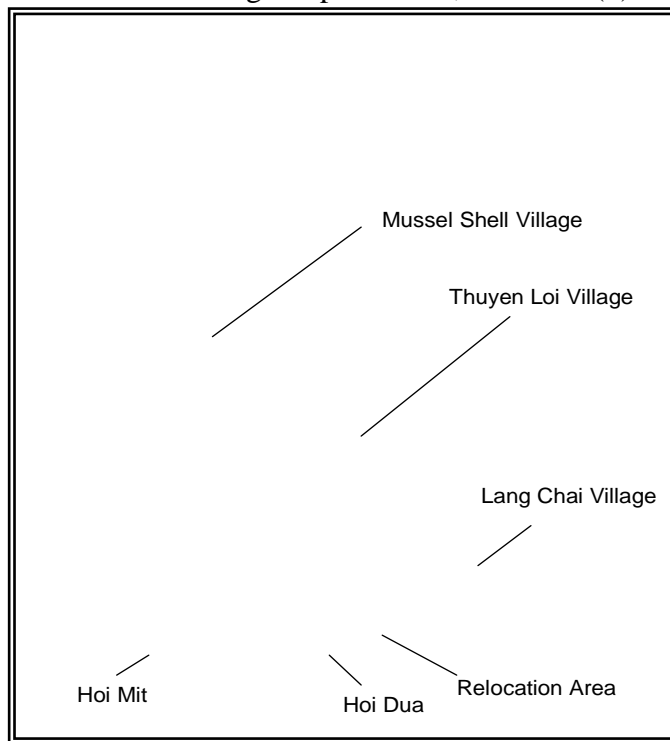


Figure 5.1: Lang Co township (Source: SNV, 2006, p.3)

Ethical Process

Pre-departure Ethical Process

Prior to fieldwork, I undertook the Massey Universities ethical approval procedure. For me, the process consisted of three main phases.

1. Read the Code

The code is an 18 page hand book titled 'Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations Involving Human Participants'. The principles upon which the code is based on include: respect for persons; minimization of risk of harm, including risks to participants, researchers, groups, community, institutions and risk to Massey University; informed and voluntary consent; respect for privacy and confidentiality; avoidance of unnecessary deception; avoidance of conflict of interest, social and cultural sensitivity; and justice.

2. Peer Review Process

As part of the ethics process, Development Studies at Massey has an in-house ethics review system. This required me to submit my methodology and ethical considerations, and discuss this at a meeting with 2-3 academics from within my School. The academics present at the meeting were Associate Professor Regina Scheyvens (first supervisor), Dr Maria Borovnik (second supervisor) and Dr Rochelle Stewart-Withers. Many issues arose and were addressed during the meeting such as appropriate ways of obtaining informed consent, handling and security of information, research, and cultural and gender issues were reflected upon.

3. Submission of 'Notification Low Risk Research/Evaluation Involving Human Participants'

The final part of the ethics procedure was submission of an ethics evaluation form for approval by Massey University Human Ethics Committee (MUHEC). This was approved and granted low risk status on May 27th, 2007.

Ethics in Practice

During the fieldwork research, informed consent was obtained through the use of an information sheet and informed consent sheet, both of which were translated into Vietnamese. In most cases, oral consent was given after my research assistants went through and explained the information on both sheets. Information included who I was, the aims of the research and the rights of the interviewee.

Unless specifically requested, anonymity was maintained through assigning each interviewee with a title. This normally corresponded with their principle occupation such 'Fisherman 3' or with which village they lived in, 'Hoi Mit – Interview 2'. In most cases, when dealing with key informants and officials of organisations outside of Lang Co, such as SNV members, anonymity was not required.

Research Permission

In order to gain permission to interview people living in the township of Lang Co I had to go through a heavily bureaucratic process, this is not uncommon of foreign researches in Vietnam (Scott, 2005, p31). Firstly, I had to produce a letter of support from my university, an exact outline of what I intended to do, an accurate timeframe, a letter of support for the NGO I was working with (SNV), and ethics approvals. I also required letters of introduction to the District People's Committee (DPC), Commune People's Committee (CPC), Department of Tourism and the Department of Foreign Affairs which took over a week. Once this was done there was miscommunication between the Department of Foreign Affairs and the DPC on what was the exact process and my field research was delayed by another week. However, it should be noted that those involved with the process were very helpful and the problem lay in my lack of awareness of the

extent of documentation required and also my lack of awareness of the central role the DPC plays in almost everything official.

Research Assistants

In conducting the research I sought the help of two research assistants from the provincial capital Hue. The two research assistants were female graduates from the local College of Economics and were identified through contacts with SNV, the NGO I was collaborating with⁵. Both had just completed a mini thesis on a tourism-related topic which involved doing fieldwork themselves. The use of educated RAs, that had research experience, proved invaluable, especially since both RAs had an interest in PPT and could relate to the goals of the research.

The issue of using female translators did not prove to be an impediment as almost all those interviewed did not express any discomfort in the interview situation and most seemed happy to be participating. However, this could be partly due to a tendency of Vietnamese to laugh and joke when they feel uncomfortable. In one particular situation, an older Vietnamese woman told a story about her son who had died as they could not afford health care. I felt that the female RAs in this situation were able to empathize more than a more male RA could have, and handled the incident in a very professional manner.

The use of two RAs (rather than one) was related to overcoming the implications of a young female heading to out of town (Hue) with a foreign male. Using two RAs proved useful in many respects including quickly gathering data on locations of villages or particular households, translating documents or information faster and generally a more enjoyable atmosphere of a group with shared goals overcoming obstacles and achieving success in many respects.

The use of translators initially brought some problems as the research assistants thought it to be inefficient to translate everything the interviewee was saying. Often, only paraphrasing and only including information if it was directly related to the question.

⁵ SNV had previously done a preliminary assessment on PPT in Lang Co in 2006 and was a contributing factor on why this area was chosen. Also, SNV provided a range of secondary resources related to tourism in Vietnam and in Lang Co.

However this was quickly solved with a short meeting, explaining that although some of what the interviewee was saying maybe not be a direct answer it may prove useful at a later point, and the semi-structured format was intentionally design to allow room to lead on to other discussions.

Fieldwork Aims

It is important to note that the methods utilized were not a direct attempt to analyse the pro poor rating of any particular business or business sector, for example growing sea bass. The object of this methodology was rather to identify the potential for certain sub-sectors, such as fishing, to become more ‘Pro Poor’, and to identify the barriers to achieving this. This study differs from the previously mentioned PPT research in two main ways. Firstly, this study is more future orientated in that its primary objective is to identify opportunities for pro-poor growth and look at the barriers which may stand in the way of those opportunities. Secondly, in terms of traditional models of VCA, this falls under the category of a product value chain, with the selected products being sold through the tourism industry. It is not an analysis on expenditure of tourists and their contribution to the local economy. Thus the focus is on backward economic linkages and not forward economic linkages.

This research was based on the hope that through identifying the barriers and opportunities in two of the most promising product chains in Lang Co, wider implications could be made for other industries/products and for Vietnam and the Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS) in general.

Fieldwork Methodology

As mentioned in Chapter 2: Evolution of PPT, one of the central principles of PPT is creating linkages between the poor and the tourism industry. This research focuses particularly on creating linkages with the mainstream industry as PPT rhetoric states “PPT will contribute little to the eradication of poverty unless it is mainstreamed”

(Goodwin, 2005, p.1). Since the inception of PPT, a number of methodologies have been developed towards this end by development practitioners worldwide (Goodwin, 2005). Much of the development of these diagnostic tools has been on the micro-scale in a reaction to the predominately macro scale of previous methods for analysing tourism (such as tourism receipts or compiling data on overall numbers). The fieldwork section of this research focuses on utilizing a new methodological concept to PPT discourse, Value Chain Analysis (VCA), with a preliminary social mapping exercise as a prerequisite to gathering the information needed for the VCA.

Social Mapping and Semi-structured Interviews

The first part of the fieldwork involved a social mapping exercise in which over 80 interviews were conducted from several villages. There were two main objectives in this phase: firstly, to gain a greater understanding of the context in terms of poverty levels, livelihood strategies and the main problems facing those in the poorer communities; secondly, to identify possible goods and services to be used for the value chain analysis.

For all interviews conducted I used a semi-structured format. In Minichiello's continuum of interview methods, this technique falls between structured interviews, which aim to gather specific information from a large number of people, and open ended interviews which are for more in depth information (Punch, 2005, p.169). The reason for the choice of semi-structured format is that through the use of the social mapping exercise I not only wanted to gather specific information, such as number of households or most common livelihood, but also wanted to gain a greater understanding of the general context of Lang Co. Semi-structured interviews allowed me to achieve these dual objectives. All interviews were conducted with the help of two Vietnamese research assistants.

The social mapping process involved taking a representative sample of the four poorest villages, plus the mussel shell village and the relocation area (as show in Figure 5.1) and conducting interviews with key informants in the transitional villages. All the interviews followed a semi-structured format and were broken down into 4 main categories:

1. **Household:** This included questions on general information such as number of family members, number living at the household and how long have they been there.
2. **Livelihood:** This included anything related to a household's personal livelihood strategy. Examples include number of people earning, expenditure of household per month, income from main job, livestock, fishing, remittances from family abroad and debt situation (amount owing or access to).
3. **Tourism:** Although many of those in the poorer villages are not currently involved in tourism, Lang Co is planned as a major growth area thus all households were asked what they thought about tourism. This was not only to gauge whether there was local support for tourism but also to identify whether local community members were aware of the potential benefits or negative impacts the growing industry could have.
4. **Other:** This included the participants views on relocation (there were plans for some major relocation if some tourist projects went ahead in the area) and what they perceived were the main problems in the community. The relocation issue was included to establish how much people knew about future tourism development plans in the area and whether this had affected their lives in any way.

The Rise of Value Chain Analysis (VCA)

The second phase of the fieldwork was a VCA. VCA is a concept which originally arose through the discipline of economics in the late 1980s (M4P, 2006, p.8). Since this time, the concept of VCA has grown considerably and has become fully integrated into the development industry. This can be seen through international conferences, the formation of collaborative organisations and the participation of major development research institutions involved in VCA research.

Conferences that have been established include the 2007 'International Conference: Value Chains for Broad-Based Development' hosted by GTZ in Berlin, which was attended by many development organisations. Further, a recent OECD conference, held in Tokyo in June 2007, was titled "Enhancing the Role of SMEs in Global Value Chains". Evidence of the growing popularity can also be seen through the 'Eighth Annual Seminar on Developing Service Markets and Value Chains' held in Chiang Mai in September 2007. It was attended by over 1000 people from 110 countries.

The formation of collaborative organisations provides additional evidence of the growing recognition of VCA, for instance, the 'Inter-agency for the exchange of information on value chains and services markets'. This research group sources information from 200 agencies working in 120 countries and was formed with financing from the International Labour Organisation (ILO), SDC and DFID (Donor Committee of Enterprise Development, 2003).

Many of the major development research institutes have also started their own research on VCA. This can be seen in the Overseas Development Institutes (ODI) recent project 'Action Research on 'Value chains and the rural poor in disadvantaged region'. This is a project formed as part of the International Development Research Center's (IDRC) new Rural Poverty and Environment (RPE) initiative (Ashley, 2007, p.2) The use of VCA for assessing PPT can be seen as a progression of PPT in the development field.

Using Value Chain Analysis as a PPT diagnostic tool is a very new field. In many instances it can be seen as a natural progression given the focus in PPT discourse on creating linkages with the local economy. The growth towards more in depth analysis of these linkages can be seen in the late 1990s from Telfer and Wall (1996) who look at food production and tourism in Lombok, Indonesia (Telfer, 1996) and from the early 2000s in such studies as Momsen and Torres (2004) which looks at what percentage of food sourced locally for the tourism industry in Cancun, Mexico. As stated in the introduction of this study "Understanding the relationship between tourism and agriculture is necessary to achieving pro-poor dual objectives of reducing negative impacts while generating net benefits for the poor" (Momsen, p.299). At the time of the study the term VCA was not used but many of the techniques used by Torres, such as evaluating the percentage of profit accrued to each level of the vertical chain, have direct

similarities. Since this time a growing range of tourism studies have been done using more refined methods of VCA. The following show a wide range of initiatives conducted throughout the world: ‘Local economic mapping of tourism in Luang Prabang’ (2006); ‘Holiday package tourism and the poor’ conducted in The Gambia (2006, 2007); ‘Value chain analysis of cultural heritage tourism’ in Ethiopia (2006); ‘Assessment of tourism value chains’ done in Mozambique (2006); ‘Tourism sector VCA’ in Sri Lanka (2007); ‘Participatory Tourism Value Chain Analysis in Da Nang’ (2007) (Ashley, 2007, p.2).

Many of these studies however, are more focused on assessing the financial distribution of the profits generated from tourism expenditure. This research is more concerned with the potential opportunity for linking the existing (but rapidly growing) tourism industry with the poorest section of the local community.

Value Chain Analysis Format

The objectives of this value chain exercise were, firstly, to establish whether there are viable livelihood opportunities, for the poor communities, which could be linked to the growing tourism industry in the area. Secondly, the objectives were to conduct a value chain analysis on two of these chains and to look at the barriers and opportunities for strengthening the selected chains in the future.

This value chain process was based on the tool book “Making Value Chains Work Better for the Poor” by the working group ‘Making Markets Work Better for the Poor’ (M4P) and was adjusted according to the objectives and time frame of the project. This VCA was done in two parts: selection of the value chain and the mapping of the chosen value chains.

Part 1: Selection of Value Chains

The selection of possible value chains followed a 4 step process:

1. **Identification of potential value chains.** This was done through interviews with households, restaurant owners, resort managers, members of the Commune

People's Committee (CPC), SNV members and other local stakeholders such as vendors and fisherman, and confirmed through the social mapping exercise. Some information was also sourced from secondary resources such as SNV's "Report on the Preliminary Assessment for Pilot Project on Integrating Pro-Poor Approaches into Mass Tourism" (SNV, 2006). The possible value chains identified were:

- Mu Fish (Sea Bass) farming.
- Cuttle Fish fishing.
- Fishing for shrimp in the lagoon.
- Fishing for shrimp in the sea.
- Sea Crab fishing (lagoon).

2. **Determine criteria and entry point for selection of value chain.** The criteria and entry point were selected to align with the objectives of the thesis. Namely, the criteria focused on poverty reduction and creating linkages. The entry point was at the level at which the local people generally participate, for example the fisherman or the rice farmer. Six criteria were chosen.

- Growing demand for product or service from the tourism industry.
- Example of existing successful operation
- Ability of poorer communities to participate. This was split further into three categories:
 - Access to knowledge.
 - Amount of capital required.
 - Access to technology.
- Natural capacity: Whether or not this product/service would be sustainable in the Lang Co environment.
- Risk: Including weather, disease and previous examples of failure.
- Pro Poor Potential: High percentage of the profit margins going towards the poor.

3. **Weighting of value chain criteria:** This meant assigning a rating to each criterion according to its significance. This was done in a proportional way with each criterion getting a percentage weight according to its relative importance.

4. **Ranking and selection of different value chains:** This was done by giving each potential value chain a ranking out of 10 in each category, with 10 being positive and 1 being negative. For example a ranking of 9 in the risk category would mean low risk but a weight of 9 in the pro poor category would mean high degree of pro poor potential.

The results from steps three (weighting of value chain criteria) can be seen here in Table 5.1. The shrimp fishing in the Lap An Lagoon and growing sea bass produced the highest results and were thus chosen for the next part of the VCA, mapping chosen value chains.

Criteria	Sea Bass	Shrimp (sea)	Shrimp (lagoon)	Sea Crab	Weighting
1) Growing Demand	9	9	9	7	15%
2) Existing Operation	7	6	7	4	10%
3) Ability of Poor to Participate	8	5	7	8	20%
4) Natural Capacity	9	7	9	7	25%
5) Risk	6	4	6	5	15%
6) Pro Poor Potential	7	4	4	8	15%
Total (with weighting)	7.85	5.9	7.2	6.75	100%

Table 5.1: Weighting of Value Chain Criteria (Source: Author)

Part 2: Mapping Chosen Value Chains

The second phase of the value chain exercise involved mapping the chosen value chains. This was a 6 step process based on the Value Chain tool book previously mentioned (M4P, 2006). All information for these steps was gathered via semi-structured interviews with a range of stakeholders who were directly involved with the chain. This included fishermen, farmers, dealers, restaurant owners, resort managers and chefs, vendors and those selling products at the local market. The six steps used were:

1. **Identify core processes.** The processes involved, for both value chains, are relatively simple since both products are not processed in any way except at the restaurants or resorts where they are cooked and presented in a variety of dishes. However, the process of growing the fish does require many inputs (such as medicine, feed) and requires some infrastructure (cages, nets).
2. **Identify main actors involved:** The focal point or entry point in the value chain was the farmer/fisherman. This meant certain actors were not analysed such as the Sea bass breeder or net maker but rather they were just included under the fish farmer's inputs. For both value chains, the actors included the farmer/fisherman, the dealer (or 2 levels of dealers), and the retailer which included restaurant owners, resort managers and those at the local market.
3. **Establish the relationships between each actor in the chain:** This meant looking at the way in which the different actors interact. Whether there was a formal contract, if dealing was done through friends and relations, and how the relationship was established.
4. **Mapping the flow of products, information and knowledge:** Since the flow of products is a fairly simple process this step was more focused on the information exchanged between the different actors. An example would be whether the fisherman knew much about where the dealers sold the fish to or for how much.
5. **Mapping the value and quantity at each level:** This looked at the amount of product which switched between each level in the process and tried to establish at what level and to who the various percentages of the profit margins were going.

Assessment of methodological strengths and weaknesses

The social mapping exercise, together with information from secondary resources, did provide more than enough information for both objectives. Firstly, gaining enough information of the variety of livelihood strategies and socio-economic context and current views on tourism. Secondly, to identifying the two products to be used for the VCA. All participants were extremely open and it was rare to find someone who did not want to

participate in the interviews. However, one local priest was not happy to be interviewed after, unintentionally, being woken up after his afternoon sleep.

The first question of the interviews was titled ‘household’ and was meant to gain general information on the living situation. It became apparent after the first village that the housing situation was often complicated. In many of the homes there were a large number of people from several generations and in some cases different groups of people living in the same house handled their financial situation separately, for example the grandparents grew vegetables to support themselves, whereas the parents livelihood strategy was separate. Also, there was some misunderstanding of the question ‘how many people live at this house’ as it was some times interpreted as ‘how many people are from this house’. In Lang Co, one of the findings was that many people from the younger generation had left to find work in other places, mostly in Ho Chi Minh City. I believe when asked how many people live here, the interviewee would include people that had been gone for several months. Other than that the semi-structured format proved to be perfectly suited toward the objectives of this phase of the research.

One of the original intentions of the value chain method was to map the financial flows at various levels (vertical) of the chain as in conventional VCA. Given the sometimes complicated livelihood strategies, inconsistency of income, fluctuation in the price of goods, semi formal arrangements (such as verbal contracts with supplying shrimp to certain restaurant), and the personal dimension of family finances, this would have required a lot more time than this researcher had available and a different focus. Keeping in mind the second aim of the fieldwork research was to ‘determine the potential for creating backward economic linkages between the mainstream tourism industry and the poorer communities in Lang Co’, the exact financial flow at the various level of the chain became less central. Question five of the value chain analysis (‘mapping the value and quantity at each level’) was still completed but the figures obtained were useful more as a general indication. Also, in attempting to map financial flows one problem was that some participants, understandably, were not willing to indicate their level of production or how they priced goods. An example would be one restaurant owner who refused to let his head chief be interviewed; this is a large obstacle if one is assessing differences in profit margins this is determined by the price paid for inputs (raw foods) and the price charged for meals.

Summary

The methods used in this research proved successful in gathering the information necessary for the overall aims of the project. However, some problems did occur, including: problems with research assistants interpreting rather than translating, gaining access to the local communities, trying to accurately assess the quantity of each chosen product flowing between the different levels of the value chain, and trying to accurately map the flow of money at the various levels. Despite these problems I still maintain that the case study approach, with the use of social mapping and an adapted VCA, was an appropriate way of analysing the links between the mainstream industry and poor local communities. Much information was gathered, not just on assessing backward economic linkages in this specific context, but also in gaining a greater understanding of the local context in terms of livelihood structures and understanding the views, problems and barriers faced by local community members in dealing with the rapidly expanding tourism industry. This will be explored further in the following chapters.

Chapter 6: Results

Introduction

The following shows the results from the two phases of the fieldwork, the social mapping exercise and the value chain analysis. The results of the initial phase, social mapping, will be shown through a summary of the each of the villages identified as the poorest. These include Lang Chai, Hoi Mit, Lap An Village, and Hoi Dua. Also included in this summary, as mentioned in Chapter 4, are interviews that were conducted in a small village which was based solely on the processing of mussel shells, labelled mussel shell village, and in an area where several households had been relocated due to infrastructure developments. Following this a summary of the most relevant findings of this phase of the research

Secondly, the results from the VCA phase. Firstly, a look at the initial selection of the VCA followed by the findings divided into sea bass and shrimp respectively. Lastly, a summary of some of the key points found.

Social Mapping Findings

Lang Chai

This village contains around 312 households, located on the southernmost end of the Lang Co peninsular. This peninsular is narrow and thus the houses are condensed together. Residents of thirty two households were interviewed, including the village leader, to gain a representative sample.



Figure 6.1: Street in Lang Chai
(Source: Author)

- 1) **Household:** The number of people living in each household ranged from 2 to 14. Most households averaged almost 6.5 people in the family with over 5 people currently living at the household. Given the small physical size of each house, this is high. When asked, most families claimed that they had lived there either their entire life or since the revolution (1975).
- 2) **Livelihood:** During the first interview, when asked about livelihood strategies, the interviewee claimed “there are 300 households, 100 fish and 200 buy and sell fish”. In the 28 households which gave sufficient data on livelihood strategies, 20 were involved in fishing. This included owning their own boat, being a fisherman’s assistant (working on someone else’s boat), selling fish to either the resorts or restaurants or through the market, fishing off the shore (low number), diving for lobster and growing seafood. Other occupations included security guards for the railway or resorts, tailor, collecting wood from the forest, one pharmacist, builder/ builder’s assistant, raising ducks/chickens or pigs (very few) and running a small shop. Many of the households involved with fishing required a combination of these jobs, due to factors such as declining fish resources, weather patterns, seasonal sensitivity of the industry, and over-competition.
- 3) **Tourism:** Firstly, the responses to the issue of tourism were generally very short and it was not seen as a central or immediate concern. Some answers to the tourism question included positive responses such as “good”; “tourism will help us meet people and enhance the spirit of living”; “we would like to develop it for our children”; “would like tourists to come so they could see the poverty of the village”; and indifferent responses such as “don’t pay much attention to tourism” or “tourist would never come to this village”. Some of the jobs are directly related to the tourism industry, such as in the case of a vendor outside restaurants where tourist buses frequent, which demonstrates the potential positive effects that can be gained. However, for most people, tourism still seems either to be a relatively new concept that they are not concerned with, or they are just starting to understand that tourists could be potentially utilized to improve their lifestyle.

- 4) **Other:** The relocation issue brought a mix of responses. Out of the 16 who responded to the relocation issue, 12 stated that they would not like to relocate. Reasons included being too old, family live in the area, and being “dependent on the sea for livelihood”. The four which claimed they would like to move stated they wanted to find new work opportunities. The main community concerns included the decreasing natural fish resource, pollution along the beaches and the lagoon, and high levels of debt mostly brought about by repairing their houses from storm damage.

Hoi Mit (Ancutaydong)

The second village in which the interviews were conducted was Hoi Mit, located on the west side of Lap An lagoon. It is one of the more remote villages. Until recently there was no road connecting the village with the center of Lang Co and it only received electricity 1 year ago. The houses are generally in better condition compared to those in Lang Chai, however, they are connected via a dirt track. There are 174 households with 1012 people living in the area. In total 18 interviews were conducted including the village leader.



Figure 6.2; Household in Hoi Mit
(Source: Author)

- 1) **Household:** The number of people living in each family ranged from 5 to 12, averaging 8.9. The number currently living at each household ranged from 2 to 8, averaging 4.9. It should also be noted that there was a significant number of people missing between the ages of 16 and 30. Many had left their village to travel to Ho Chi Minh City (HCMC) or Hue to find work such as in a garment factory and a limited number had left to conduct further study.
- 2) **Livelihood:** This village relies much more on small scale agriculture, especially rice cultivation, than fishing. Out of the 18 households interviewed,

8 were involved with rice cultivation. Most of the households involved with rice did not produce enough to sell, only enough to live on and sometimes not even that. The average area for rice cultivation is 300m², which was allocated after the revolution. The size varies according to size of the family at the time of allocation. Some of the larger farms, which had up to 4000m², still claimed that they could only produce enough for themselves. Using farming methods, which produce higher yields, could be an issue to look into further and could have a large positive effect on the community.

Other occupations included raising buffalo, casual labour (road work, chopping and collecting wood), raising pigs and running a small shop for road workers. A number of residents were out of work or involved with temporary short time work such as road construction. Also, at the time of the interviewing, many residents were away from the village, participating in the American sponsored Missing in Action (M.I.A) program to search civilians lost during the American War. Hoi Mit was the only village allowed to participate in this program and was selected because the local government deemed it as an extremely poor area.

- 3) **Tourism:** In terms of tourism, all participants either thought tourism was a good thing and could help improve their living standards or did not really have an opinion. Some noted the potential for Community Based Tourism (CBT), citing a popular stream nearby where many visitors come to relax on short day trips. One interviewee said that up to 100 people a day come during the peak season (summer). However, they claimed that they received no benefit from these tourists and did not know how to change this.
- 4) **Other:** Fourteen of the 18 interviewees answered the relocation issue. Of these 14 villagers, 10 claimed they would not like to relocate and 4 said they would if the new conditions were suitable. Some of the reasons for not wanting to relocate included “this is my home town”, “want stability in life”, “too old”, and simply “I don’t want to leave”.

The main problems in this community involve similar underlying causes to that of Lang Chai. Due to climatic conditions and the relatively small area available, rice cultivation and other agriculture options can only be utilized for

subsistence purposes. There is a lack of livelihood options with many people being simply unskilled short term labourers.

The remoteness of the village brings problems in terms of access to hospital and schools. To reach the hospital (of which, only one is located in Lang Co), people would have to hire a boat to cross the lagoon. This could be problematic in certain cases such as giving birth. The nearest primary school is a two hour walk away for the children and, as previously noted, there is no high school in Lang Co. However the road currently being built should significantly help with connecting Hoi Mit to the center of Lang Co town as the actual distance is not far. Debt was a problem for this community as in was in Lang Chai. However, this was more to do with the loss of shrimp farms which became popular four years ago. All but one shrimp farm was destroyed during the Xangzane Typhoon⁶.

Lap An Village (Thuyen Loi)

This is a small, very poor sub-village, located within in the Lap An village boundaries on the north east side of the lagoon.

- 1) **Households:** There are 30-40 households in this village. The family size ranged for 2 to 8 with most families having around 6 members.
- 2) **Livelihood:** Most families in this village are fishermen on the lagoon. The type of fishing is the large net technique which catches a range of small fish including shrimp, this technique will be explained further in the value chain analysis section. The large nets cost around \$1 million dong to make and last around 20 days (depending on the weather conditions). Some of the households gain their income solely from making nets. Also, a few of the households are involved with growing fish, mainly sea bass.

⁶ This typhoon hit the central East Cost of Vietnam in 2006, killing over seventy people, destroying over 320,000 homes and causing over US\$629 million dollars worth of damage.

- 3) **Tourism:** All interviewees said that they would like tourism to develop although one expressed concerns that they may not be able to use the lagoon if tourism grows.
- 4) **Other:** All the families interviewed in this village claimed that they would like to relocate. Reasons centered on wanting to have more opportunities and jobs for their kids. The main issue in this village is the declining amount of fish resources in the lagoon. This is directly related to their standard of living and consequently it has dropped significantly in the last few years. Other key issues include a high degree of debt which most families are unable to service and that this village was severely affected by the storm but received little compensation from the government. Similar to other villages they claim that they are the poorest village in Lang Co.

Hoi Dua

This village is located on the west side of the lagoon just south of Hoi Mit. It has similar conditions to Hoi Mit in terms of limited infrastructure. It acquired electricity one year ago, received piped water in 2002 (before that, there was just a well), and until recently it had no road connecting it with the central village. The information gathered for this village is based on four household interviews plus the village leader and the local priest.

- 1) **Households:** There are 101 households with a population of 486 people. Most houses seem to be in reasonable shape similar to Hoi Mit. One interviewee claimed that many of the houses were recently rebuilt due to storm damage and efforts to make the area more attractive.
- 2) **Livelihood:** Around 90% of the households have rice farms and in-between harvests they collect wood and other goods from the forests to sell. The area for rice cultivation per household is very low, with some not being able to produce enough to eat. The other 10% of households do a variety of part time work, including carpentry, growing fruit to sell at the market, raising pigs and one household collected sand from the river mouth, which they sold to the other side of the river (as sand from other areas is too salty to grow anything

in). One of the problems identified by the local priest was that there are a high number of people who leave to find work, with most households having family members in Ho Chi Minh City.

- 3) **Tourism:** All the people interviewed stated that they would like to develop tourism. The main reason is that they see it as a way to increase living standards and to gain an alternative source of income for the next generation, especially because Hoi Dua has significant natural capital. Two rivers were mentioned which already have small groups coming to visit. In terms of relocation, those interviewed either opposed the idea or stated they would move if the conditions were right (in a slightly apprehensive tone).
- 4) **Other:** The main issues facing this village is the limited agricultural potential, with the land being limited in size, as the village borders the lagoon and the mountains, plus the poor quality of the soil. This had led to a large number of people leaving; as the Priest put it “all young people leave so just old people are left here”.

Resettlement Area

This area is 5000m² and is located just above Hai Van village. It used to be rice fields but was changed after the construction of the Hai Van tunnel, which meant a group of 68 households had to be relocated. The relocation happened in 2005.

- 1) **Households:** Currently there are only 10 households in the area. Some people have bought land in the area but could not afford to build a house, so now live on the side of the mountains. Others who have land sold it to the “rich” people in Lang Co town and have moved elsewhere.
- 2) **Livelihood:** People living in this area have a wide variety of jobs including curtain maker, railway worker, fisherman, fish farmer. One interviewee said that many of the people from the old area “were stone workers but unable to do jobs anywhere in Lang Co so had to move further away”.

- 3) **Tourism:** Those interviewed, either had no opinion, or believed tourism would not affect them directly.
- 4) **Other:** Of the 68 households, who had to leave their previous home, only ten have taken residence in the new area. The government gave the relocated people a settlement for the previous area and made this area available for purchase. Often it seems that the amount of compensation was not enough to relocate and build a new house. The ones that I was able to interview had to subsidize the cost by getting loans. Also some basic services were not available at the start of the relocation process including clean water, which was another deterrent for moving there.

Mussel Shell Village

Data from this village was gathered using an informal group discussion method, during the lunch break of the workers:

- 1) **Household:** There are 8 households in the area, with most households having 4-6 children.
- 2) **Livelihoods:** All living in this village work with either gathering the mussel shells from the sea bed of Lap An Lagoon or with processing the shells into Calcium Carbonate, the main component of shells of marine organisms and snails⁷.
- 3) **Tourism:** Were not concerned with tourism.
- 4) **Other:** This small village was in the worst condition of all villages. People receive a very low income and there are high illiteracy rates. Infrastructure is

⁷Calcium Carbonate (CaCO₃) is the main component of shells of marine organisms and snails. It is also the active ingredient in 'Agricultural Lime'. Agricultural Lime is a substance used to improve the quality of soils for farming purposes as it has the effect of increasing the pH of acidic soils, provides a source of calcium for the plants and improves the water penetration of acidic soils.

very poor in this area. It is the only area which does not have electricity in Lang Co and the water source is a well. The type of work is very labour intensive and produces a variety of health risks including cancer. When asked, why do they do this job the reply was this “the only job they can do so they keep doing it”.

There used to be several mussel shell factories in the area but government made them illegal due to the high pollution factor. Many continued despite the illegality of it and the government made it legal again. In interviews from other areas, many fishermen claimed the mussel shell factory was a significant factor in the pollution of the lagoon and consequently the reduction in fishing resources.

Transitional Villages

Due to the scope and objectives of this study, the research focused on the poorer regions in Lang Co town. However, some interviews with key stakeholders were done in more developed areas. These areas include Lang Co town center, Lap An Village and Ancudong One. These areas are classified under transitional villages as they have moved from fishing and subsistence agriculture as a central means of livelihood towards trade and services. These areas include the resorts, larger restaurants, and the local market and are located on or close to the main road. The main finding was that the income in these areas is more stable. This is due to several factors including a lower dependence on the natural resources of the area, occupations which are not dependent or less dependent of the season or time of year, and most importantly the close proximity to the main road.

A key point summary of these villages can be found below in Table 6.1

Village	Summary
Lang Chai	Contains 312 households, ranging from 2 to 14 per household; 37 interviewed; heavily dependent of the fishing industry; general positive outlook towards tourism although limited awareness; main concerns were the decreasing fish supply, pollution and high level of debt.
Hoi Mit	Contains 174 households, between 5 and 12 per household; 18 interviewed; mostly dependent of small scale agriculture, mainly rice cultivation; limited awareness of tourism, although some wanting to start some tours to local streams; mains problems was limited area to cultivate with low quality soil thus only able to produce (rice) for subsistence purposes, also currently separated from Lang Co center.
Lap An Village	Contains 30-40 households, ranging from 2 to 8 per household, 8 households interviewed; nearly all relied on fishing within the lagoon and making nets for other fisherman; would like to develop tourism but concern about control of lagoon resources if tourism develops; mains concerns were declining fish resource and high levels of debt.
Hoi Dua	Contains 100 households, ranging from 2 to 10 per household, 12 households interviewed; dominant livelihood (90%) rice cultivation (similar area to Hoi Mit); generally would like tourism to develop to create alternative jobs; main concern in limited poor quality land to grow rice on.
Resettlement Area	Currently only 10 households in area, between 2 to 5 per household, 4 households interviewed; range of livelihood strategies including curtain maker, fishermen, railway worker; did not believe tourism would affect them directly; all in this area had recently relocated and main problem was relocation money not enough to set up new house thus had to borrow.
Mussel Shell Village	There are 8 households in this area, between 2 and 4 per households, all were interviewed through an informal group discussion; all living in the area dependent on gathering mussel shell or processing them; not concerned with tourism; many concerns include labour intensive working conditions, limited electricity, and only water source a well.
Transitional Villages	Range of village sizes, mainly located on the main road through Lang Co town; most had moved from fishing and farming towards small scale trade and services (some in restaurants and guesthouses), generally higher income, main reason cited was proximity to main road.

Table 6.1: Summary of Lang Co Villages (Source: Author)

Although, the situation varied from village to village there were many points which frequently arose in all villages. In all of the poorer areas of Lang Co there was a heavy dependence on the local environment. In Lang Chai, the largest village, and in Lap An village, the majority of people were involved in the local fishing industry. This is either through fishing in small boats on the lagoon, or through various catchment techniques (shown later on in this chapter), or through fish farming which includes growing sea bass, shrimp, sea crabs and mussels. Many people were also indirectly involved through making nets, boats, or cages and through dealing, transporting and supplying fish to restaurants, guesthouses, markets and resort in and out of Lang Co. In Hoi Mit and Hoi Dua, the two most remote villages located in the western side of Lap An Lagoon, most people were involved with rice cultivation. All households in these areas were assigned patches of land after the end of the American War in 1975 and this now provides the majority of their income. Most of the households interviewed stated that the areas assigned are only big enough to provide a subsistence living for their family and in some cases not even that. Also, many households commented that due to the proximity to the sea, the soil was highly salinated and did not produce good quality rice.

The environment was, consequently, the main concern for many of those interviewed, because it directly affected their livelihood but also because the environment had deteriorated in the last five to ten years. Those who were reliant on the lagoon especially had been seeing a decline in the fishing catches and most thought this was due to pollution. Different areas came up with different causes for this pollution. On the west of Lap An Lagoon many blamed the construction of Hai Van Tunnel (which finished in 2005) and the resulting wastes and chemical run off. Those villages on the east side of Lap An Lagoon blamed the lack of a waste management system together with the increasing population of Lang Co as the cause of the pollution. Another possible cause occasionally mentioned was the waste from the mussel shell processing factory located on the north side of the lagoon.

The last section of the interview format, other, allowed those interviewed not only to talk about concerns directly related to their livelihood but general problems of the community. This proved very useful in identifying a range of unexpected issues. These included a lack of a local high school, high degrees of debt, concerns over the control of the lagoon after tourism develops, migration of many young people to larger cities, especially Ho

Chi Min City, the frequent storms, and the general lack of jobs, especially during the rainy season.

Many of the issues that arose during the social mapping exercise, are directly relevant to possibility of creating linkages between local communities and the burgeoning tourism industry. Not only did the social mapping provide a greater understanding of the local context but also brought up issues which would be barriers to those wanting to supply or get involved with tourism such as access to credit and lack of available capital.

Value Chain Analysis (VCA) Findings

Initial Selection

The products chosen for the value chain analysis were the farming of sea bass and the fishing of shrimp within Lap An Lagoon. These products were chosen using the selection criteria outlined in Chapter 5: Methodology.

These products chosen are both seafood/aquaculture goods. This is for several reasons. Firstly, Lang Co already has a good reputation for its seafood and this reputation is a major motivating factor for tourists, especially domestic. It is thus assumed that with the growing demand of tourism, the demand for the chosen products will also rise. The products selected were amongst the most popular dishes as assessed by interviews with restaurants and resorts in the area. Secondly, due to limited land, poor soil and the volatile weather patterns there is limited potential for other forms of agriculture. Thirdly, there is already a substantial skill base and knowledge of fishing and fish farming (less so) in the area; this is important as those interviewed had very little ability to access knowledge such as new fishing techniques, therefore choosing a product in which there was substantial local knowledge made the opportunity of starting a new business in these areas more likely.

Sea bass farming and shrimp fishing have relatively low start up capital compared to the other products included in the selection matrix (see Chapter 4), this was central to the decision to chose these products as those interviewed had little or no savings and very

limited ability to borrow and thus high start up capital would be very limiting. The other category included in the ability of the poor to participate was access to technology. The technology requirements for both sea bass and shrimp fishing were low, with examples of successful operations using traditional methods. In terms of natural capacity, which was a concern giving the declining resource base and increasing population in the area, aquaculture (fish farming) is a sustainable option as does not rely solely on the natural environment. In terms of the shrimp fishing, natural capacity was a serious concern, but since the other value chains options were also reliant on the same environment of Lap An Lagoon, shrimp fishing was still included to more deeply assess the impact the degradation of the environment was having on the local fishing industry.

Thus sea bass and shrimp provided the best potential for creating linkages with the tourism industry, as assessed by the value chain criteria and also by the interviews with a variety of stakeholders such as local fisherman/farmers, village priests, the Communes People's Committee, restaurant and resort owners. The other products chosen had some substantial problems.

Shrimp farming (which used local labour to build the large lakes), at the beginning of the process had a high probability of being selected, had problems such as high start up capital and high degree of technical knowledge. There is only one successful shrimp farmer ("Binh") in the area and he owns 22 shrimp farms and produces 30 tonnes per harvest (biannually) which he sells to a supplier who in turn sells to an export company. For the shrimp to grow they require a specific environmental conditions. This means a certain mix of fresh water and salt water at different stages of growth. Also, a certain oxygen level, which means each lake has its own oxygenating machine, which are expensive and require a certain amount of knowledge to use. In every village we came across people who had previously been shrimp farmers but were unsuccessful, it should be noted however, that this was often caused by the damage from the storm. As Binh puts it "Growing shrimp is a job for the rich people, if local people grow shrimp they become poorer and poorer". Many of the restaurant and resorts owners also commentated that some customers preferred shrimp from natural sources, not from shrimp lakes.

The products that were sourced from the sea (cuttlefish and crab) were not chosen. This was because, generally, sea fishing required greater start up capital in terms of large boats

and equipment. Also the declining fish resource in the sea encompassed some elements not within the scope of the research to look at such as fishing from other areas such as Danang. Another factor was, that by choosing products which can be grown or are sourced in the lagoon, it allowed me to analyse at greater depth the environmental problems within Lang Co itself. Crab is fished in the lagoon but was not chosen as it is fished using some of the same techniques of shrimp, thus, analysing both of them became somewhat repetitious.

Sea bass farming and shrimp farming also have their problems, which I will go into further detail through value chain mapping, but they were the best of the alternatives according to the criteria chosen, the scope and the objectives of this research. This was confirmed by many interviewees, especially the restaurant and resort managers, when asked on their recommendations for the research.

Sea Bass Farming Findings

As stated in Chapter 5: Methodology, exact mapping of the values at each level of the value chain proved impossible. This was because of several reasons: firstly, gaining access to information such as the price that the resorts or restaurants bought their supplies for proved problematic, with some being open about their expenses, and others, understandably, not willing to share this information. Also, many of sea bass farmers were unaware of the exact cost of their inputs and outputs as this varied substantially during the different seasons, different years and also many unexpected costs occurred such as storm damage or a sudden disease which could cause substantial losses. However, much useful information was gained during both the social mapping exercise and the value chain analysis about the possibility of local communities farming sea bass for the growing tourism industry as a livelihood option.

In terms of start-up costs, sea bass farming proved to be cheaper than other options previously mentioned, such as deep sea fishing or shrimp farming, but still required a substantial amount. The start-up cost for those operations reviewed varied between 10 million and 30 million VND. This covered: the cages, in some cases the farmer would buy the iron and hire locals to make the cages; medicine for the fish, only some of those

running a sea bass operation mentioned this as a cost; the nets for the cages which were mostly sourced from Da Nang (large city 40 min south of Lang Co); the feed for the sea bass, mainly consisting of sardines which was sourced locally and from Da Nang depending on the local supply; and the baby sea bass which was generally sourced from dealers which get their supply just north of Lang Co where there are several aquaculture regions.

Many of those interviewed had borrowed money previously, for other businesses costs and emergencies such as repairing storm damage. Those with outstanding debt would be unable to borrow further due to lack of lending institutions. Very few of those interviewed would have enough savings to fund the start-up costs themselves.

All farmers mentioned that they lose a certain amount of their stock due to disease each year. This varied between 20 percent and 80 percent. The disease occurs once a year, at various times, normally in August. The farmers were not sure of the cause but suspect it has something to do with the change in salinity levels when sea flows in at this time of year. A white substance



Figure 6.3: Sea bass disease. (Source: Author)

appears on the fish causing the fish to scrape against the sides of the net, which in turn lead to disease and death. This is a very infectious disease and can cause huge losses amongst sea bass farmers.

The next level in the value chain analysis is the dealer(s). Often there were two levels of dealers. Level one dealers bought directly from the farmers and sold to level two dealers who bought from a variety of sources and dealt with the resorts and restaurants, although this varied substantially with some of the farmers dealing their own fish. All the dealers interviewed had various forms of informal contracts both with the farmers and with the resorts and restaurants. Often this was purely a verbal contract. In some cases the dealer had provided money to the farmer to help with his business, such as buying new tools, and then maintained the exclusive rights to buy the farmer's fish. In the case of the larger resorts, the dealer would supply have to supply the resort for two months before getting

paid for the first month, thus insurance the dealer will keep supplying that restaurant. A lot of these informal contracts had been maintained for many years.

Nearly all of the dealers interviewed claimed that demand outstripped supply, listing several reasons. Firstly, the amount of people farming sea bass in the area is low and often small scale. Also, sea bass used to be caught by those who fished in the sea and the lagoon, but this has dropped substantially in the last five to seven years. Secondly, many of the dealers had contracts with restaurants and resorts outside of Lang Co, mostly in Da Nang and in Hue. Lastly, not only has supply dropped but demand has risen substantially which is mainly due to the growing tourism industry. As a consequence of lack of supply and inconsistency of supply, many of the dealers claimed that some of the resorts and restaurants now buy from a large supermarket chain, Metro, in Da Nang.

At the resort and restaurant level, the owners confirmed much of the information gained from the suppliers. The contracts are done on an informal basis. Many of the smaller restaurant's owners claimed "they just call when there is demand and the dealer brings". All those interviewed claimed that they prefer to buy fresh fish, whether that is sourced locally or from the fish markets in Da Nang, but the larger ones often had to buy frozen products, from Metro, to meet supply and to deal with the inconsistency of demand from the tourist resorts and guesthouses.

The resort and restaurant owners also pointed out the extent of the seasonality. For local tourists, which made up at least 60% but often much higher, of the tourist market, the high season is between April to August in which period there was very high occupancy rates (in resorts). Low season is October to December with the number of tourists dropping to less than a quarter of the high season. In the mid season period, January to March, the amount of tourists varied and was hard to calculate. International tourists mainly came from September to April and mainly stayed at the higher end resorts. The seasonality of demand is a significant factor if people became solely reliant on selling sea bass for their livelihood as they would have to make enough profit to cover expenses during the low season especially if selling purely to local resorts and restaurants.

It was also found that demand for sea bass was relatively low in the smaller restaurants as it is an expensive product compared to other dishes they sell. The larger restaurants and especially the resorts stated sea bass was a very popular dish with only one resort

claiming that supply of fresh sea bass was not a problem. The best example of a current operation of either sea bass farming or shrimp farming was Mr Hao's sea bass operation which has gained considerable success from the growing tourism industry.

Mr Hao's Sea Bass Operation

The most successful out of both the shrimp fisherman and the sea bass farmers was Mr Hao. One of the main reasons for his success was that he obtained a substantial amount of technical knowledge on various methods of growing sea bass. When asked how he grew his knowledge he mentioned that he had spent time travelling around other districts, visiting friends involved in aquaculture and learning a variety of information. He also consulted the Aquaculture department of Nha Trang University. He claimed his friend is the director. This combined with 15 years experience has given him the knowledge he needed to be very successful.

The fish he produces are known for their good size (1kg) and quality. He loses only 20% to the yearly disease and his fish farm suffered significantly less damage from the storm than others. He now sells to over 15 restaurants in Da Nang and also to some of the resorts in Lang Co when demand is sufficient enough. He employs technicians which help with raising the fish although it should be mentioned that it was unclear whether the technicians were there more for the sea bass or the specialized type of soft shell sea crab which he also raises. This amount of technical knowledge differs significantly from the other farmers, and the inability of other fishermen to obtain new information on techniques could be a central reason for the difference in success rates. A possibility which could make an impact, especially for those looking to get into fish farming, would be a workshop in conjunction with Nha Trang University on new techniques in aquaculture.



Figure 6.4: Mr Hao's Sea Bass farm. (Source: Author)

Shrimp Fishing Findings

Many people from all the villages were involved with shrimp fishing in the lagoon. It should be noted that the techniques used by the fishermen in the lagoon are targeted to catch a variety of seafood not just shrimp. Four main techniques are used, each requiring a different amount of start up capital and with different positive and negative attributes. These techniques include the ‘high flow’, ‘square net’, ‘spread net’ and ‘original’ techniques.

High Flow Technique: This technique uses areas in which there is a high flow of water, generally at the mouth of the lagoon. As you can see in Figure 6.6 the technique is a relatively simple one. It uses a nylon net. The net has a 9 meter mouth and is 25-26 meters in length.

The nets are generally sourced from either Da Nang or Hue.

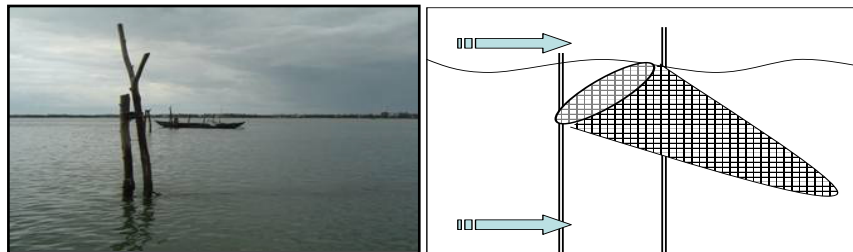


Figure 6.5: High flow fishing method (Source: Author)

Between the periods of October to

March they fish everyday between 6pm to 11pm. Between April and August they fish around fifteen days a month, 15th to the 22nd and the 30th to the 8th. This is due to the tidal flow at certain times of the lunar month. This technique and the area used for this technique was originally only for those families who had a member recognised as an invalid. Some of those families have sold the right to use this technique and now a wide variety of people fish this way. From interviews with fishermen, over 110 households in Lang Co fish this way.

Positives: This technique is the most resistant to storm damage, with some fishermen stating they collect more in stormy weather. In term of tools and equipment it requires very little start up capital but it does require the government permission or ‘right’, which is relatively expensive.

Negatives: The necessity to buy the right to use this technique and the fact there are only limited spots means that the ability of those in the poorer areas to utilize this technique is limited. The price for buying the ‘right’ varied according to which location but generally was between 6.5 million and 10 million VND. I was not able to access information of whether there were more areas available for this technique but the general impression from the fisherman was that there are too many people fishing this way already.

Square Net Technique: This is the most obvious form of fishing and can be seen all over the lagoon (Figures 6.6 & 6.7). This method involves lowering and raising a 30 meter by 30 meter net in and out of the lagoon at various intervals. Usually, the net is left in the water for 1- 3 hours. The net is lowered and raised using a wooden wheel which is mounted in a small hut adjacent to the net. Fishing using this technique is done during the night and between the 18th and 8th of the month (lunar calendar). There are currently around one hundred fishermen using this technique.



Figure 6.6: Square net fishing method A.
(Source: Author)

Positives: This method can be used to catch a wide variety of fish.

Negatives: This requires a large amount of initial investment. The total start up costs including the hut (Figure 6.8) and labour, net, ropes and small bamboo boat, exceeds 10 million VND.



Figure 6.7: Square net fishing method B.
(Source: Author)

This method is also susceptible to storm damage. One commented that although now there are 100 fishermen using this technique, before the storm there were 160. Many households gave up using this technique after the Xangsane storm as they could not access more capital as they were already in debt. In terms of the ‘catch’, this technique produces the least amount of shrimp compared to the other three techniques.

Spread Net Technique: This is the least effective method and only utilized by a few families. It involves two people dragging a 6.5-7.5 meter long net along in shallow water. The fisherman interviewed fished between 6pm to 10pm and 4am to 10am, but mentioned that technique could be used at any time.

Positives: This method has the lowest start up costs. It also requires the least amount of technical knowledge.

Negatives: This method requires two people (who have to split the amount caught). It is labour intensive and cannot be done if the weather is unsettled. Some fishermen have claimed that this technique disturbs the bottom of the Lagoon shore and affects the breeding of shrimp, however, those interviewed who used this technique claimed that the amount they catch is too little to make a difference.

Original Technique: This is the oldest method of fishing for shrimp used in this area.

One fisherman claimed that the other techniques were introduced by those who moved to the Lang Co area. The technique involves dropping a 1200 meter long, 1.5 meter deep net in to the lagoon which is held near the surface using buoys. The net is left for 1-2 hours and can be laid down 6-8 times a day “with a full moon”.



Figure 6.8: Original fishing method. (Source: Author)

Similar to the high flow and the square net technique this is done 15 days a month, 18th to the 22nd and the 30th to the 8th.

Positives: This method catches the highest amount of shrimp. The start up costs are lower than the square net and the high flow technique (if you include buying the ‘right’ to fish).

Negatives: This method uses a very large net. The net is not only sourced from Japan but is also very expensive. The net is in 15 parts, each part costing 250,000 VND and to construct the net a local net maker is hired which costs 750,000 VND. This means the start up capital required, just for the net, exceeds 4.5 million VND. Combined with the other costs, such as the boat, it is the second most expensive method of fishing (only behind the high flow techniques because of the need to buy the right to fish). This technique also cannot be used in bad weather.

As can be seen from the four different techniques, shrimp fishermen in the Lang Co area uses a range of methods which require relatively basic technology. Each of these has their own different advantages and disadvantages but there were some issues which arose repeatedly. The risk of storm damage was a great concern for all fishermen. Large storms happen yearly, and there have been two major storms in the last nine years which have completely destroyed much of the fishermen's equipment, one in 1999 and more recently, the Typhoon Xangsane storm, in 2006. Many households interviewed during both phases of the fieldwork claimed there that they were still in debt from having to rebuild their houses and repair their fishing equipment after Typhoon Xangzane.

All fishermen claimed that fishing had become less profitable in the last three to seven years, but there were a variety of reasons. A lot of those interviewed saw the mussel shell fishing and the mussel factory as a major cause for the reduction of the fish resource. The mussel shell collectors use a machine to scrape the bottom of the lagoon which disturbs the shrimp eggs. Also, the factory used to convert the shells in to Calcium Carbonate, disposed its pollution by dumping it in to the lagoon. Mussel shell fishing was made illegal a few years ago but due to lack of alternative livelihood option, many continued and the ban was lifted. Through the social mapping exercise it was found that those working at the mussel shell factory are amongst the poorest in Lang Co.

Many shrimp fisherman also claimed the construction of the Hai Van Tunnel and the construction of the new road on the west side of Lap An lagoon produced waste and chemical runoff which has affected the fishing in the area. This finding brings in to question what environmental regulations construction companies have to adhere to, an important issue given the increasing amount of infrastructure development in the region.

Other factors which fishermen claimed were causing the pollution of Lap An Lagoon include general waste from households, guesthouses, restaurants, and resorts. Plus, many people grow mussel shells on old car tires which are subsequently discarded into the lagoon after they had served their purpose. Some claim that thousands of tyres have been discarded into the lagoon.

Some shrimp fishermen blamed other types of fishermen for the decrease in fish numbers, this is both to do with the increased number of people fishing and the types of fishing some people use. As mentioned above, one of the fishing techniques (spread net technique) drags a net through a shallow part of the lagoon, some claim this again is affecting the floor bed of the lagoon. Others claimed that some of the nets now being used are too fine and are catching the fish before they have a chance to grow. There are no regulations governing fishing in the lagoon, except that for the High Flow Technique, where a fisherman has to own the 'right', which used to have to be inherited (if there was a history of an invalid in the family) but now can be bought and sold.

The traditional fishing techniques may be a draw card for tourists, especially international tourists, but many fishermen expressed a desire to learn new, more modern, more effective techniques as they are finding it hard to compete with the fishing output in Da Nang. The lack of education and access to knowledge about possible new techniques seems to be a limiting factor. The fisherman are, again, also limited by enough capital to purchase new equipment and build up businesses to a level to meet the tourism demand.

Summary

The fieldwork phase of this research proved to be successful, although some objectives were not completed and other areas produced more relevant results than expected. The social mapping phase produced a variety of results beyond the objectives of gaining a general understanding of livelihood options of those in the poorer communities and to identify possible products for the value chain analysis. The social mapping phase highlighted how dependent parts of the community were on the Lap An lagoon and the environment. It showed a general feeling of being cautiously optimistic about the tourism industry but a lack of awareness of any of the tourism developments currently taking

place or taking place in the future. The social mapping phase also brought to light many surrounding issues such as the lack of high school or trade schools, high level of young people leaving for bigger cities such as Hue, HCMC or Hanoi, and problems with agriculture such as limited land and high salinity levels, and the extent of the environmental degradation, especially Lap An Lagoon, that had taken place over the past decade.

The value chain analysis did not go as expected. Originally, the VCA set out to map the various values and quantities of the chosen products at each step on the chain. However, due to seasonal variation, inconsistency in prices and quantities both during the month and over the year, and lack of access to information on the resorts spending this was not possible and in retrospect perhaps overly ambitious given the timeframe and relationship of the research to those being interviewed. Despite this, the VCA proved to be a useful tool for the primary aim of analysing the linkages between poorer communities and the mainstream tourism industry and looking at potential opportunities and barriers for creating these linkages.

The VCA confirmed the finding that debt and access to credit was a significant limiting factor for those looking at starting new enterprises or expanding their business. It gave greater insight into the environment, in terms of which fishing techniques were more sustainable. It highlighted factors such the risk of storm damage and how certain types of fishing were vulnerable, it showed positive examples, such as Mr Hoa's sea bass enterprise and how this had become successful and also showed the range of challenges faced such as the yearly disease sea bass farmers face, which causes significant losses but no one is aware of the cause. Overall, the VCA proved successful in assessing opportunities and barriers for creating backward economic linkages in Lang Co Vietnam.

Chapter 7: Discussion and Conclusion

Introduction

This research has produced a wide range of findings both from the case study of Lang Co and from secondary resources. The research in Vietnam has shown an environment aimed towards large scale tourism growth and an environment which has the opportunity for the application of Pro Poor Tourism theory and practice. However, despite positive rhetoric there are numerous barriers for PPT to be implemented. These barriers can be found at the commune level, Lang Co, the national level, Vietnam, and in the wider context of the Greater Mekong Sub-region. This chapter will firstly summarize these findings then draw some central conclusions. These conclusions will then be weighed against the overall aims of this research and analysed. Lastly, will be the closing remarks and implications for PPT.

Opportunities

In Lang Co, there are definite opportunities for pro-poor tourism and linking local communities with the mainstream tourism industry. Firstly, there is a large potential for tourism growth in general. This is due to factors such as the abundant natural resources, a good reputation for its fresh, quality, local food and for its image as an eco-tourist getaway. Lang Co's location also lends itself to tourism growth, being at the end of the newly developed East-West Economic Corridor and being on the main road through Vietnam, close to ports, airports and along the railway line. It is also located near to current popular tourism destinations such as the ancient city of Hue.

In terms of the pro-poor aspect, there are also some positive signs. There are already some established linkages between the tourism industry and the local communities, especially in the smaller restaurants and guesthouses. There seems to be a preference for buying locally produced product if available, both because of the ease of access and the

desire to maintain Lang Co's reputation of offering unique local products. There are also positive examples of local community members starting businesses that benefit from local tourism, such as Mr Hao's sea bass farm.

Nationally, Vietnam also provides a dynamic context for developing tourism as a means of poverty alleviation. It offers an attractive destination due to its natural resources, and because of its history. Vietnam has overcome an extremely difficult past and in the last few decades has reduced poverty substantially by its development strategy of selectively liberalising specific aspects of its economic and foreign policy while maintaining central principles of a socialist led society. The dramatic achievements in development show a type of government which is actively pursuing poverty reduction, and as one of the central aspects of PPT in a multi-level approach, this provides a strong opportunity for pro-poor growth.

The Vietnamese government has also taken a very active role in the tourism industry which can be found as central part of national and provincial socio-economic development strategies. The government has consciously tried to include poverty reduction within the framework of tourism development, at least at the level of rhetoric. This can be seen with the development of the National Tourism Law in which the government has consulted various developmental agencies such as the Dutch aid agency SNV and the UNWTO.

Regionally, the GMS is distinctive in that there seems to be a consensus amongst GMS countries that tourism is a viable means of development. This has lead to an extensive amount of interregional cooperation which can be seen through the GMS Tourism Sector Development Strategy and the wider GMS Economic Cooperation Strategy. Both of these plans include strong elements of mitigating the negative effects of tourism development, such as the drug trade, and also include many PPT principles such as increased participation of local community members.

Barriers

Despite the opportunities, a large number of barriers for creating linkages with the mainstream tourism industry were found. At the local level, Lang Co, these barriers were related to the inability of communities to participate in the rapid tourism development taking place in the area. At the national and regional level, barriers were more related to the orientation of the various growth strategies.

One of the central barriers to creating linkages between the poorer community members and the mainstream tourism industry in Lang Co is the declining natural resource base. As the social mapping showed, many of the poorer communities are highly dependent on the natural environment, particularly on Lap An Lagoon. The environmental degradation not only affects the high percentage of fisherman in the area but also those businesses that are dependent on fisherman for their customer base. Many shop owners commented that sales go up dramatically when fishing is good. Also, as the fish resource continues to decline, resorts and restaurants will look elsewhere for their products, which will affect Lang Co's reputation as having fresh, locally caught fish and could potentially affect the amount of people who come there, especially Vietnamese tourists.

There are several causes for the decline of the Lap An Lagoon and the surrounding environment. Firstly, there is no existing waste management system. Currently all waste from the guesthouses, resorts, restaurants, households, and fishing (including the hundreds of old tyres used to grow mussels) is disposed of directly in to Lap An Lagoon or the sea. This can be seen in Figure 7.1 which shows Lap An Lagoon at low tide. Many



Figure 7.1: Shore of Lap An Lagoon at low tide.
(Source: Author)

fishermen have commented that this is a major cause of their declining catches. When the Commune People's Committee (CPC) was asked about this they stated there was no available money to develop a waste management system and that Lang Co was too far out of the way to be included in the larger cities systems. The CPC also claimed that they

are hoping to fund a solution to this problem from the private sector, for example gaining financing from some of the larger scale resorts.

Lack of livelihood diversity is another cause of the increasing pressure on the environment. Due to factors such as lack of access to education, limited land for agriculture, poor soil conditions of existing land, and exodus of a certain age range to the larger cities, fishing is one of the only options for many members of the community. With the continually increasing population this is placing higher demand on already dwindling stock.

The research also showed that there seemed almost no regulation for fishing in the lagoon or off the coast. One particular type of fishing, high flow technique required a permit but apart from that particular form of fishing there was no other framework for governing how many people fished in the lagoon, size of catch or methods of fishing. The lack of regulation of fishing has also led to forms of fishing that many claimed were unsustainable. This generally referred to fishing which disturbs the lagoon bed and effects the breeding of certain types of fish such as shrimp.

Debt and access to credit was another limiting factor for creating linkages with the local community and the tourism industry. This is especially true of the two value chains assessed in this research as starting or upgrading a sea bass farm or becoming involved in shrimp fishing would require a certain amount of start-up capital. Borrowing start-up capital was not an option at the time of the research as most households already had outstanding debt and there was only one lending institution, the Vietnamese Agricultural Bank, in the area. The households interviewed had debt for a range of reasons including: repairing storm damage (to house, fish farm, boats) which is the most common reason; tools and equipment for their trade such as a new boat or nets for fishing; unexpected costs such as medical problems; and sending children away for further study.

The weather patterns along the northern central coast of Vietnam, particularly the yearly typhoons, are another serious concern for those fishing and running aquaculture operations in the area. One example of this in the Xangsane Typhoon. In late September 2006 Xangsane Typhoon struck Vietnam. It caused over \$629 million (US) worth of damage and killed 71 people. It had a devastating effect in Lang Co and many community members are still recovering from it. Many of those interviewed had to

borrow money from the local bank to repair the damage to their houses, farms, and fishing equipment. The typhoon exposed the vulnerability of the various fishing and farming techniques used in the area. This should be a key consideration if there is going to be more development into the local fishing industry.

Education is another key barrier which arose frequently in the interviews. Primary school completion rates were very high. Also, almost all children started secondary school, but the rates of completion varied according to each village. In many of the poorer villages the children were often pulled out to help with work on the rice farm, raising buffalo or fishing. As previously stated there is no high school in Lang Co and an extremely low percentage of families were able to afford to send their children out of town to the nearest high school which cost VND 400,000 per month and is located 10km away. This severely limits the potential for people to apply for a variety of jobs, especially jobs such as lower management in the resorts. It also means they would be unable to go to University or other technical schools which require high school completion. In addition to the lack of high schools, I did not come across any technical or trade schools in the area. Those people who did possess skills, such as carpentry or curtain making, had those skills passed down through the family. Given the growing tourism industry and thus rising demand for certain skills, tourism schools or hospitality courses could be very beneficial to the community.

Lastly, there is not only a lack of participation in the planning process with regard to tourism development but a complete lack of awareness of various plans. In some cases even the Commune People's Committee was unaware of some of the development plans which I had access to, let alone people in the communities. This lack of knowledge of the future plans of tourism development is extremely limiting to PPT growth. Some of those interviewed showed an interest in starting various tourism businesses but were not willing to take the risk of becoming more in debt as they had little knowledge of whether the tourism would continue to increase.

One example which is symbolic of the situation in Lang Co is the construction of the road along the west side of Lap An Lagoon. Almost all households viewed this as a positive development and it is. Once completed there will be much quicker and easier access to Lang Co's market, the hospital and local schools. It has provided short term jobs and

some skill development through hiring some local people for the construction. It will also bring a greater amount of people through the area, potentially providing opportunities for a limited number of shops and small businesses. However, from the interviews conducted there seems to have been little consultation with local people before or during the construction phase.

This has led to problems such as the irrigation being cut off to some of the farmers on the lagoon side of the road. 22 farms have been affected, destroying many people's main



Figure 7.2: Rice farm A. (source: Author)



Figure 7.3: Rice farm B. (Source: Author)

source of income. Figures 7.2 shows a rice farm on the hillside of the new road and Figure 7.3 shows a rice farm on the lagoon side that has now become completely dry. Many residents have written letters and tried to talk to the village leader but no action has taken place thus far. In addition to undermining current livelihood activities this area also has a large potential for Community Based Tourism (CBT) and if done in an ad hoc manner the construction could mean lost opportunities by eliminating the uniqueness of the area.

The structures involved with planning and development meant that people on the ground level have mixed information about what developments are going to occur, when they are going to happen, how to benefit from them, how to mitigate the negative effects and basically how to partake. This could lead to potentially bigger problems and a large amount of lost potential for livelihood improvements.

Nationally, despite some of the rhetoric found in development plans, there is a high growth, centrally planned strategy. The government's goal of trying to triple the international tourism arrival by 2015 shows a strategy with a narrow focus on high

numbers rather than maximising the benefits of tourism through increasing length of stay or creating stronger linkages to the local economy. This strategy has proved successful in some ways in the past as Vietnam was coming from a position of extremely low growth. However, the pace at which Vietnam is changing today, does mean the loss of opportunity to consolidate the gains made so far. The principles of pro-poor tourism are almost diametrically opposite to this type of growth strategy. PPT relies on the increasing the benefits of tourism towards poverty reduction rather than just trying to increase tourism itself. Thus the overall strategy national strategy for tourism growth, in some ways, is a barrier for PPT given the opposing goals.

Regionally, again there is a focus on growth via developing large infrastructure and facilitating trade and tourism across the regions. In the strategic targets of the GMS Tourism Sector Strategy, target one is to increase the volume of international tourists from 16.4 million annually, the number in 2004, to 52 million annually, by 2015. Below target one in the strategy is the estimated number of people lifted out of poverty (1-1.2 million by 2015). There is an assumption that by purely increasing the volume of tourists, poverty will be reduced. This may, or may not, have merit but at the very least this ignores the complexity of trying to spread the benefits of tourism towards poverty reduction. This underlying assumption, and the lack of the appreciation of the difficulties in linking tourism to poverty alleviation, is the final barrier for implementing PPT strategies and creating backward economic linkages.

Central Conclusions and Reflections on Aims of this Research

Aim I: Assess the applicability of the concept of Pro Poor Tourism within the context of Vietnam and more broadly the Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS).

The first part of this aim was to understand the cause for the dramatic rise in tourism over the latter part of the 20th century and early 21st century, with regard to this several conclusions can be made. Firstly, the end of conflict in the region has lead to a period of relative peace. Since the end of the American War in 1975, Vietnam has been able to

focus its resources on building the socio-economic infrastructure that was heavily damaged through three decades of war. This, coupled with the fact that Vietnam is now considered safe to travel in, has led to many people becoming increasingly attracted to the country. Secondly, within the international tourism industry there has been growth towards destinations once considered alternative, Vietnam's past has now become an incentive for many travellers. Thirdly, Vietnam has consciously been becoming increasingly integrated into the world arena, and since 1986 the Vietnamese government has been actively creating an environment more congruent to foreign investment, trade and tourism.

The second part of this aim was to look at the potential for application of PPT in the context of Vietnam and the GMS. There are a number of positive signs. The formation of the National Tourism Law included participation from a wide range of stakeholder including development organisations, the private sector, and the public. At the level of rhetoric there are many PPT elements, however, the law at this time is yet to have any real effect on the ground level, but it does show potential and gives a policy framework for making tourism more pro poor.

There are also a number of smaller initiatives such as the Vietnam Human in Development Tourism Project (VHRDTP) which aims to create jobs by increasing the skill base of many people, and a range of ecotourism and community-based tourism programmes done in collaboration with various development organisations. Despite these positive signs there is a definite conflict between the underlying principles of PPT and the centrally planned aspects of the regional and national tourism strategies.

Throughout reports from the GMS Tourism Sector Strategy and the GMS Economic Cooperation Programme often the goal is to make the Greater Mekong Subregion a single destination so as to increase investment opportunity, increase trade, increase tourism, and increase growth. The more the countries within the region have their development strategies influenced by regional and global neoliberal agendas the harder it is for people, at the ground level, to influence the way various areas develop. Thus, the development strategies seem to be becoming more vertical and top down rather than the bottom up or participatory, on which theories such as PPT are heavily centered. Thus, although interregional cooperation can provide many opportunities it also exerts pressure on

individual countries to conform to regional growth philosophies and goals. This strong downward pressure is another substantial barrier for implementing PPT principles and creating effective linkage between poorer communities and the rapidly growing tourism industry.

Aim II: Determine the potential for creating backward economic linkages between the mainstream tourism industry and the poorer communities in Lang Co.

One of the central findings of this research is the complexity and range of problems faced by those living in poorer communities. Consequently, when looking at creating sustainable, effective linkages between the poorer communities and the mainstream tourism industry, a multidimensional approach is needed. In Lang Co, in order for those in poorer communities to supply restaurants, guesthouses, or resorts with either sea bass or shrimp, an effective initiative would have to address four central areas. These areas can be classified under financial, most importantly the access to credit, environmental, of which there are a plethora of problems but most obviously the lack of any waste management system, human, mainly the lack of skill development and education, and lastly planning systems, referring to the process of tourism planning in Lang Co. Ignoring any one of these areas would severely increase the difficulty in creating linkages.

The other main barrier is lack of knowledge transfer between various stakeholders. Some stakeholders include the Department for Planning and Investment (DPI), the Vietnam National Administration of Tourism (VNAT), the provincial, district and commune people's committees, and the people living in Lang Co. The planning process for the development of the master plan for the area is centrally driven and most of those households interviewed were completely unaware of any future developments. This not only means a loss of opportunities for those in the area wanting to participate in the tourism industry but also a loss of opportunities for planners to adapt tourism to the area in order to complement current livelihood strategies, and to create an industry which is sustainable and does not deepen the current environmental problems.

Aim III: Explore the strengths and weaknesses of using Value Chain Analysis (VCA) within the framework of PPT research.

Using VCA for this research yielded mixed results. Originally, one of the central objectives was to accurately map value and quantify each level of the value chain, the intention being that this would clearly show which areas had the greatest potential for pro poor growth. This proved impossible in the context of Lang Co. The first reason for this was the sporadic nature of the tourism industry. Volumes sold, price, and even types of product differed substantially year to year, season to season and even week to week. Secondly, the informal nature of chosen value chains, fishing and aquaculture, meant many people were unsure of the exact volumes sold, or variations in price, and there was no physical evidence of transactions. Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, was that being a foreign researcher in a foreign environment, asking questions related to financial situations, whether it be to resort managers, restaurant owners or households, is intrusive. The intrusive nature of this part of the VCA can lead to distrust, to refusal to participate, and also to lead to inaccurate reporting. However, it should be noted that most participants in this particular research were generously open and in some cases even eager to participate.

The other aspects of the VCA proved very useful in understanding the various linkages. The process of the VCA methodology proved to be flexible, especially the first part of the VCA, initial selection of value chain. The framework allowed the researcher to incorporate all desired elements and weigh them in accordance to the goals of the research. In this case the criteria for selecting the value chains included growing demand for the finished product, an example of an existing successful operation, ability of poor to participate (split up into access knowledge, capital and technology), natural capacity and risk. The second part of the VCA, mapping value chains, was able to incorporate a multidimensional approach to not only look at the specific flow of the chosen products but incorporate all the various stakeholders involved and the nature of the interaction of each stakeholder, for example looking at the nature of the contracts between the fishermen and their supplier.

Closing Remarks and Implications for Pro-Poor Tourism

Pro Poor Tourism is governed by a number of principles reflective of the changing views of development through the latter part of the 20th century and into the 21st century. These principles include a high degree of participation, bottom up planning, empowerment and judging the success of any particular initiative on the net benefit it has on the poor. One of the central criticisms of PPT is that the tourism industry is more focused on high growth strategies and is not compatible with these principles. This research has shown that tourism in Vietnam and tourism in the Greater Mekong Subregion does focus towards high growth, large infrastructure types of developments. However, there are opportunities for poverty alleviation if certain issues are addressed.

Firstly, there needs to be a higher recognition of the complexity of encouraging participation of the poor in the tourism industry. This research has shown a range of barriers to poor participation, including a high degree of debt held by the poor and lack of access to credit which severely limit people's ability to start new tourism related enterprises. Secondly, there is a conflict between developing infrastructure in order to increase tourism with the risk of developing infrastructure which will have negative environmental effects. Often the poor, as in Lang Co, are heavily dependent on the natural environment and any changes can severely affect people's current livelihoods.

Lastly, it is clear that PPT will be more effective if there are some bottom up strategies such as grassroots awareness raising about opportunities of tourism development, more information about future plans for tourism in local areas, and capacity building in terms of developing skills which are compatible to the tourism industry. Vietnam provides a unique context for tourism as a poverty reduction strategy and has achieved much progress in this respect. The effects of the continually burgeoning tourism will be judged by how effectively Vietnam can mitigate the negative effects of tourism while including strategies which are more catered to the complexity of the poor's socio-economic context and current livelihood strategies.

Bibliography

- Abbot, P. (2007). *Vietnam's Accession to the WTO: Lesson from Past Trade Agreements*. Retrieved April 27, 2008, from <http://www.econ.ku.dk/ftarp/workingpapers/WORKINGPAPERS.htm>.
- Asian Development Bank, (ADB). (2002). *Building on success: A strategic framework for the next ten years of the greater Mekong subregion economic cooperation program*. Manila: Author.
- Altmann, M. (1996). *Vietnam and Development*. Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.
- Ashley, C., & Roe, C. (2002). Making tourism work for the poor: Strategies and challenges in southern Africa. *Development Southern Africa*, 19(1), 61-81.
- Ashley, C., & Haysom, G. (2006). From Philanthropy to a different way of doing business: Strategies and challenges in integrating pro-poor approaches into tourism business. *Development in Southern Africa*, 23(2), 265-280.
- Ashley, C., & Mitchell, J. (2007). *Can tourism offer pro-poor pathways to prosperity?* London: Overseas Development Institute (ODI).
- Ashley, C. & Mitchell, J. (2007). Assessing how tourism revenues can reach the poor. London: Overseas Development Institute (ODI).
- Asian Development Bank, (ADB). (2005). *The greater Mekong subregion tourism sector strategy*. Manila, Philippines: Author.
- Bank Information Center. (2008). Burmese civil society groups send open letter to ADB on the SPU. Retrieved April 15, 2008 from <http://www.bicusa.org/en/Issue.Updates.46.aspx>

- Beresford, M. (2008). Doi Moi in Review: The Challenges of Building Market Socialism in Vietnam. *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 38 (2), 221 – 243
- Blackstock, K. (2005). A critical look at community based tourism. *Community Development Journal*, 40(1), 39-50.
- Burns, P. (2004) Tourism planning: A third way. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 31(1), 24-43.
- Chok, S., Macbeth, J., & Warren, C. (2007). Tourism as a tool for poverty alleviation; A critical analysis of 'Pro-Poor Tourism' and implications for sustainability. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2 & 3), 144-165.
- Che, C. (1962). The imperial archives of the Nguyen dynasty (1802-1945). *Journal of South East Asian History*, 3(2), 111-128.
- Donor Committee for Enterprise Development. (2003). *Inter-agency website for the exchange of information on value chains, linkages and service markets*. Retrieved July 8, 2007, from <http://www.value-chains.org/dyn/valuechains/bdssearch.home>.
- Eadington, V. L. S. (1994). *Tourism Alternatives*. New York: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Earthrights International. (2006). Open letter to ADB of safeguard policy update. Retrieved January 23, 2007 from <http://www.adb.org/Safeguards/15-Open-letter-of-Earthrights-Intl-28Feb06.pdf>
- FTTSA. (2008). FTTSA Guide to certification procedures. Retrieved March 22nd, 2008 from www.fairtourismsa.org.za/onlinemanua/ .
- Fried, S. (2007). Unacceptable weakening of ADB environmental and social standards. *Bankwatch*, 6(4), 6-10. Retrived January 17, 2007 from <http://www.forum-adb.org/Publications/Bankwatch.html>

- General Statistics Office (GSO) (2006). Vietnam – 20 years of Renovation and Development. Retrieved March 8, 2007, from http://www.gso.gov.vn/default_en.aspx?tabid=485.
- Goodwin, H. (2005). Pro-Poor Tourism, Methodologies and Mainstreaming. *Paper presented at the International Conference on Pro-Poor Tourism Mechanisms and Mainstreaming*, University Teknologi, Malaysia.
- Goodwin, H. & Spenceley, A. (2007). Nature-based tourism and poverty alleviation: Impacts of private sector and parastatal enterprises in and around Kruger National Park, South Africa. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2 & 3), 256-277.
- Hainsworth, D (2005) First Tourism Law in Vietnam. Retrieved October 2, 2007, from: www.snv.org.
- Hall, M. (2007). Pro-poor tourism: Do ‘tourism exchanges benefit primarily the countries of the south’? *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2 & 3), 111-118.
- Haysom, G. & Ashley, C. (2006). From philanthropy to a different way of doing business: Strategies and challenges in integrating pro-poor approaches into tourism business. *Development South Africa*, 23(2), 265-280.
- Harrison, D. (1988). *The Sociology of Modernization and Development*. London: Routledge.
- Harrison, D. & Schipani, S. (2007). Lao tourism and poverty alleviation: Community-based tourism and the private sector. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2 & 3), 194-230.
- Hewison, K. (2005). Introduction: East Asia and the trials of neo-liberalism. *Journal of Development Studies*, 41(2), 183-196.
- International Monetary fund. (2007). *Vietnam: Selected Issues*. IMF Country Report 07 (385). Washington: Author.

- Irvin, G. (1995). Vietnam assessing the achievements of doi moi. *Journal of Development Studies*, 31 (5), 725-733.
- Jamieson, N. (1993). *Understanding Vietnam*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Jansen-Verbeke, M. (1995). Tourism development in Vietnam. *Tourism Management*, 16(4), 315-325.
- Jeffries, Ian. (2006). *Vietnam: A guide to economic and political development*. London: Routledge.
- Jensen-Verbeke, M. (1995). Tourism Development in Vietnam. *Tourism Management*. 16(4), 315-325.
- John, R.B. (2006). *Revolution, Reform and Regionalism in Southeast Asia* London: Routledge.
- Malikaew, S. (2006). Balancing Heritage and Development in Luang Prabang. Retrieved
- Macan-Marker, M. (2007, July, 17). Environment: UNEP faults Asian Development Bank Project. *Inter Press Service (IPS)*. Retrieved August 8, 2007, from <http://ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=38568>
- M4P. (2006). Making value chains work better for the poor (publications). Retrieved March 17th, 2007, from <http://www.markets4poor.org/>.
- Medlik, S. (1996). *Dictionary of travel and tourism*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Miller, F., Scott, S. & Lloyd, K. (2006), Doing fieldwork in development geography: Research culture and research spaces in Vietnam. *Geographical Research*, 44(1), 28-40.
- Minh, N.D. (2004). Grassroots Democracy in Vietnamese Communes. Retrieved April 12, 2008, from: http://www.cdi.anu.edu.au/CDIwebsite_1998-2004/vietnam/Vietnam_Grass%20Roots%20Demo_MDoung.htm.

- Momsen, J.H., & Torres, R. (2004). Challenges and potential for linking tourism and agriculture to achieve pro-poor tourism objectives. *Progress in Development Studies*, 4(4), 294-318.
- NGO Forum on ADB. (2007). *Bankwatch*. NGO Forum of ADB, 5(4): A
- Nguyen, K.H. (2001). *Lessons learned from a decade of experience: A strategic analysis of INGO methods and activities in Vietnam 1990-1999*. Retrieved December 12, 2007, from: <http://www.ngocentre.org.vn/node/24/>
- Painter, M. (2005). The politics of State Sector Reform in Vietnam: Contested Agendas and Uncertain Trajectories. *Journal of Development Studies* 41 (2), 216 – 283.
- Painter, M. (2008). From command economy to hollow state? Decentralisation in Vietnam and China. *The Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 67(1), 79-88.
- Palmer, S. (1982). The political economy of tourism in the third world. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 9(3), 331-358.
- People's Participatory Working Group (PPWG) (2007). *Mapping of Participatory Models Applied by NGOs Towards Enhancing Grassroots Participation and Democracy Plan in Vietnam*. Retrieved May 6, 2008, from: <http://www.ngocentre.org.vn/node/119> .
- Pham, H.M. (2004). *FDI and development in Vietnam: Policy implications*. Singapore: Institute of South East Asian Nations.
- PPT Partnership. (2005). Pro poor tourism annual register: 2005. London: Author. Retrieved March 2, 2007 from <http://www.propoortourism.org.uk/>
- Punch, K.F. (2005). *Introduction to social research: Quantitative & qualitative approaches*. London: SAGE.

- Rambo, T. (2005). *Searching for Vietnam: Selected writings Vietnamese culture and society*. Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press.
- Socialist Republic of Vietnam. (2005). Vietnam Achieving the Millennium Goals. Retrieved March 7, 2007 from: <http://www.undp.org.vn/undpLive/System/Publications/Publication-Details?contentId=1877&languageId=1> .
- Socialist Republic of Vietnam (2006). Chan May – Lang Co economic zone. Retrieved March 20, 2007 from:
<http://english.thuathienhue.gov.vn/Main.asp?pid=6&cid=8&fid=29&aid=201&ln=en>
- S.N.V (2006) Report on the Preliminary Assessment for Pilot Project on Integrating Pro-Poor Approaches into Mass Tourism in Lang Co Beach [Draft]. FWC/EWCA Ha Conference, Hanoi.
- Schilcher, D. (2007). Growth versus equity: The continuum of pro-poor tourism and neoliberal governance. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2 & 3), 166-193.
- Scheyvens, R. (1999). Ecotourism and the empowerment of local communities. *Tourism Management*, 20(2), 245-249.
- Scheyvens, R. (2002). *Tourism for development: Empowering communities*. Harlow: Pearson Educated Limited.
- Scheyvens, R., & Momsen, J.H. (2008). *Tourism and poverty reduction: Issues for small island states*. *Tourism Geographies*, 10(1), 22-41.
- Scheyvens, R. (2007). Exploring the tourism-poverty nexus. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2 & 3), 231-255.
- Scott, S., Miller, F., & Lloyd, K. (2005). Doing fieldwork in development geography: Research culture and research spaces in Vietnam. *Geographical Research*, 44(1), 28-40.

- St John, R.B. (2006). *Revolution, reform and regionalism in Southeast Asia*. New York: Routledge.
- Thua Thien Hue Center for the Promotion for Tourism, Trade and Investment Promotion. (2007, December 13). *US \$1 billion eco-tourist resort coming to Thua Thien – Hue*. Retrieved from: <http://www.pcict.gov.vn/NewsViewer.aspx?ID=44&LangID=2&NewsID=1104>
- Telfer, D.J., & Sharpley, R. (2008). *Tourism and development in the developing world*. New York: Routledge
- Telfer, D.J., & Wall, G. (1996). Linkages between tourism and food production. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 23(3), 635-653.
- United Nations Environmental Programme. (2007). Greater Mekong environmental outlook 2007. Bangkok, Thailand: Author.
- Urquhart, P., & Roe, D. (2001). *Pro-Poor Tourism: Harnessing the World's Largest Industry for the World's Poor*: International Institute for Environment and Development IIED.
- Weaver, D. (2002). Asian ecotourism: Patterns and themes. *Tourism Geographies*, 4(2), 153-172.
- West, P., & Carrier, J.G. (2004). Ecotourism and authenticity: Getting away from it all. *Current Anthropology*, 45(4), 483-498.
- Withanage, H. (2007). With uncertainties and variables. *Bankwatch*, 6(4), 3-9. Retrived January 20, 2007 from <http://www.forum-adb.org/Publications/Bankwatch.html>
- World Tourism Organisation. (2002). Tourism and poverty alleviation. Madrid, Spain: Author.
- World Tourism Organisation. (2004). Tourism and poverty alleviation: Recommendations for action. Madrid, Spain: Author

- World Tourism Organisation. (2005). Tourism, microfinance and poverty alleviation. Madrid, Spain: Author.
- World Tourism Organisation. (2006). Poverty alleviation through tourism: A compilation of good practices. Madrid, Spain: Author.
- World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO). (2008). Tourism highlights 2008. Madrid, Spain: Author.
- World Tourism Organisation(UNWTO).(2007). UNWTO sustainable tourism-eliminate poverty programme. Madrid, Spain: Author.
- World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC). (2008). The 2008 Travel & Tourism Economic Research: Vietnam. Retrieved March 18, 2008, from: <http://www.wttc.travel>.
- Vietnam National Administration of Tourism. (2006, February 9). *WTO access – Pros and cons of Vietnam tourism*. Retrieved from <http://www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn/english>.
- Zhao, W., & Brent Richie, J.R. (2007). Tourism and poverty alleviation: An integrative research framework. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2 & 3), 119-143.