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**The Role of Local Communities in Community-based Tourism
Development in Traditional Tea Production Areas in
Thai Nguyen Province, Vietnam**

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfilment

of the requirements for the degree

of

Doctor of Philosophy in Tourism Development

at

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by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a theoretical and empirical examination of the role of local communities in sustainable tourism development through community-based tourism. It reveals how community participation and empowerment in tourism could be enhanced from listening to, understanding, and integrating the voices of local people. It conceptualises a way that uniquely accounts for, and celebrates, local people's understandings and expressions of themselves, their community and local tourism development. I argue that reclaiming and acknowledging local people's power and collective responsibility in upholding their central role has the potential to transform experiences of/about local people and enable them to achieve what they desire in tourism. A mixed methodology was used, the majority of which was qualitative, to help draw better comprehensive answers for my research questions. Data collected from 28 interviews, 130 questionnaires, 3 focus groups and participation in local daily activities gave me a better insight into the community, whether they participated or not in CBT, and in managerial affairs.

Empirical material is arranged around four key themes. The first highlights the needs to recommit to local characteristics as the roots of tourism development, drivers of attractiveness and competitiveness in the face of globalisation. The dialogue between tourism and local development can be more effective if decision-makers, actors in tourism, and the hosting community develop policies and attitudes resulting from an understanding of the significance of local characteristics. The second theme determines the barriers that prevent more local people from participation in community-based tourism development. This reveals how communities themselves become a source of challenges to the practical implementation of sustainable tourism. Third, this study provides a deeper understanding of how shifts in power can be achieved and lead to social change. It is important to re-confirm that the power to act is within local people's hands. Local people's role and participation can and must be promoted for successful implementation of sustainable tourism development by acknowledging their power and enabling them to exercise that power. This study also unpacks the significance of collaboration of all the stakeholders as it generates collective power in CBT development. Finally, this thesis reveals the importance to address and promote the concept of inclusive tourism, which is meaningful for collective responsibility in upholding the central role of the local people to achieve sustainable tourism development.

This research responds to the scarcity of existing academic scholarship pertaining to the power of local people within tourism development, and provides an opportunity to advance the innovative and forward thinking of inclusive tourism. I argue that inclusive tourism should be the answer to a changing world. Given the challenges that each stakeholder faces today, this study demonstrates that the concept of looking beyond each stakeholder and the need for collective action and collaboration have never been clearer.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

CBT	Community-based Tourism
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
GDT	General Department of Tourism
GOV	Government of Vietnam
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MPI	Ministry of Planning and Investment
PCSC	Party Central Secretariat Committee
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SRV	Socialist Republic of Vietnam
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
VNAT	Vietnam National Administration of Tourism

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

He aha te mea nui o te ao

He tāngata, he tāngata, he tāngata

This whakataukī or Māori¹ proverb asks “what is the most important thing in the world?” The answer is “it is people, it is people, it is people”.

In this study based in the traditional tea production areas in Thai Nguyen Province, Vietnam, I reveal how local participation and empowerment in tourism could be enhanced from listening to and understanding the voices of local people. To do so, I conceptualise a way that accounts for, and celebrates, uniquely local people’s understandings and expressions of themselves, their community and local tourism development. I argue that reclaiming and acknowledging local people power and collective responsibility in upholding the central role of the local communities has the potential to transform experiences of local people and thus enable local communities to achieve what they desire in tourism.

It is not by accident that I begin this thesis with a Māori proverb, in research conducted in Vietnam. I use it deliberately. I find this proverb fits different societies and cultures. I start this thesis with the importance of people, and this Māori proverb illuminates the key subject of this whole research – the local people. Everything starts from people and comes back to people; without people, change will not happen. Local people should be first and foremost in research about communities because they are at the centre of any community.

I use a sustainable tourism development framework to examine why we need to pay more attention to community participation and community empowerment in community-based tourism (CBT) development, tourism developed in a local site by the local people (see Chapter 2, section 2.3.1). It also reveals challenges and barriers

¹ The Māori are the indigenous Polynesian people of New Zealand, they have a rich and diverse culture.

that are preventing local people from participating in CBT development, especially in today's fast-changing world. Importantly, this research highlights the possibilities of reclaiming and reconfiguring local people's role in both theory and practice to determine how CBT could progress more significantly and sustainably from grassroots. Local communities, who live within a geographically defined area together, can tend to have social ties with each other and with the place where they live, which could give them a sense of shared purpose (see Chapter 2, section 2.3.1.1). One also needs to recognize that they actually have power for their local tourism development, which most of the time they have not realized.

Globalization also makes it more important to re-examine the role of people in sustainable tourism development. Globalisation has had a massive impact on nations and their people and brought great challenges. In the global cultural economy, how do rural communities 'position' themselves when many local communities with strong cultural traditions exist across the world? For tourism to be sustained, it first needs to identify what are the roots of tourism development.

When tourism is for the preservation and protection of local identities, especially rural tourism, its sustainable development includes the meanings of local people. Local people are the roots of tourism development and thus local people's role should be better recognized. This thesis draws on the lived experiences and opinions of local respondents. Twenty eight interviews, 130 questionnaires, 3 focus groups and participation in local daily activities gave me a better insight into the community, whether they participated or not in CBT, and managers. I highlight the tensions between local communities themselves and with authorities. I also reveal possibilities of collaboration.

Many countries now seek to empower local people to overcome issues they may face (Kasmel & Tanggaard, 2011) – to become better farmers (as for example in the case of CBT in Tan Cuong², Thai Nguyen), leaders, entrepreneurs in their home and community. However, thirty years after the advocacy for sustainable tourism development and community empowerment, local people are still in weaker positions, little involved and dependent (Felix, Brent, & Neil, 2017; Kim, Park, &

² Tan Cuong in my thesis refers to Tan Cuong specialty production areas within Thai Nguyen city.

Phandanouvong, 2014). Twenty years after CBT became an essential part of sustainable tourism, CBT is still seen as a complex process (Simons & de Groot, 2015) as it is hard to really engage local people in tourism. In spite of much research on community participation, community members are among the less engaged tourism stakeholder groups (Choi & Murray, 2010).

The discourse of sustainability has been widely accepted as a desirable objective of tourism development. It, however, has also been difficult to translate into practice. A significant gap has thus been created between the idealism and the reality of sustainable tourism development. While sustainable development and community empowerment are global problems, the best solutions are often local (Redclift, 2014). Sustainable development and sustainable tourism development, therefore, need to be defined and implemented in terms of each and every culture, in their particular context. This study extends this scholarship by considering sustainable tourism development in the ways it is understood and constructed and is challenged from a local perspective in Vietnam.

By acknowledging that local communities and countries are operating in challenging times, perhaps then, it is time to ask what local communities really want to achieve. *This study argues that successful destination planning should begin with an understanding of the needs and aspirations of the host community.* A deeper and better understanding of communities is necessary to identify more effective strategies for their engagement (Elliot & Joppe, 2015). The result, I hope, is a work that strongly reflects community desire and needs, and offers what can truly practically help them achieve their desire.

I am also aware that giving voice to local people, listening to their stories and revealing challenges do not necessarily help people improve their current situations. It is true that “no matter how theoretically ‘sophisticated’ any discussion of local people participation may claim to be, if it does not hold some ‘practical’ value it very quickly becomes meaningless to those it is supposed to ‘empower’” (Simmonds, 2014, p. 5). This thesis is rooted in that knowledge and motivated by a clear desire for enhancement of the life of the local people in rural areas in Thai Nguyen province, Vietnam.

Although CBT appears to embrace empowerment, it seems difficult to implement. It is still seen as highly idealistic, not in line with reality (Simons & de Groot, 2015). The goal of true community empowerment, i.e. giving power to local people, though highly sought, still eludes many countries (Mendoza-Ramos & Prideaux, 2014). Could research create robust tests of whether local people anywhere are really empowered? Could countries find ways to support local people in their aspiration to lead their local tourism development? When the people do not respond, it becomes a different problem that still needs to be resolved. So how could countries move forward? What needs to be unveiled? How can countries significantly foster local people's participation and empower them in tourism development? This reveals what needs to be discovered – power in tourism.

This thesis has been an interesting journey for me as I examined the definition of power and understanding its distribution in tourism. When talking about power, people often think of politics, because of the role of government and its powerful influence on tourism development. The question, however, is whether the exercise of power is always one-sided (Cheong & Miller, 2000), and hence whether local communities have power and do they (often/ever) exercise it? The thesis responds by invoking one particular notion developed in Foucault's discussion about power: power is everywhere in tourism. This challenges the assumption of power being only about politics and one-sided. This extends the understanding of power, by considering the power of local people in tourism development.

The conventional wisdom (even from local people themselves) has also been that local people, especially those who live in rural areas, lack knowledge and are incapable, that all they need are specific directions. By applying this notion advanced by Foucault to local people's participation in sustainable tourism development, I also challenge these fixed misunderstandings of local people, and provide an important space in which local people's knowledge and power can be recognized and validated.

Communities could not be viewed as powerless in a world of constant evolution and change (Milne & Ateljevic, 2001). My study argues that there exist resources, capabilities, creativity and invention in every single community and

those must be recognized. As Russell (2016) claims, we need to find the “*hidden treasures that exist in each community*”. It reveals their inner strength - a significant power which they could use to address the barriers and difficulties facing them in tourism development. Power as a framework to (re)construct local people subjectivities, I believe, has the potential to empower and transform experiences of local people and their future generations about their participation in local tourism development.

Despite much literature concerning sustainable tourism development and about local people involvement and participation, little engages with the interface of local people and power in tourism and sustainable tourism development such as the study by Cheong and Miller (2000), which is an important precursor to this research. Empowering communities often indicates shifts in power. Riger (1993), however, warns that attempting to enhance a sense of empowerment can result in an illusion without affecting the actual distribution of power.

This research responds to the scarcity of existing academic scholarship pertaining to the power of local people, the power of community within tourism development. A deeper understanding of power in CBT is necessary to find out how to achieve shifts in power that lead to social change. It is important to re-confirm that the power of actions are within local people’s hands. The only time local tourism development will work is when power has moved to the local people. It is also the basic condition for sustainable tourism development to happen.

This significant step brings the potential to create new patterns from existing knowledge on the role of local communities in sustainable tourism development. That is why it is possible for communities to be empowered, and for such a revolution in tourism, where planning for community empowerment had been nearly impossible until now (Elliot & Joppe, 2015). When development first occurred, it was imposed by the powerful Western countries, but more recently, developing countries have exercised more power in their development. So it is possible to consider one more shift in power from government towards local communities, i.e. empowering local communities. The relative invisibility of local

people's power within sustainable tourism development contains a political imperative that is necessary for future participation.

Communities are not homogeneous (Cole, 2006; Jamal & Stronza, 2009; Richards & Hall, 2000), and not all have equal opportunity to participate in local tourism development. These facts challenged me when doing this research. It is difficult to accommodate the diversity of opinions and voices (Hall, 2010). As Elliot and Joppe (2015) argue traditional assumptions do not always reflect characteristics of modern communities, such as diversity, heterogeneity and constant change. It is important to reflect on what tourism development is and why communities should strive to develop it individually and as a community. Each person's definition of tourism development might be different depending on their current circumstances.

Instead of ignoring differences and challenges, it is essential to accept and transcend them. I believe there is a degree of consistency in the answers irrespective of the circumstances people find themselves in. This study demonstrates the challenges of heterogeneous communities can be addressed from a community that is open and where each member can feel a 'sense of community'. The ultimate hope of this thesis is to transform the way local people themselves see their role in local tourism development and suggest solutions to build up a connected community, where everybody has a voice, and all see themselves as valued members. Local people can then dedicate themselves to their local activities, including working towards sustainable development.

Community participation and empowerment however are not enough. As individuals, each has a relatively low level of power. Working together or collaborating creates real power, taking advantage of the potential of each to cope with challenges. Tourism development cannot be implemented by a single stakeholder alone. To avoid unrealistic expectations of CBT development in practice, a more practical model which addresses stakeholder conflicts effectively should be considered, by fostering more collaboration (Ellis & Sheridan, 2014).

My study claims the importance of addressing and promoting the concept of a more inclusive tourism, for collective responsibility in upholding the central role of the local people to achieve sustainable tourism development. The connections

between government, NGO, local people, and community were also examined to see where changes could happen. Given the challenges that each stakeholder faces today, and in the face of isolationism, globalization, and social movements, this study demonstrates that the concept of looking beyond each stakeholder and the need for collective action and collaboration have never been clearer.

1.2. Background to the Research Problem

A growing number of countries are using tourism for their economic and development policy planning (UNWTO, 2014). Tourism's exponential growth has led it to become one of the world's leading industries (UNWTO, 2017c). International tourist arrivals (overnight visitors) worldwide increased 7% in 2017. This is higher than the sustained trend of 4% or higher growth since 2010 and represents the strongest results in seven years (UNWTO, 2018a). Vietnam tourism too has developed amazingly.

The United Nations General Assembly stated 2017 as the International Year of Sustainable Tourism for Development (UNWTO, 2015). Sustainable development has been pointed out as one of the global challenges which humanity is hoping to address (Marien, 2009). Tourism has been designated for contributing to the three pillars of sustainable development - economic, social and environmental (UNWTO, 2015). Sustainable tourism has been determined as a significant tool for economic growth in developing countries.

For the last few years, changes have also been seen in the choices made by tourists. Some have moved away from mass tourism, seeking different kinds of leisure activities and environments (Williams & Lew, 2015). Many tourists look for destinations with greater focus on local customs, history and particular cultures (López-Guzmán, Sánchez-Cañizares, & Pavón, 2011). This creates, at the local level, opportunities to encourage the participation and support of new actors, and the involvement of local people in the development process, so that tourism associated with the inherent cultural and natural resources of the communities would foster the development of those communities (López-Guzmán, Sánchez-Cañizares, et al., 2011).

Some authors (López-Guzmán, Sánchez-Cañizares, et al., 2011; Polnyotee & Thadaniti, 2015; Simpson, 2001) have asserted that CBT is an effective model to promote the development of sustainable tourism. CBT is highly valued for its significant contribution in economic terms but also in terms of social and environmental protection of the destinations (Ellis, 2011; Polnyotee & Thadaniti, 2015; Simpson, 2001; Suansri, 2003; Vajirakachorn, 2011). It is expected that meaningful benefits will reach the community, which is in accordance with the global transition to sustainable development goals and principles promoted by the United Nations from 2015 and beyond (UNWTO, 2014).

As one of many developing countries that have focused on tourism development, with recent attention to CBT (Ellis, 2011), Vietnam adopted the CBT model in 1997, which has gained popularity in many areas across the country (Dang, 2011; Tran, Nguyen, & Haruo, 2010). It creates a model where local culture can be introduced to visitors to the area. In Vietnam, tourists can choose various CBT ‘products’, for example, visiting traditional handicraft villages, exploring nature, experiencing a farmer’s life or discovering the unique cultures of ethnic minorities.

Tourism has been considered an effective tool for economic growth and poverty alleviation in developing countries such as Vietnam (GOV, 2005; Truong, 2014), in which CBT plays a significant role. In many regions, poverty has stimulated poor local people to participate in tourism activities in order to gain income (Dang, 2011). CBT development in Mai Chau (Hoa Binh Province) or Sa Pa (Lao Cai Province) are some successful stories in Vietnam. Many other localities have been pushing hard to develop this new kind of tourism, as in Thai Nguyen province (Thai Nguyen Broadcast, 2015; Thai Nguyen Online Trade, 2014).

Thai Nguyen province located in North Vietnam, adjacent to Hanoi the capital, is considered the economic and cultural center of the Northern mountainous provinces (see Figure 1). Thanks to its climate and quality of soil, Thai Nguyen has developed tea cultivation for a hundred years (Vietnam Online, 2015) and is known as the "Capital" of Vietnamese Tea (Thai Nguyen Online Trade, 2014). The tea villages are in lush natural scenery, quiet rural areas, with comfortable atmosphere,

hospitable farmers; 30 ethnic groups live there together. Therefore, Thai Nguyen can develop CBT associated with tea growing and local cultures.



Figure 1: Location of Thai Nguyen, Vietnam

(Source: GraphicMaps.com/countries/asia/vn.htm)

Tourists have shown a growing interest in travelling to places where they can experience culture through food and drink (Everett, 2012; Jolliffe, 2007). Food and beverages express a region's cultural identity (Sohn, Yuan, & Jai, 2014) and support differentiation of tourist destinations (Blain, Levy, & Ritchie, 2005; Horng & Tsai, 2010). Further, tea is an important agricultural product that plays a major role in many developing countries (Gesimba, 2005), which tourists could experience (Jolliffe, 2007), through local tea traditions, cultures, services and the beauty of tea hills. In this way, "tradition becomes attraction, and the tourist is part of the changing and adapting culture of tea" (Jolliffe, 2007, p. 8). Many tourists make or alter travel decisions according to their interest in tea to enjoy local communities' culture (Jolliffe, 2003; Sohn et al., 2014).

According to the World Tourism Organization (2019), international tourist arrivals reached 1.4 billion in 2018³, in which cultural tourism accounts for around 40% (UNWTO, 2018b). In 2018, Vietnam tourism picked up 15.6 million international tourist arrivals; and served 80 million domestic visitors. This represents an increase respectively of 2.7 million and 6.8 million visitors compared with 2017 (Ha, 2018). The preference of tourists for cultural tourism and their large numbers now visiting Vietnam mean that famous tea and tea culture combined with diverse resources of Thai Nguyen tea villages promises to become a special tourist attraction.

The model of CBT in Thai Nguyen was deployed from the end of 2012, in association with the goal of a new rural construction program and urban economic development, between Thai Nguyen city and the city of Victoria in Canada (Thai Nguyen Broadcast, 2015). Taking part in CBT in traditional tea production areas, tourists can visit green tea hills, be involved in picking tealeaves with farmers, experience the crumpling and processing of tea according to traditional methods, drink self-make-up teapot, listen to local traditional songs and music, and taste local food specialties. Since this model was operationalized, the locals have a new job – community tourism. This has increased their income and their desire to preserve and promote their unique local culture as well as create new products. It was to open up opportunities for people to develop a professional tea practice which is quite new to them (Thai Nguyen Broadcast, 2015).

Although meeting adequately the basic conditions for CBT, a number of hurdles exist (Tran et al., 2010): The traditional tea production areas have not yet attracted many visitors; resources and advantages have not yet been fully employed; tourist products are not particularly diverse so CBT is still not attractive enough to extend the stay of tourists and increase their spending; awareness of the role of the local communities in CBT development is still incomplete; and there is a shortage of common information channels among local government, tourism enterprises and citizens.

³ UNWTO's long term forecast issued in 2010 indicated the 1.4 billion mark would be reached in 2020. The remarkable growth of international arrivals in recent years has brought it two years ahead (UNWTO, 2019).

To take into account the full potential of local tourism, contributing to household income, and create more jobs through the sale of products to tourists, effective solutions should not only take advantage of the potentials of the region but also ensure environmental protection, cultural preservation, and benefits for the local communities as well as for other relevant stakeholders. Well planned and implemented CBT should help the area attain sustainable development goals especially if local people have been empowered to become fully participating stakeholders.

Sustainable development and sustainable tourism development are desirable concepts, but they are broad and there is not one general model for all countries. Given different contexts and directions, they can only provide some guidance for countries to further the well-being of their citizens. This thesis demonstrates how CBT and sustainable tourism development can be redefined in ways they are understood and constructed from the grassroots in Vietnam. World Tourism Day 2014 highlighted how tourism can be conducive to advancing sustainable development from the grassroots level (UNWTO, 2014). Meanwhile, CBT positions local communities as key stakeholders, as the support and participation of the host community are pivotal in achieving its successful implementation. This thesis, taking a grassroots - local communities approach, responds to that need by studying CBT and local communities' role, based in traditional tea production areas in Thai Nguyen province.

The following research question was set out:

1.3. Research Question

How could local communities' role and participation be promoted for successful implementation of sustainable tourism development via CBT in traditional tea production areas in Thai Nguyen province, Vietnam?

Sub-questions:

1. What are the impacts of CBT on local communities (economic, socio-cultural and environmental) caused by the development of the industry and by the tourists? How are they perceived locally?

This study follows a grassroots approach, so it examines how local people themselves perceive CBT impacts, which can serve significantly to later, understand the willingness to support and/or to participate of local communities in tourism.

2. How do local communities, tourists and key informants (management officials and other key stakeholders) perceive tourism development and local communities' participation in CBT development?

Findings from both qualitative and quantitative data enabled me to answer better and more comprehensively whether local communities support local tourism development. These understandings are vital, as local people are those who will continue to protect and develop their homeland and no one should have a stronger interest in local development than the local people who live there. This establishes a baseline to develop further and more effective tourism, and to understand how to make Tan Cuong a sustainable tourism destination from the grassroots.

3. What are the barriers for local communities' participation in CBT development perceived by the local communities as well as specified by the key informants?

There is no doubt that local people are making vital contributions to local tourism development, however, they face many obstacles that keep them from full participation. This brings up the questions – how can they be helped? How to take down those barriers? The *homogeneous* or *heterogeneous* nature of the community will also be critically discussed.

4. What solutions can be proposed to implement successful CBT development and sustainable tourism development and to enable local people to become equal partners in that development?

This study claims that if CBT is better planned and monitored, the pursuit of CBT development for cultural development and economic benefits will have a better chance to be successful and benefit the local communities further. In recognition of the challenges and prospects of CBT and sustainable tourism development in Thai Nguyen and in developing countries, this study seeks to propose solutions for developing inclusive community-based tourism.

1.4. Chapter Overview

Chapter 1 puts forward the key arguments of this research – that re-examining the role of local people is critical to understand how sustainable tourism development can be achieved from the grassroots. In addition, the notion of diffuse power challenges the dominant assumptions of/about local people in tourism, therefore, it is argued that by moving power to local people, it is possible to spur community empowerment and to put in place collective participation and to transform society. In this introduction, I also see inclusive tourism as a primary foundation for further development.

Chapter 2 establishes the theoretical framework of the study. I bring together theories of sustainable development, sustainable tourism development and also about power and empowerment as linked to such evolution. I discuss the place of CBT in these discourses and its significance and impacts on local communities. The role of local communities in CBT development and the potential of CBT development from grassroots perspectives in Vietnam is critically reviewed. I also examine power in tourism with a discussion of one notion advanced by Foucault. The theoretical framework built up does not only challenge the hegemonic discourses and assumptions of one-sided power and local people as ‘powerless’. Knowledge about power should be reclaimed to empower local people whom we seek to privilege and whose participation we seek to increase. This brings the potential to create new patterns from existing knowledge on the participation of local communities in sustainable tourism development.

Chapter 3 discusses the methodologies employed in the research, i.e. a mixed qualitative and quantitative approach, to provide a depth of subjective understandings with a wider breadth of community responses to tourism development. I also present ethical considerations as well as my positionality and reflexivity that allowed me to ensure that I followed ethical practices throughout. I reflect on the ways in which the research field trip was challenging but such an interesting journey of learned experiences and knowledge; it was accompanied by memorable and mixed emotions that shaped, and were shaped by, research interactions. I also present the methods of data analysis used.

Chapter 4 is a context chapter; I begin by examining the geographic, political, historical, cultural and economic characteristics of the area. Knowledge of the study area can bring forth matters and issues of places, people, relationships of power and development. This chapter reveals how the traditional tea plantation in Thai Nguyen and tea culture in Vietnam can be linked to CBT. It presents various activities offered to CBT tourists from my participant observation.

Chapter 5, which investigates the roots of tourism development, starts by re-examining the significance of local characteristics, emphasizing them as important local assets in tourism development and how to use them when developing tourism experiences. It examines what kind of planning to adopt for continued sustainability of the local community and culture. This chapter discusses the significance of 'uniqueness' and its role in tourism, revealing the importance for local landscape, local people and local culture to be protected and supported for local communities themselves and sustainable tourism development. It continues by examining perceptions of local communities of CBT impacts and their willingness or not to support CBT development.

Chapter 6 examines the power of the key stakeholders involved in CBT implementation but also the challenges faced. In the Thai Nguyen case, they include the government, the NGOs, and the local people. Within tourism and development studies/projects, so often government and NGOs are thought to be directive and supportive, while local people living in rural areas are labelled as vulnerable, deficient and/or problematic. This chapter questions whether government or NGOs are the only ones who have power in hand. And is this so that local people do not have power? This chapter thus underlines why power needs to be recognized in all its complexities. The power of collaboration is then discussed in how it could enable the successful achievement of CBT and sustainable development.

Chapter 7 claims the importance to address and promote the concept of more inclusive tourism, for collective responsibility in upholding the central role of the local people to achieve sustainable tourism development. I redefine the concept of CBT and sustainable tourism development in the Vietnam context. This then reveals prospects for CBT implementation and sustainable tourism development in order to see how challenges can be transformed and opportunities can be engaged

with to move forward. This chapter proposes solutions for better CBT implementation and to further reinforce the power and significance that it has brought to the communities. These solutions are to inform and guide policies, provide instruments for advocacy and undertake initiatives – to improve the role of local people, by enhancing their capabilities and improving their opportunities.

I conclude in Chapter 8 by revisiting the main arguments and research objectives of the thesis. I also highlight some potential areas for future research. I reassert that power transition to each and every local individual has the potential to make space for, to transform, and to celebrate experiences and expressions of local communities and their role in sustainable CBT development. Multiple stories and sharing from local communities in Thai Nguyen, Vietnam can contribute to a bigger story of finding ways to empower local communities in CBT sustainable development. This research offers another opening for what I hope will be an on-going dialog about community empowerment, power in tourism development, and more broadly, inclusive tourism.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter brings together three bodies of literature: sustainable development and sustainable tourism development under the more general notion of development; community-based tourism as a mode of sustainable tourism development; and power, and empowerment as linked to such evolution. These establish the theoretical framework of the study, to reveal some of the challenges but more importantly the possibilities of enhancing community participation to achieve sustainable tourism development.

Development, in general, is understood as a process which makes a situation better (Desai & Potter, 2014; Perroux, 2010). The important question is how could it be achieved and do all members of that society benefit? The concept of development thus evolved over time: from a traditional view since the early 1950s as a Eurocentric construct (Kippler, 2010), from the 1970s to the mid 1990s as a top-down and technocratic approach (Desai & Potter, 2014), to a ‘bottom-up’ that embraces human and environmental concerns (Sharpley, 2000). This evolution enabled the appearance of the CBT model in sustainable tourism development, which derives from a community or grassroots focus. My study hence considers the role of local communities in sustainable tourism development through CBT in Vietnam.

‘Power’ seems to pervade development whose evolution it is argued was due in part to a slow and subtle but inexorable shift in the power balance of the world. Exploring power relations therefore has specific implications for community empowerment and participation as this study reveals that *power needs to be redistributed towards the local communities*.

One particular notion developed in Foucault’s discussion about power, indicates how power is diffuse, which means “power is everywhere” and “comes from everywhere” (Foucault, 1998, p. 63). Collinson (2003) argues that “power and powerless determine the distribution of access to assets among and within different groups. Those who lack power cannot safeguard their basic political, economic and

social rights” (p. 10). CBT development in Thai Nguyen is based on traditional tea culture. Resources or assets used are the tea culture, spiritual values, local knowledge and practices. Local communities must be able to protect their political and social rights when using their traditional culture for economic development.

Vietnam’s ‘socialist-oriented market economy’ is a decidedly mixed affair of private, collective and state ownership of the means of production. While the Vietnamese government has embraced tourism as a growth and development strategy, the realities of the country, including the political and economic importance of peasants, mean that it cannot antagonize local communities. Adopting CBT is seen to augment but not to displace existing forms of livelihood. As the cultural aspects of tea production remain central, the inclusion of households is intended to prevent their displacement (tea producers) by other actors (e.g. tourism operators or outside investors). CBT means local people provide all the products required by tourists. It then cannot be controlled by outsiders because CBT is implemented in local people’s homes.

The theoretical framework I have built challenges the concept of local people as powerless and demonstrates that knowledge about power should be reclaimed to empower local people whom we seek to privilege. Local people must be able to participate in decision making, i.e. be heard and listened to, to protect their traditional culture and livelihood, from which to develop CBT. In addition, it indicates local communities can mobilize, forge bonds, and utilize their power within the community to support change.

The chapter is organized in three sections. First, the theoretical framework is established by critically discussing the call for alternative development, the emergence and debates about sustainable development and sustainable tourism development as alternative tourism. The second section examines the place of CBT in these discourses and its significance and impacts on local communities. A specific review is conducted about the role of local communities in CBT development and the potential of CBT development from grassroots perspectives in Vietnam. It then reveals the need to address challenges faced by local communities in the current context to improve practical efficacy in CBT development. In the last part, I examine the distribution of power in tourism, based

on a notion advanced by Foucault to find out how power is actually ubiquitous in tourism, and thus can enable empowerment of the local people.

2.2. Development and Sustainable Tourism Development

Development is generally defined as a process through which a society moves from one condition to another according to the goals it sets for itself (Sharpley, 2000). It is understood as a process which makes a situation better (Desai & Potter, 2014; Perroux, 2010), what Thomas (2000) refers to as a “good change” (p. 9). Sharpley (2009) argues that “there is no finality about development, as it is a continually evolving goal of betterment (however defined) towards which all societies strive” (p. 31). While development or, ‘good change’, is what any society expects and desires, through time society might come to a different conception of betterment.

2.2.1. Development and the Call for ‘Alternative Development’

From the understandings of development above, a lot of questions can be raised, such as, what does a positive change look like? What are its parameters? Who sets out and decides what ‘good change’ is? How could it be achieved? Another question that has received much attention is “if change is for the good of society, do all members of that society benefit or are there winners and losers” (Sharpley, 2009, p. 31)? Often positive results or discourses are about hiding their negative consequences. How winning is defined also has implications for losers. Often those who are pointed as the winners (e.g. because of jobs or new infrastructure) are actually losers because of heavy debt for the infrastructure and the real winners are the foreign investors whose resort is served by the infrastructure. Therefore, it depends on who is designating the winners.

According to Straussfogel (1997), potential resources such as human, environmental, and organizational as well as material and technological make development possible. Although material aspects have been mentioned above, CBT development in Thai Nguyen is based on traditional tea culture. The emphasis of my case study is on human and organizational resources. As Telfer (2014) observes, development can be implemented through a variety of strategies, which are inevitably influenced or led by the local political ideologies and structures

(Goldsworthy, 1988). The question here is about limitations that need to be further examined. It might be particularly relevant in Thai Nguyen province so that I will seek to understand how the CBT project was established there, from which political ideologies and strategies.

Kippler (2010) suggested that the traditional concept of ‘development’ since the early 1950s was a Eurocentric construct, in which the term ‘developed’ labeled the West while ‘underdeveloped’ was attached to the rest of the world. In addition, Western-style developed and modernised were emphasized and were to be achieved through economic growth (Rostow, 1990). At this point, development and economic growth were widely considered synonymous.

Development, however, has been criticized because of the ambition to shape economies and societies on the developed West model, which involves managerialism with its authoritarian and technocratic implications: “It involves telling other people what to do – in the name of modernization, nation building, progress...” (Pieterse, 2000, p. 182). There are always positions of power, described as a ‘trusteeship’, that determine who can decide what development is and how it can be achieved. Such imposition on the South results in shortcomings as it represses local cultures and interests (Parfitt, 2002).

The telling could be from international organisations, or national governments. In most cases, political power positions are critiqued because they “rely on universal standards for classifying and evaluating societies but in fact subordinate countless different perceptions and values of other people” (Ziai, 2007, p. 9). Their actions and strategies direct local people in terms of the ‘telling’ as a form of ‘disciplining’ them to adopt modern ways. However, it does not take into account local perceptions and aspirations and whether people really understand or appreciate such direction. Development continued to be imposed from the 1970s to the mid 1990s as a top-down, and technocratic approach with the application of universal standards to a target population (Desai & Potter, 2014).

Development had negative social and political consequences on cultures of developing countries, when the only focus was on economic growth such as unemployment, and poverty (Escobar, 1995). The ideal Western model of development was inappropriate for those countries’ transformation processes. The

limits of growth, which were increasingly debated in the early 70s, demonstrated that such a development model could not be carried on in the future or applied on the global scale (Becker & Jahn, 1999). This resulted in development becoming redefined (Desai & Potter, 2002; Grillo & Stirrat, 1997), with more concern for social and cultural matters.

After about 20 years, development no longer relied just on economic criteria; the process embraced social, political and cultural components but economic growth remained a cornerstone (Desai & Potter, 2014). There is thus no single definition of development, as a process or a goal; it can be altered in line with significant implications in particular contexts (Sharpley, 2009).

An endogenous approach to development, emerged in the 1970s, known as ‘another development’ (Kippler, 2010), which emphasized ‘self-reliance’, understood as political freedom for local people or local decision making for their local needs (Hicks & Streeten, 1979) and, according to Hines (2000), served as the precursor of ‘localisation’. It helped balance the trend towards globalisation. In this approach, Sharpley (2000) affirms “people, rather than things, became the focus of intention and the notion of self-reliance, in particular, became a fundamental developmental objective” (p. 3).

Moreover, recognising the environmental constraints to development, or the need for eco-development (Redclift, 1989), from the 1970s and 1980s, alternative development appeared, synonymous with sustainable development (Sharpley, 2000), that is development increasingly linked with environmental sustainability. Parnwell (2002) thus summarized the new thinking:

The top-down directionality and centralized character of development policy is challenged by decentralized, devolved and bottom-up initiatives; ... small-scale and particularistic development is seen as preferable to large-scale and universalistic approaches (p. 113).

While modernisation and industrialisation still continue, development focusing on other aspects has been called alternative development, in comparison with the original economic growth-based policies (Dudley, 1993). Alternative development proposes a ‘bottom-up’ approach embracing human and environmental concerns (Sharpley, 2000). It is development deriving from a

community or grassroots focus, built on the argument that “development does not start with goods, it starts with people and their education, organisation and discipline” (Schumacher, 1973, p. 138). This research extends this argument and challenges Eurocentric development by considering the role of local communities in sustainable tourism development in Vietnam.

Alternative development means changes in all people who participate in the development of their societies, in terms of behaviours, aspirations, and understanding how development is occurring and progressing around them, in their societies and through their actions (Tosun, 2001). Local people also need to adapt to the fact that they are now supposed to have a voice. To capture the value and validity of CBT development in Thai Nguyen province, it is thus first necessary to study major stakeholders, who are local government representatives, tourism agencies, NGOs, and local communities.

2.2.2. The Emergence of Sustainable Development

As discussed above, the early 1990s witnessed moves towards alternative people-focused and participatory approaches to development, together with a social and environmental consciousness while the objectives of economic growth remained (Parnwell, 2002). It signalled the emergence of sustainable development. Sustainability was then defined as “the capacity for continuence” (Richards & Hall, 2000, p. 7). The Brundtland Report (United Nations, 1987) defines sustainable development as a process to “...meet[ing] the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (p. 1).

Since, the concept has evolved, notably through Agenda 21, the plan of action from the Rio United Nations (UN) Conference on Environment and Development 1992, and its implementation from the Johannesburg World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002. Three dimensions or pillars were then recognized: economic, social and environmental sustainability (UNEP & UNWTO, 2005). It means development will be sustainable when it achieves economic efficiency, environmental protection and socio-cultural conservation (Williams & Lew, 2015).

The emergence of sustainable development has been seen as a prevailing model for the management of social transformation (Becker & Jahn, 1999).

However, it has faced much criticism. Its definition as well as meanings are argued to be vague and ambiguous (Redclift, 2014; Sharpley, 2009; Wall & Mathieson, 2006). Wall and Mathieson (2006) expressed that “sustainability requires a long term perspective and something that is sustained should be enduring and, ideally, exist in perpetuity. In contrast, development implies change” (p. 290). There is still confusion related to what is to be sustained and whether development is restricted by environmental sustainability (Sharpley, 2009).

Even though the Brundtland report offers a seemingly simple definition of sustainable development, its discourse implies complexity and contradictions (Redclift, 2014). Future development needs depend on future time and particular contexts, which can hardly be forecast. What is important today might not be so tomorrow (McMinn, 1997); in fact, needs always change. So can we really specify what the needs of future generations could be? What will the extent of those needs be, and how these needs can be satisfactorily met (Wall, 1997) before ensuring not to compromise them?

Many factors, economic, political, social, and technological might influence the perceptions as well as the satisfaction of needs. One cannot evaluate any form of development activities as sustainable or not over the long-term but only at some specified time in the future (Sharpley, 2009). Redclift (2014) questions whether it is possible to achieve economic, social and environmental sustainability at the same time. Hence, sustainable development has been argued to be a fantasy discourse (Hall & Vredenburg, 2003; Lutz, Sanderson, Scherbov, & Booth, 2004).

Principles of sustainable development have been set out from knowledge - building practices to cope with the failure of previous development strategies (Becker & Jahn, 1999). The concept has been known and accepted internationally as underlining the significance and commitment to environmental conservation, quality of life, and a sense of responsibility for future generations (Dresner, 2012) since the 1992 Rio Conference. Rather than a well-defined concept, sustainable development should be viewed as contested and contestable as different people perceive and identify it differently, leading to many contradictory approaches (Redclift, 2014).

In spite of continuing debates, sustainable development has been included in many nations' development strategies (Redclift, 2014). Becker and Jahn (1999) argue that societies using this notion could change or shape their models in ways that support development for the next generations, to extend economic efficiency and environmental sustainability so they are closely linked with potential internal matters, like social justice and political participation.

The concept of sustainable development, despite limitations or debates, has provided a focal point which individual countries can use as principles to further their concern about the well-being of their citizens (Hall & Lew, 1998). While sustainable development remains an ideal, it should still be defined and implemented in terms of each and every culture, in its particular context (Hall & Lew, 1998; Redclift, 2014).

2.2.3. Sustainable Tourism

Since the mid 1990s, sustainable tourism has become a buzzword in development studies in general and tourism research in particular (Gronau & Rudi, 2009). The term 'sustainable tourism' means that tourism is developed based on the principles of sustainable development (UNEP & UNWTO, 2005). The World Tourism Organisation (WTO) adds that sustainability in tourism "refers to the environmental, economic and socio-cultural aspects of tourism development, and a suitable balance must be established between these three dimensions to guarantee its long-term sustainability" (UNEP & UNWTO, 2005, p. 11). Tourism, therefore, needs to address the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities (UNEP & UNWTO, 2005).

Sustainable tourism development encourages an approach that takes environmental impacts into consideration instead of being controlled completely by market forces (Mbaiwa, 2005a). Tosun (2001) argues that sustainable tourism development should be viewed as an adaptive paradigm based on the modern concept of sustainable development. Hence, sustainability is also important in tourism development (Mbaiwa, 2005b).

During the 1960s when economic growth was considered synonymous with development, tourism was seen as an effective vehicle for development given its increasing contribution to the GDP of countries (Mabogunje, 2015; Willis, 2011).

An increasing number of individuals as well as organisations desired to participate in tourism to obtain those benefits. Such growth and expansion “has not been without cost” (Sharpley, 2009, p 26). The development of both domestic and international tourism on a mass scale led to the degradation or destruction of the environment and a variety of social and cultural effects (McKercher, 1993).

Tourism is an “environmentally dependent activity” (Mowl, 2002, p. 219). The environment can be seen as a fundamental element of the tourists’ experience because tourists often look for attractive and distinctive environments, which may support specific tourism activities (Sharpley, 2009). Therefore, the emergence of sustainable development in the 1990s, and its expansion to embrace socio-cultural, political and environmental concerns aside from economic benefits received much attention (Jayawardena, Patterson, Choi, & Brain, 2008).

Different countries have diversified contexts, but they all consider more sustainable practices in tourism development a key element (Ellis, 2011), to minimize negative impacts while maximizing positive aspects. Ideally, sustainable tourism combines present benefits with the protection of future opportunities (Horochofski & Moisey, 2008) so human and natural resources can be sustained over time (Ahn, Lee, & Shafer, 2002; Page & Connell, 2014; WTO, 1996). The concept, nonetheless, continues to be debated, relating to the clarity of definitions and its theoretical foundations. There is also much suspicion about how it could be translated into practical policies and strategies (Berno & Bricker, 2001).

If sustainable tourism aims to address the needs of the current and future visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities, so what are the specific needs of each of these groupings? What experiences could future tourists expect (Wall, 1997)? And which needs or experiences are to be prioritized (Wall, 2005)? Those who use the concept should clarify the needs of both the present and future generations (Truong, Hall, & Garry, 2014), which is not an easy task (Redclift, 2014).

In addition, sustainable development is said to be dependent and achieved based on the fulfilment of only a number of basic requirements. It ignored other factors that also contribute to the success of tourism development, such as technological advances, which can not only solve environmental problems but also

help increase tourist numbers (Beckerman, 1992; Richards & Hall, 2000), e.g. by facilitating bookings. It is, however, a discourse that hides harm to the environment and the lack of desire to reduce the harm on the part of investors.

This concept moreover raises questions such as to what is exactly the sustainable level of tourism development? How can this level be measured? What are the appropriate indicators (Goodwin, 2011)? How many changes to environmental conditions are acceptable given the tourism development objectives of a destination (McCool & Lime, 2001)? Murphy (1998) had already stated that “while it is relatively easy to conceptualise and proselytise about the needs for sustainable tourism development, it is far more challenging to develop an effective, yet practical, measurement process” (p. 180). The concept has therefore faced critiques at the practical level (Liu, 2003).

Many countries have considered the principles of sustainable tourism development for their tourism policies and planning (Gronau & Rudi, 2009; Jayawardena et al., 2008), but tourism destinations have differences in terms of nature, scale, stage of tourism development as well as economic, political, socio-cultural and environmental characteristics. Hence, one can hardly be persuaded that universal development guidelines can be appropriate for all (Allen & Edwards, 1995). Rather, Southgate (2014) supposes that it should be viewed only for the application to particular contexts or defined projects.

Localised tourism projects that have implemented them could show some characteristics of sustainability over the short term (Ellis, 2011; Truong, 2014), however, it is doubtful they can demonstrate long-term sustainability (Bramwell & Lane, 2011). This means a significant gap has really been created between the idealism of sustainable tourism development and its reality.

Goodwin (2011) and Wall (2005) argue that we know little about how tourism will become more or less sustainable. It is rather like a key word to promote NGOs and for private tour companies to market the greening of their image. Yet tourists remain eager to participate in those activities and believe that they are socially moral (Lansing & De Vries, 2007; Wall, 2005). McMin (1997) and Hall (2007) claim that the nature of tourism is that of an industry, just like other

industries, so one should not expect too much of it. One must, however, recognise it is an assumption.

Sustainability will remain a rhetorical pronouncement until humanity adopts a different paradigm (Capra, 1986). Sustainable development and economic growth are oxymoron, which is partly why it is necessary to look at other aspects of poverty (Scheyvens & Hughes, 2019) but mostly to be aware of the structural conditions of capitalism that maintain inequality between countries as well as between individuals.

In spite of many critiques over the last decade, tourism academics and practitioners have paid increasing attention and given support to the concept of sustainable tourism development. Sharpley (2009) suggests that it is time to concentrate on what the notion desires to contribute to tourism development. Even if it is assumed that truly sustainable tourism development could never be achieved, an ideal has remained and that is the reason we need to put more effort to attain it (Hall & Lew, 1998). It requires a transformation in social perceptions, lifestyles as well as the adoption and pursuit of responsible consumption and better development (Capra, 1986). Meanwhile, this “challenges sustainable tourism development from a perspective that recognizes tourism as a valuable and powerful sector for many destinations, as a potentially vital catalyst of development” (Sharpley, 2009, p 17).

External stakeholders (academics, the industry and NGOs operating outside of local communities) shape the theoretical foundations of sustainable tourism (Byrd, 2007). They define the ‘ideal’ and propose best practice models for implementation. While they provide essential guidance, this ‘ideal’ often does not address issues faced by internal (local government and community) stakeholders in the field (Teye, Sirakaya, & Sönmez, 2002).

In September 2015, the United Nations General Assembly announced the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development that includes 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), a set of goals to end poverty, protect the planet and ensure prosperity for all as part of a new sustainable development agenda (United Nations, 2016). Each goal has specific targets to be achieved over

the next 15 years. Building on the principle of “leaving no one behind”, the new Agenda emphasizes a holistic approach to achieving sustainable development for all. It means tourism is developed based on the principles of sustainable development.



Figure 2: Sustainable development: 17 Goals to transform our world
(United Nations, 2016)

Widely accepting sustainability in tourism requires conscious development strategies and principles (Harris, 2003), which many tourism destinations have put into practice (Jayawardena et al., 2008; MPI, 2008). This study extends this scholarship by considering sustainable tourism development in the ways it is understood, constructed, and implemented from a local perspective in Vietnam. This study also looks to what extent Vietnam and Thai Nguyen can align their activities in tourism development, especially through CBT implementation, with the United Nations’ Sustainable Development Goals. Defining sustainable tourism development in the Vietnam context is important since a significant gap has been created between the idealism of sustainable tourism development and its reality in different countries.

While the SDGs are desirable, it would be too idealistic to consider achieving all 17 at the same time. However, it is essential to identify how each goal could be attained in specific places of a particular country. In this study, goal 11 ‘sustainable

communities’ and goal 17 ‘partnerships for the goals’ are relevant and applicable to the CBT development in Thai Nguyen (in the pursuit of sustainable development).

Goal 11 ‘sustainable communities’ aims to make human settlements within communities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable. Efforts are also strengthened to protect and safeguard the world’s cultural and natural heritage, and support positive economic, social and environmental links between urban, peri-urban and rural areas by strengthening national and regional development planning (UNWTO, 2017a). This goal is applicable to Thai Nguyen as CBT development in Thai Nguyen was targeted to protect and promote traditional tea culture as well as to help local people sustain their livelihoods and grow their communities economically.

Goal 17 ‘partnerships for the goals’ strengthens domestic resource mobilization and enhances multi-stakeholder partnerships that mobilize and share knowledge, experience, expertise, technology and financial resources, to support the achievement of the sustainable development goals, in particular in developing countries. Effective public, public-private and civil society partnerships are encouraged and promoted (UNWTO, 2017b). Continuous CBT development in Thai Nguyen requires effort and collaboration, therefore, this goal is applicable and significant in not only encouraging partnerships of different key stakeholders (government, local communities, NGOs, tourism companies) but also promoting the partnership between local people in communities. Local people need to be together to encourage the sense of a common goal and to be able to implement their shared purpose (see Chapter 2, section 2.3.1.1 for the definition of communities). These partnerships are the pillars that characterize and develop inclusive CBT in Thai Nguyen (see Chapter 7, section 7.5).

2.2.4. The Promotion of ‘Alternative’ Tourism and Responsible Travel

Traditional mass tourism is critiqued to be hardly sustainable because the exploitation and overuse of resources have led to the degradation of the environment, landscapes, attractions, and cultural identities – giving development a bad reputation (Pollock, 2013). This has led to the promotion of alternative tourism, where concern is put on environmental harmony and self-reliance of local people. The fundamental requirements of alternative development become the focus of alternative tourism

(Sharpley, 2000), as one of the means of achieving sustainability in tourism development (Liu, 2003). Bagul (2009) argues that tourists are becoming increasingly conscious of environmental matters, thus, seek other forms of tourism and lengthen the list of attractions visited or are prepared to behave more appropriately towards the environment they visit. It leads to increasing participation in, and hence support for, alternative tourism.

Alternative tourism aims to develop tourism that is appropriate to local environmental, social and cultural values. It seeks to minimize negative impacts and to maximize the benefits by enhancing the local economy, encouraging local control, and promoting a proactive relationship between tourists and local communities (Sharpley, 2009). It is often smaller scale, centering on the tourism experience, on the enjoyment of nature, landscapes and cultures of the local communities, characteristics in line with principles of sustainability (Williams & Lew, 2015).

Gronau and Rudi (2009) suggest that alternative tourism would be a stimulus for sustainable development in rural areas if accompanied by local heritage, location branding and environmental conservation. It could be used too as an approach that stimulates socio-economic development in a way that benefits local communities in the long term (Jayawardena et al., 2008). Alternative tourism can be described as ‘positive’ (Sharpley, 2009). It is thought to mean responsible travel, by the largest online supplier of responsible holidays:

Responsible travel is a new way of travelling for those who’ve had enough of mass tourism. It’s about respecting and benefiting local people and the environment – but it’s about far more than that. If you travel for relaxation, fulfillment, discovery, adventure and to learn – rather than simply to tick off ‘places and things’ – then responsible travel is for you.

(Responsible Travel, 2008)

Alternative tourism has been critiqued since its appearance derives from sustainable tourism strategies in practice focusing on localised, relatively small-scale development projects. With the expected nearly 1.6 billion international arrivals by the year 2020 (UNWTO, 2017c), millions of eco- or alternative-tourism projects would be required to accommodate all the tourists worldwide. Therefore, alternative tourism is argued “at best a micro solution to what is essentially a macro

problem” (Wheeller, 1991, p. 93). Klemm (1992) added that “the real challenge for the future is to provide sustainable tourism for the mass market” (p. 18). The growth of mass forms of tourism is a vital and effective vehicle of economic growth and socio-economic development in many countries (Richards & Hall, 2000), but Butler (1998) rightly claims that what we really desire is repairing the damage caused by earlier tourism initiatives and not to develop small-scale tourism in undamaged areas.

2.2.5. Tourism Development and Sustainable Tourism Development in Vietnam

This section provides background information about tourism development in Vietnam since the 1960s within the context of sustainable tourism development.

2.2.5.1. Vietnam and Transitions in Tourism Development Policies

According to Hall (1994), to capture the tourism development of a country, it is necessary to understand its development history, the tourism policies applied in each period, as well as the roles of government in tourism policy formulation and implementation. Tourism development in Vietnam is divided into three major periods since 1960. Each period has specific characteristics that led to transitions in tourism development policies.

The first period is from 1960 to 1975, during which tourism was governed by politics of the American War (known as the Vietnam War in the West) (Tran, 2005). The country was divided into North and South, as Vietnam struggled for independence (Hibbard & Tang, 2004). It was very difficult to develop tourism at the time. In 1960, the Vietnam Tourism Company was established in the North according to Decree No. 26/CP of the Government Council and controlled by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Tran, 2005; VNAT, 2005), which marked the birth of the Vietnam tourism sector (GDT, 2015). However, most tourists were foreign delegates invited by the Government of Vietnam (GOV) for political purposes. Rare others came for leisure or business. Tourism was placed under the highest level of state management (Truong et al., 2014).

In the second period between the end of the War (1975) to 1990, the Vietnam government started to recognize tourism as a tool for economic growth (Cooper,

2000; Tran, 2005). The country put much effort into recovering from damages and developing the economy. Although it was still difficult to develop tourism, more State-owned tourism companies were established in different local places throughout the country such as Da Nang, Hue, Vung Tau, and Ho Chi Minh (Mok & Lam, 2000; VNAT, 2005). Domestic tourism was to promote patriotism, increase mutual understanding between the North and the South and to support pride in an independent country.

On the international scene, Vietnam was introduced as a peaceful country (VNAT, 2005). From 1975 to 1990, the number of foreign tourists increased more than six times, from 36,900 to 250,000 (Tran, 2005). In 1990, the Government launched the first *Vietnam's Tourism Year* campaign so Vietnam's image was increasingly promoted to the world (Cooper, 2000; Hobson, Heung, & Chon, 1994).

Since 1991, tourism development has continued to be recognized as an important tool for economic growth and poverty reduction (GOV, 2005), strongly and actively supported through government tourism policies and strategies (Truong, 2013). In 1992, Decree No. 05/CP established the Vietnam General Department of Tourism, to enhance the effectiveness of State management of tourism. It gave tourism development the full status of an economic industry with high socialization to bring opportunities and benefits to many sectors and stakeholders (GDT, 2015).

The view of Vietnam's Communist Party⁴ on tourism was expressed in the documents of the seventh (in 1991), eighth (in 1996) and ninth (2001) National Party Congresses (GDT, 2015), confirming it as "*an important economic sector in the socio-economic development strategy of the country*" (GOV, 1993, Resolution No. 45/CP on Innovation of Tourism Management and Development, p. 1). The documents added that "*tourism development is an important strategic direction in the socio-economic development orientation of the Party and the State, in order to contribute to the implementation of industrialization and modernization*" (PCSC, 1994, Directive 46/CT/TW on Leadership of Tourism Innovation and Development in the New Situation, p. 3). These documents have raised awareness in provinces

⁴ ruling Party in Vietnam under the Constitution; it is the only political Party allowed to operate and lead in Vietnam.

and localities, to strengthen tourism management and development; planning for tourism was thus systematically implemented on a national scale (GDT, 2015).

This period emphasized the establishment and development of ‘renovation’ and ‘open door’ policies in the early 1990s, an important turning point in the development process of Vietnam (Gillen, 2016). Tourism development radically changed from serving political purposes to openness and integration with the outside world (MFA, 2010). During the renovation process of Vietnam, the seventh (in 1991), and the eighth (in 1996) Congresses proposed and developed a foreign policy of independence, sovereignty, openness, diversification and multilateralisation, with the motto *"Vietnam wants to be friends with all countries in the international community, striving for peace, independence and development"*, and aims to *"maintain peace and expand friendly relations and cooperation, create favourable international conditions for the building of socialism and the defense of the Fatherland"* (cited in MFA, 2010, p. 1).

Under impacts of new policies, especially the Foreign Investment Law enacted in 1996 which facilitates foreign investment and procedures, together with the development of infrastructure (airports, marine ports, transportation networks, communication systems, utility systems), and the stability of politics, Vietnam tourism has grown strongly (GDT, 2015; MFA, 2010). ‘Renovation’ and ‘open door’ policies together with the tourism campaign started in 1990 initially led to a sharp rise in tourism activities, not only in the domestic market but also encouraged more foreign tourists (Gillen, 2016). The target of one million foreign tourists was reached in 1994, one year sooner than planned (VNAT, 2009), a four time rise in numbers as compared to 1990. Between 1990 and 2008, the number of foreign tourists multiplied approximately 17 times and the number of domestic tourists about 20 times (VNAT, 2009).

Opening up, however, faced Vietnam with both opportunities and challenges (Jansen-Verbeke & Go, 1995). Although a bright signal in the increased development of tourism, it raised questions about impacts at the local scale, like equitable distribution of benefits and environmental effects (Nguyen, Cu, Vu, & Tran, 2007; Suntikul, Butler, & Airey, 2010). Conscious of negative influence and

other cultural threats from the outside following openness, Vietnam's government has concentrated on formulating cultural preservation within its development policies (Gillen, 2016). The Vietnamese Government has regulated and correlated the ideologies of free market and freedom carefully with the country's cultural context prior to accepting any outside investment.

Cultural preservation has increasingly played an important role in the shaping of Vietnamese political and economic policies (Gillen, 2016). To organise a development path appropriate to the direction, circumstances and conditions of Vietnam (N. T. Tran, 2015), since 1992, the Government has adopted the notion of sustainable development and sustainable tourism development because cultural preservation is one of the three pillar principles (SRV, 2012).

2.2.5.2. Sustainable Tourism Development in Vietnam

In 1992, Vietnam took part in the Earth Summit on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Vietnam then attended the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, South Africa in 2002, and signed the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, the Global Agenda 21. Vietnam thus agreed to commit to the implementation of sustainable development at national and local levels (MPI, 2008).

Vietnam has since made considerable efforts to establish and develop an institutional system to implement sustainable development. The National Plan for Environment and Sustainable Development was set out for the period 1991- 2000 (MPI, 2008). Sustainable development was confirmed and highlighted in the Socio-Economic Development Strategy for 1991-2000, adopted at the eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of Viet Nam: *“Economic growth is to be closely associated with social progress and equity, preservation and promotion of the national identity, and protection of the ecological environment”* (SRV, 2012, p. 21).

‘The Strategic Orientation for Sustainable Development in Vietnam’ (Vietnam Agenda 21) has served as a framework since 2014 to realize the targets of national sustainable development in the 21st century. It was designed, approved and adopted in 27 of 63 provinces and cities (including Thai Nguyen province). Their own Local Agenda 21 confirms their activities have been organised towards

sustainable development in reference to major directions given in the Socio-economic Development Strategy and Vietnam Agenda 21 (SRV, 2012). They include raising awareness; increasing management capability about sustainable development at all governmental levels; and wide participation for the implementation of local development projects from NGOs and local people (MPI, 2008). As Thai Nguyen province is one of those localities, this study will examine the implementation of Local Strategic Orientations for Sustainable Development (Local Agenda 21) there.

The Socio-Economic Development Strategy for 2011-2020 stresses that, “*rapid development in close relation with sustainable development represents an all-through requirement in the Strategy*” (SRV, 2012, p. 21). Sustainable development has thus always been the Communist Party of Vietnam’s guiding principle in the State’s policies (SRV, 2012). Because of the diversity in size, political background, geographic location and culture of countries, it is relevant to apply sustainable development in a localised context (Hibbard & Tang, 2004). Vietnam understands it must approach its implementation appropriately (SRV, 2012). Therefore, international principles and objectives have been adapted to the Vietnamese conditions and integrated into the national and local development strategies and plans, including indicators of sustainable economic, social and environmental development (SRV, 2012).

Hibbard and Tang (2004) indicated there is little difference in views between the West and Vietnam about sustainability: While the West puts slightly more emphasis on the environment, socio-cultural matter is at the core in Vietnam. Since Vietnam experienced colonization in the past and in the current wave of globalization, while still putting a strong emphasis on the well-being of future generations, and understanding sustainable development as socio-economic building on an ecological environment foundation (SRV, 2012), it has put high priority on the preservation of traditional practices and values, especially in rural areas (Hibbard & Tang, 2004).

Tourism became included in the Government’s “sustainability as a guiding force”. Until the late 1990s, the Government of Vietnam (1999) set the major

orientation for tourism development as “*cultural tourism and ecotourism for preservation of good morals and good customs*” (p. 8). At that time, Vietnam also went through a process of industrialization, modernization and globalization. Its national economic policy directive was to be effective, socialist, and always based in the Vietnamese context (Gillen, 2016). Industrialization and modernization have expanded but aimed to create “*rich people, a strong country, and a fair and civilized society*” (GOV, 2013, Constitution of Socialist Republic of Vietnam, p. 1). This showed the Vietnamese Government had made the effort to maintain a distinct Vietnamese identity in the context of openness and global integration that the country was experiencing (Gillen, 2016).

Since the open door period of the 90s and within the sustainable tourism development orientation, the Government and the Vietnamese tourism industry have aimed to present to foreign tourists *Vietnameseness*⁵, Vietnamese identity built up from a unique and characteristic culture (Gillen, 2016, p. 79). This somewhat implies the homogeneity of Vietnam in order to actively promote its own distinctive and unique characteristics compared with other nations. The notion of *Vietnameseness* simplifies what Vietnam is about and may well satisfy tourists’ view of the world. It, however, cannot fully represent marginalized groups and anything inconvenient in Vietnamese culture.

In the 2000s, Vietnam recognized the importance of sustainable tourism development in poverty alleviation (Nguyen et al., 2007). Tourism was perceived to have significant positive impacts for host communities and the poor (Truong, 2014). Hence, tourism development was linked and incorporated in many national and regional development plans and strategies (Nguyen et al., 2007). Tourism was seen as a spearhead sector (Thang, 2005), assuming that tourism to reduce poverty would be widely accepted because of the benefits local communities might obtain (Dang, 2009).

Due to changing discourses on the role of rural and isolated areas in Vietnam, especially in the context of sustainable tourism development, their natural

⁵ This national “*Vietnameseness*” involves the language, the arts, music, national costumes, and behavioural norms and customs of Vietnam.

landscapes, traditional villages and cultures have helped the local communities receive more opportunities to explore tourism as a business (Wearing & McDonald, 2002), based on the development of unique tourist products (Jansen-Verbeke & Go, 1995). The Vietnamese Government has shaped tourism development policies to facilitate local tourism development plans and projects which offer tourists discovery of the Vietnamese life (Gillen, 2016).

The model of CBT deployed in Thai Nguyen province in 2012 with the support of the Provincial People's Committee and the city of Victoria in Canada is an example of such projects. In 2014, Vietnam was ranked 16th among 184 countries with long-term potential in tourism development (World Travel & Tourism Council, 2015), a positive signal for the Government to continue to support tourism development (VNAT, 2009). This study will examine how the traditional tea culture was formed and linked to CBT development in Thai Nguyen province from the host people's perspective.

Since the implementation of national sustainable development in 2004, Vietnam has recorded significant achievements in the economic, social and environmental fields. Income from tourism reached 70,000 billion VND in 2009, more than 50 times than in 1990 (~ US\$ 3 billion) (GDT, 2009). Tourism has created possibilities for local consumption of goods and services; promoted the development of other industries; restored many festivals and traditional crafts; contributed to increased income so reduced poverty; expanded exchanges between the regions in the country and abroad; and strengthened the awareness of environmental protection and sustainable development for all stakeholders (GDT, 2009).

Challenges have taken global dimensions such as financial and energy crises, food security and climate change (SRV, 2012), as well as national ones such as the creation of social consensus or the lack of sustainable job opportunities in rural areas (Hibbard & Tang, 2004). The Vietnam State has specified that "human beings are the centre of sustainable development", as one of eight principles for sustainable development in Vietnam (MPI, 2008, p. 21). It stated that the involvement of the

entire population in the country's efforts was crucial in achieving sustainable development (SRV, 2012).

Since 2013, sustainable development has been continuously a primary component for the long-term development strategy in Vietnam. Decision No. 432/QD-TTg of the Prime Minister on 'Approval of the Sustainable Development Strategy in Vietnam for the period 2011-2020' stated that "*sustainable development is a requirement throughout the process of national development; must link reasonably and harmoniously economic development with social development, protection of natural resources and the environment; and ensure national defense, security and social safety*" (GOV, 2012, p. 1). This document also confirmed that "*sustainable development is the motto of the entire Party and people, all levels of government, the ministries, branches and localities, agencies, enterprises, social organizations, the communities and every citizen*" (GOV, 2012, p. 1). There is, however, little possibility to verify or contradict these statements.

The National Green Growth Strategy has been set out as a key pillar of Vietnam's sustainable development strategy for 2011 - 2020 (SRV, 2012), expecting that people's living standard will be increasingly raised, the traditional cultures will be positively promoted while risks to the environment and ecosystems will be significantly minimized (Croize, 2015). This is a great project but not easy to achieve. My research is set in that context, in line with the motto "*sustainable development is an all people's undertaking*" (SRV, 2012, p. 28). To accomplish that, Vietnam is promoting grass-root democracy, social equity, and the mobilization of all resources available for national and regional development (SRV, 2012).

The question remains about how managers and other stakeholders understand, experience and implement sustainable tourism development in practice in Vietnam. This study, therefore, examines how sustainable tourism development via CBT development has been constructed and implemented in Thai Nguyen province, together with challenges faced, as well as how well local communities are participating.

2.3. Local Communities in Community-based Tourism

Even though they have been much debated, one cannot deny the importance and significance of alternative forms of tourism. Liu (2003) suggests that the task is to deal with developing conventional mass tourism in a more sustainable way and supplement rather than replace it with alternative tourism where and when appropriate. This thesis now turns to CBT as one among a number of models of alternative or responsible tourism and its contribution and significance in sustainable tourism development as well as its impacts on local communities. This section examines how local communities have been considered important key stakeholders in CBT development and the potential of CBT development from grassroots perspectives in Vietnam.

2.3.1. Overview of Community-based Tourism

To understand CBT, it is important to first define the term ‘local communities’.

2.3.1.1. The Concept of Local Communities

There are several ways of understanding ‘a community’. The definition of a community may somehow vary with context, the nature of community interactions and their characteristics as well as location (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999; Olsder, Van der Donk, & Kroon, 2006; Scherl & Edwards, 2007). Hence, it reveals the need to study local perspectives.

According to Muganda, Sirima and Ezra (2013), a community may refer to a group of people who have common interests. Many authors (Aref, Gill, & Farshid, 2010; Kumara, 2016; Mattessich, Monsey, & Roy, 1997; Scherl & Edwards, 2007), agree a community is people who live within a geographically defined area and have social and psychological ties with each other and with the place where they live. In these definitions, three elements of community are notified, geographic location, people, and connections (Phillips & Pittman, 2009).

A village or tribe is often determined as a community where people identify themselves as its members and where they have some form of communal decision-making (Mann, 2000). It is however recognized that most communities are

“heterogeneous, stratified, and sites of power relations” (Blackstock, 2005, p. 42) so interests and needs of their members differ, originating from different gender, religion, sexual orientation, and/or ethnic origin (McMillan & Chavis, 1986; Spiteri & Nepalz, 2006).

Young (1990) first questioned the community concept. She criticizes the concept of community for three major reasons, including how it privileges unity over difference, generates exclusions and is an unrealistic vision. Once unity is privileged, it often encourages people to suppress other differences, potentially generating exclusions. Cornwall and Jewkes (1984) observe that: “where there is belonging, there is also not belonging, and where there is in-clusion, there is also ex-clusion” (p. 53). Pratt and Hanson (1988) continue “we have multiple and sometimes contradictory subject positions and are sometimes torn between identifications, often moving between identifications in different situations and places” (p. 26).

Seeking to achieve ‘community’ is argued to be unrealistic because as George et al. (2009) explain the concept of ‘community’ is difficult to achieve when it does not transform the contemporary situation: Individual members perceive and experience the community differently. Young (1990) thus calls for a politics of difference, in which the distinctive cultures and characteristics of different groups should be celebrated rather than establishing unity and homogeneity between identities (sameness).

In the context of my study, I would like to adopt the definition of Scherl and Edwards (2007), who describe local communities as groups of people with a strong relationship with the area culturally, socially, economically and spiritually. In Thai Nguyen province, not everybody grows tea; there are different interests. However, local communities have a kind of shared purpose, which means most local people would like to live in a nice looking community that can maintain their culture and continue to grow economically thriving communities. Tourism can play a significant role in supporting that purpose.

Unlike many industries, tourism first depends on location, then on natural resources, people and culture of destination sites, which provide the goods and

services but are also its product (Getz, 1994; Joppe, 1996) through interactions with tourists. Given the strong relationship between local people and the location they live in, they would best know what kind of development would be appropriate; real community participation could improve tourism development. This opens the direction for development of community-based tourism that is put in review below.

2.3.1.2. The Concept of Community-based Tourism

Community-based tourism is tourism managed and owned by the communities, for the communities. Local communities offer accommodation services through homestays, local food and additional services like discovering the local way of life, local goods and traditional cultures (López-Guzmán, Sánchez-Cañizares, et al., 2011). In CBT, the communities control tourism management and receive the benefits generated since they are aware of the commercial and social value tourism places on their natural and cultural heritage. It gives them more incentive than to foster community based conservation of these resources (Trejos & Chiang, 2009). Moreover, CBT enables visitors who are eager to experience and participate, to learn and increase their awareness about the local way of life and culture (Suansri, 2003). CBT is positioned as alternative to mass tourism, especially in developing countries (López-Guzmán, Sánchez-Cañizares, et al., 2011).

Murphy (1985) introduced the concept of CBT development for local communities, which was identified and further analyzed by Murphy & Murphy (2004) and Richards & Hall (2000). It paved the way for the connection of tourism development with Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT) (Hall, 2007); Community Benefit Tourist Initiatives (Simpson, 2008); or Community-Based Enterprises (CBEs) (Manyara & Jones, 2007). These studies all agree that the destination community should be involved not only in tourism planning but also in the management and decision-making process. Two major reasons include: Local communities are considered to be part of the tourist product; and it opens their minds to develop their communities (López-Guzmán, Borges, & Castillo-Canalejo, 2011).

CBT takes environmental, social, and cultural sustainability into account as it focuses on giving host communities the primary role and on the transfer of benefits to the community in a responsible and sustainable manner (Beeton, 2006; Page &

Connell, 2014; Salazar, 2012; Simpson, 2008). It has thus received more attention from many localities around the world as an effective model for sustainable tourism development. In addition, CBT strengthens the ability and participation of the local people in managing rural resources (Suansri, 2003). Salazar (2012) and Ellis (2014) argue that destination communities will benefit if tourism could be sustainable in the long term. Looking for solutions for community development to be in accordance with the global transition to sustainable development goals and principles promoted by the United Nations is one of the objectives of this study.

2.3.1.3. Impacts of Community-based tourism

While tourism activities are often seen to be beneficial at the national level because they earn an income (Hall & Lew, 2009; UNWTO, 2018c; Zhao & Ritchie, 2007), the focus of this study is on the local level impacts as it is understood that the development of CBT can affect the local communities in many ways (Scheyvens & Hughes, 2019). More specifically, this study looks at the impacts that local people perceive to understand their attitudes towards tourism development in their communities. Murphy (2013) stated that “the impact of the industry and its local issues will vary according to its magnitude and relative importance, but in every case residents are recognizing they cannot ignore tourism if they wish to benefit from it” (p. 4).

Generally, tourism impacts are categorized as economic, socio-cultural and environmental (Hall & Lew, 2009; Telfer & Sharpley, 2007; Williams & Lew, 2015). Hall and Lew (2009) underline that the study of tourism impacts has become a traditional means of understanding the significance of tourism. Economic impacts are often seen as the most tangible kind (Breugel, 2013) in the forms of exchange earnings, employment and infrastructure (Bushell & McCool, 2007; Glasson, Godfrey, Goodey, & Absalom, 1995). Much of this infrastructure, however, is costly and leads to great indebtedness of the country while few local people get to use the resorts or airports. Local people do benefit in rare cases (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.2). Tourism optimistically supposes that increased wealth and economic benefits will lead to a rise in the local standard of living (Gössling, 2003; Mbaiwa, 2005b; Rogerson, 2007). Such benefits would be more possible if local people

themselves invest in the activity (Breugel, 2013) since investors are the primary beneficiaries.

CBT aims at economic development at the local level, through increased income of local communities (Manyara & Jones, 2007; Rastegar, 2009) and benefit sharing among community members (Vajirakachorn, 2011). It results in the improvement of life quality; the generation of local job opportunities (ESRT Programme & WWF-Vietnam, 2013); and empowerment of the local communities (Suansri, 2003). Because CBT works with community initiatives, utilizes community property, and seeks to employ local residents, income generated stays in the community and maximizes local economic benefits (Breugel, 2013). In some places, local people completely depend on the tourism industry for their income, in other destinations, it means extra earnings (Breugel, 2013). CBT generally follows the latter as it may not generate a very high income, but is a way to improve local residents' income (Strasdas, 2005).

Socio-cultural impacts refer to changes in individual behaviour, social relationships, lifestyles, and other social value systems. Page and Connell (2014) suppose that the host community tends to be the focus of socio-cultural impacts. There are positive socio-cultural impacts through interaction between tourists and local communities in CBT, such as the maintenance of cultural identities and their associated practices, sustainable diversification of lifestyles (Williams & Lew, 2015), and improvement of skills (Jamal & Getz, 2000; Reed, 1997). Vajirakachorn (2011) added that CBT development also encourages cohesion and cooperation in the community and enhances self-reliance and community pride.

Conservation of natural resources is another important goal (Vajirakachorn, 2011). CBT is a model for the minimisation of negative environmental impacts (Mbaiwa, 2005b) because, using the surrounding nature it helps to increase awareness of environmental conservation, promoting sustainability (Mbaiwa, 2005b). Local communities know best what might be positive for their environment.

Tourism development brings negative impacts to the communities too (Ellis, 2011). Local lives might be affected by noise and visibility pollution. Other potential negative impacts are issues of sex and alcohol (Hall & Lew, 2009),

possible loss of cultural traits, and degradation of natural resources (Teye et al., 2002); as well as an increase in crime (often tourists are the victims). Dyer, Aberdeen and Schuler (2003) warned that if tourism just aims at getting more visitors or at rapid development of the rural area, the local culture could be changed negatively (or even destroyed).

Each destination will experience impacts in different ways, and respond differently to tourism development (Breugel, 2013). However, as McCool and Lime (2001) argue “ultimately, impacts cannot be avoided, but they can be managed based on established objectives or an understanding of the biophysical or social conditions desired” (p. 378). In general, CBT is a low-impact form of tourism (Sebele, 2010). Its implementation should respond to Scheyvens and Hughes’ (2019) call. It is thus challenged by how host destinations can enrich and preserve the natural and cultural landscapes for the common good and for future generations (Horoehowski & Moisey, 2008).

2.3.2. Local Communities - Key Stakeholders of CBT Development - An Approach

This study explores the role of local communities in CBT development from a grassroots perspective, in which they can voice their perceptions themselves about impacts of CBT; their roles in CBT; the barriers for them to participate; and how and in what ways they would like to participate in tourism development. Given the success of many tourist destinations, different stakeholders with varying roles, interests and views have affected practical implementation of the CBT model (Ellis, 2011). The role of the local communities in tourism development needs to be addressed carefully. Therefore, the study will also seek to understand other stakeholders’ perceptions (government managers, experts and tourists) in regards to local communities’ participation and role in CBT.

This study argues that successful destination planning should begin from an understanding of the needs and aspirations of the host community. Policies could then be issued, deriving from a democratic process because local people have been given the power to express their views; integrating residents’ values and vision as well as the community’s goals and willingness; and supporting community development goals (Mbaiwa, 2005b; Murphy, 1985; Wearing & Neil, 2009).

Effective policies are therefore expected to be not only theoretically sound but also practically feasible, then significantly transformed into actions (Liu, 2003). This offers the means to successful practical progress (Bramwell & Lane, 2011).

There are many stakeholders, both external and internal in tourism development. These consist of international organizations such as other governments, international NGOs, the WTO; national, regional and local governments; tourists; and host communities (Ellis, 2011). Muhanna (2007) argues that the host community of a tourist destination is the most important stakeholder in sustainable tourism development.

In many countries, tourism has been initiated and developed by the government using a top-down planning approach. New social movements related to communities' rights and a greater equality in relationships have been raised, but they stand in a relation of 'exteriority' to the state and the political apparatus (Escobar, 1992). Much evidence shows that communities' interests are not represented in the decision-making of the State (Kippler, 2010). Yet the political apparatus is necessary, even though it has been critiqued (Escobar, 1992).

The important argument here is that people should have control over their own destinies and determine the shape of political decisions (Kippler, 2010). Timothy (1999) has demonstrated that national programmes guided by the government for top - down development, especially in rural areas, have failed to meet the particular needs and wants of local communities because of insufficient concern for local conditions. Local people have just until recently been recipients of development, powerless to control their own destinies (Parnwell, 2008) even as notions of development and hence the power to implement them shifted in favour of governments of less developed countries. It has been slower trickling down to lower levels.

Different authors (Abrams et al., 2009; McKercher, 1999; Timothy, 1999) now focus on bottom-up approaches to tourism planning where the necessary local voice should be heard, centring on a democratic and participatory approach (Parnwell, 2008). According to Cornwall and Jewkes (1995) and Scheyvens and Storey (2003), local people are now regarded as knowledgeable and capable of defining solutions from their priorities. They can identify *their* own needs and

pursue tourism development to satisfy *their* identified desire (Battadzhiev & Sofield, 2004; Lepp, 2007). Moreover, it is worth remembering that “a community-based approach to tourism development is a prerequisite to sustainability” (Woodley, 1993, p. 137).

The role of the political apparatus cannot, however be denied. It should be better once managers and administrators recognize that local communities exist in the plural, so they reflect the diversity of people’s local histories, cultures and aspirations (Kippler, 2010). It does not mean questioning government authority but seeking to create a more open democratic structure so that a local bottom-up approach can address the issues of inequality and/or domination (Storey, 2000). Aspirations for a better life or a better society are to be reached through a democratic process by the people concerned. Managers, administrators and development institutions must support rather than direct social needs (Andreasson, 2010).

In Vietnam today, the government still maintains a major hand in the management of the economy. This study is to explore how a top-down approach can be constructive once it initiates listening to the voice and accepts the crucial role of local communities in development practice locally. A review and clarification of the role of local communities in CBT development follow.

2.3.2.1. The Role of Local Communities in CBT Development

Muganda et al. (2013) argued that tourism development will not be significant if its socio-economic and environmental benefits are not for the local communities. Besides, the sustainability of nature-based tourism development relies on the participation and support of local communities (Alexander, 2000; Getz, Long, & Hecock, 1984). Local communities have a powerful influence on the tourist’s experience (Ellis, 2007). Therefore, the role of local communities in the development of the area as a tourist destination is considered extremely important, especially in the CBT model, which is reviewed from three aspects: Community attitude; community involvement and participation; and community empowerment.

Community attitude

López-Guzmán et al. (2011) claim that understanding local communities' attitudes towards tourism development is necessary because attitude is linked to behaviour (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). Positive attitudes could lead to what Lepp (2007) calls 'pro-tourism' behaviours such as local support, participation, and the consciousness of conserving the resources on which tourism depends. Local communities will understand that there are opportunities to develop tourism in their homes, which they could plan and market instead of waiting to have a chance (Ap & Crompton, 1998; Lepp, 2007). Lepp (2007) found that residents' positive attitudes were based on the belief that tourism supports community development, provides chances for increased income, and improved agricultural markets, resulting in a better future. A hospitable atmosphere could then be offered to tourists.

However, local residents might have other attitudes if there exist negative matters related to sex, alcohol, food and natural resources (Lepp, 2007). For Pearce (1980), if local people do not support tourism development policies and programmes, these last would likely be ineffective or even fail to be implemented (Choi & Sirakaya, 2006; Easterling, 2005). Based on what Tosun (2000, 2006) argues, principles of sustainable tourism development would be implemented when more opportunities are given for local communities to gain benefits from tourism development within their localities, as they build positive attitudes.

Community involvement and participation

Community involvement in tourism development emerged in the tourism literature during the 1980s (Haywood, 1988; Murphy, 1985). Other authors then underlined local involvement as integral to creating and sustaining any successful tourism projects (Blackstock, 2005; Moswete, Thapa, & Lacey, 2009; Stem, Lassoie, Lee, Deshler, & Schelhas, 2003). Hardy, Beeton and Pearson (2002) argue that if host communities are involved in the tourism development of their localities, it will lessen the possibility of feeling alienated or to oppose the development. Moreover, when residents themselves are involved, they will become partners in the sustainability of tourism products (Bramwell & Lane, 1993; Simmons, 1994).

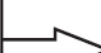
The significance of community participation has been widely recognized in many tourism studies for more than two decades (Blackstock, 2005; Haywood, 1988; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Lepp, 2007; Matarrita-Cascante, Brennan, & Luloff,

2010; Mowforth & Munt, 2009; Muhanna, 2007; Reid, Mair, & George, 2004; Shen, Hughey, & Simmons, 2008). In the United Nations report (1997), participation refers to “sharing by people in the benefits of development, active contribution by people to development and involvement of people in decision making at all levels of society” (p. 225). Local communities would define their own needs, based on their own resources to participate in their own development, hence make their own decisions (Stone, 1989).

Bushel and McCool (2008) underlined that local communities have historically co-existed within tourism areas, therefore being the main actors through the development process (Tosun, 2000). Therefore, according to Figgis and Bushell (2007), “tourism development and conservation that deny the rights and concerns of local communities is self-defeating, if not illegal” (p. 103). Studies have found that community participation reduces the gap with the government in their destination (Jamal & Stronza, 2009). Along with the natural or cultural attraction, local communities’ participation helps to create the distinctive image of the destination and experiences of visitors (Horochoowski & Moisey, 2008).

A question remains about what government should do to get local communities involved and working together (Kibicho, 2008). Pratt (2012) rightly stated that host communities have the ability to shape practice. Meaningful government support for community involvement and participation would give opportunities for the development of small-scale projects such as CBT in developing countries (Briedenhann & Wickens, 2004), particularly in Vietnam. As community participation can be both state- or grassroots-initiated (Parnwell, 2008), it suggests how important it is to figure out how community participation could be best promoted.

Several models or typologies of community participation have been developed by Arnstein (1969, 1971), Pretty (1995) and Tosun (1999) (see Figure 3).

7. Self-mobilization		8.	Citizen control	Degrees of Citizen Power		<u>Spontaneous Participation</u> Bottom-up; active par.; direct participation; par. in decision making, authentic participation; self planning;
6. Interactive participation		7.	Delegated power			
		6.	Partnership			
5. Functional participation		5.	Placation	Degrees of Citizen Tokenism		<u>Induced Participation</u> Top-down; passive; formal; mostly indirect; degree of tokenism, manipulation; pseudo-participation; participation in implementation and sharing benefits; choice between proposed alternatives and feedback.
4. Participation for material incentives		4.	Consultation			
3. Participation by consultation		3.	Informing			
2. Passive participation		2.	Therapy	Non-participation		<u>Coercive Participation</u> Top-down, passive; mostly indirect, formal; participation in implementation, but not necessarily sharing benefits; choice between proposed limited alternatives or no choice; paternalism, non-participation, high degree of tokenism and manipulation.
1. Manipulative participation		1.	Manipulation			
Pretty's (1995) typology of community participation	Arnstein's (1971) typology of community participation				Tosun's (1999a) typology of community participation	

Keys: Corresponding categories in each typology → ←

Figure 3: Normative typologies of community participation

(Adopted from Tosun, 2006)

Three main types of community participation in Tosun's model include spontaneous, coercive and induced (see Figure 2.1). In induced community participation (equals with functional participation, participation for material incentives or participation by consultation in Pretty's model, and degrees of citizen tokenism in Arnstein's), local communities are allowed to hear and be heard. They may participate in tourism implementation and sharing its benefits, but not in the decision making process. This is the most common type of participation in developing countries where the local community can only endorse decisions relating to tourism development made for them, not by them (Tosun, 1999).

Spontaneous participation, the highest rung of the ladder (self-mobilization and interactive participation in Pretty's, and degrees of citizen power in Arnstein's model), is considered the most ideal type of community participation (Tosun, 2006) because it enables the host community to engage in self-planning with authentic participation. My study argues that true participation, in areas where aid is offered such as in Tan Cuong Thai Nguyen, occurs only if it is spontaneous, self-mobilised

or self-motivated, and with community control. Such gestures require belief in the ability of the community to imprint the course of development. Other forms of participation are just rhetoric, which I would argue is the challenge for today's political scene in Vietnam. My study also seeks to demonstrate that participation need not rely on affinity of all the participants as differences can be worked through cooperative action.

Community empowerment

Empowerment is the notion frequently discussed in social sciences, especially in reference to the empowerment of indigenous, ethnic, minority and poor people (Yang, Ryan, & Zhang, 2014). It is defined as the power of local people to make decisions about aspects of development that concern them. Sofield (2003) argues that it is necessary when conflicts exist between minorities and mainstream society. For Dom (2012), community empowerment includes participation, accountability, and inclusiveness. As defined by Sianipar et al. (2013), community empowerment is giving people more control over their lives, which is possible, according to one particular notion developed in Foucault's discussion about power (see section 2.4.2) and which further confirms the slow shift in the power balance that has characterized economic development at the global level. Deriving from the principle that individuals have both opportunities and responsibilities as citizens, community empowerment involves their participation in the decision-making process that impacts on their lives (Choi & Sirakaya, 2006; Reid et al., 2004; Williams & Lew, 2015).

Being involved in planning decisions allows them to have a say in how tourism should be developed (Murphy, 1985). Empowerment means their say is integral to the final decision. In addition, Page and Connell (2014) underline that local communities have knowledge of their home environment which can assist in tourism development planning. In CBT development, community empowerment is identified as a basic concept (Sofield, 2003) because CBT is totally based on the local communities: local people are not only the product, but also the providers and so need to control its development.

In Snyder and Sulle's study (2011), CBT is implemented with efforts of the local government to bring benefits to Maasai communities in northern Tanzania.

While community members acknowledged they received revenues, improved schools and health centers, Maasai still feel their livelihoods are under pressure because of continued loss of land and other vital natural resources to tourism through expansion of protected areas. Damages to wildlife to satisfy rich tourists and tour operators can still occur. How to ensure that community members benefit from tourism and community-based natural resource management, remains a major issue. Therefore, it is important that CBT be controlled by the local people.

Ellis (2011) argues that local communities can understand how to maximize tourism benefits and minimize negative impacts appropriately. They also need to be empowered to become self-motivated to participate in and control local tourism development. Community empowerment provides a greater sense of ownership and pride, so host communities are more likely to contribute their enthusiasm, commitment and endeavour to community and tourism development (Parnwell, 2008).

On the other hand, McIntyre et al. (1993) claim that local communities also must organize themselves to play a more effective role and interact co-operatively with government. This could be in actively determining potential tourism resources and attractions in their communities; promoting responsible tourism; and contributing to community development. They should be ready and eager to be involved in decision-making. Muganda et al. (2013) affirm that “to achieve long-lasting outcomes, communities need to be active participants rather than passive observers” (p. 55).

However, in a majority of developing countries (including Vietnam), decision-making and policies have often been issued from the top with no input taken or required from the local communities (Salazar, 2012; Truong, 2014). Local people then only get economic benefits via employment provided by the government that has invested in tourism development or encouragement to operate small-scale businesses, rather than have a voice in the decision-making process (Tosun, 2000). Li (2013) critiqued such top-down approach because “residents should be encouraged to not only enjoy participation in the sharing of tourism economic benefits, but also have opportunities to say something in the decision making process” (p. 3). Their voices should be heard (Muganda et al., 2013).

Several studies (Clancy, 1999; Timothy, 1999; Tosun, 1998) revealed that local people will not likely get adequate benefits if they do not take part in tourism decision-making, i.e. if power is not shared or devolved at least to some extent to them as required by sustainable development and social equity (Mbaiwa, 2005b; World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). Policies should thus incorporate rather than merely reflect the views of the local residents (Choi & Sirakaya, 2006; Lankford, 1994; Mendoza-Ramos & Prideaux, 2017).

Democracy

Kearney (2006) postulates that, “there is a strong connection between community and the ethical ideal of a strong, deep democracy” (p. 145). My study argues that democracy and community empowerment are linked. Specifically, democracy should be an important component of community empowerment. Democracy not only means that individuals act independently but also collectively to create a community that responds to the needs and aspirations of all its members (George et al., 2009).

Former US President Barack Obama (2017) in a conversation with Bill and Melinda Gates focused on leadership and what all individuals can do to create change:

Most of us are either living in democracies or countries that purport to be democracies. It is because we have won the battle of ideas that says governments and our common efforts have to be rooted in the legitimacy of people; there is more power than ever in people being able to band together and collectively push for initiatives that are going to make a change in their lives. The presence of democracy because people believe that governments that are rooted in people are more legitimate, that’s the battle we won and now we have to make real wherever we can.

Democracy can be seen as the foundation for gathering people, from which collective power can be generated. For example, it is difficult to have democracy in Vietnam, but democratic relationships could be established at the local community level, or in certain circumstances, such as for tourism development. Obama claims that it is important for every country, every leader to be honest about the need for reform. Simultaneously dealing with global concepts of sustainability, many developing countries including Vietnam are facing socio-political complexities.

This involves the lack of any form of democracy since wealth and power are concentrated in the hands of a few people.

Moscardo (2011) examined tourism policy and planning models found in academic literature and in government as well as NGO guidelines to seek understandings for their theoretical underpinnings. Her study led her to conclude that the major players in tourism development are first tourists, then investors, followed by tourism businesses and government actors. She concluded that local people at best play a very limited role in tourism policy and planning processes in their own destination, which is far from the lofty goals of sustainability.

This kind of tourism encourages a reactive rather than proactive concern for sustainability (Moscardo, 2011). She continues to argue that the social representation outlined above is still dominant in tourism governance and must be changed by seeking potential alternative frameworks. Sofield (2003) offers one such way forward as he confirmed that “empowerment is the result of social exchange processes in which the power balance changes between the actors” (p. 8). It appears that most forms of tourism decision-making are still inward looking, which means in the hands of authorities who have not engaged the community in a wide-range discussion (George et al., 2009). Increasing democracy, significantly will help greater access for local people to the decision-makers and the decision-making process, as it supports their empowerment.

A mechanism to avoid that the more powerful and stronger (generally the government that holds political power) dominate the weaker (local communities, especially local people in rural areas) is necessary if tourism is to be sustainable in the long term. After all, in rural areas, the people of the community provide the tourism product (see Chapter 5, section 5.2), “to ignore this focus is to damage the tourism product itself” confirm George et al. (2009, p. 163). This requires strong support for the destination community by some agency, government or NGO for example, rather than for outside investors.

2.3.2.2. Barriers to Community Participation in Tourism Development

The literature has suggested that local communities could participate with their knowledge and capabilities in small-scale tourism projects such as tour operations, accommodation, traditional music and dance performance (Mbaiwa, 2005b). This would not only provide a sense of pride in and awareness of the importance of their local natural and cultural resources but also empower them to control their tourism development (Kibicho, 2008), from which they might gain experience and confidence to manage bigger projects (Mbaiwa, 2005b).

Felix et al. (2017) specify several barriers that prevent local community participation: lack of expertise, of funding, of interest, of training from tourism planning authorities, lack of formal education, lack of skills and knowledge, and lack of coordination and long-term strategic planning (see also Manyara & Jones, 2007). Developing countries are also affected by unequal political forces, administrative arrangements, distribution of wealth and power, as well as different beliefs and perceptions (Parnwell, 2008; Tosun, 2000). Therefore, as suggested by Vajirakachorn (2011), it is important to examine in practice economic, social or structural barriers.

Community participation in developing countries like Vietnam is always desirable, however, we cannot overlook limitations to this approach (Til, 1984). Tosun (2000) suggested that community participation in the development process would be more effective and realistic if there were specific and deliberate policies to handle the outlined limitations. However, Horochowski & Moisey (2008) might be right when they argue that it also relies on the capability and willingness of local communities to identify and resolve internal and external issues to be active in local tourism development.

2.3.2.3. The Potential of CBT development from grassroots perspectives in Vietnam

In Vietnam, few studies have been conducted about CBT. One of these is on CBT in Cao Phong district, Hoa Binh province (Dang, 2011) which has many natural resources and a unique culture, specifically in Giang Mo - the most typical village in the Cao Phong district. In another study, Tran, Nguyen, and Haruo (2010)

conducted research about CBT in Bai Tu Long National Park, Van Don, Vietnam. Only a few case studies demonstrate CBT's successful adoption in developing countries (Ketema, 2015) - the weakness emphasized is lack of a community approach. In Vietnam, local people are not fully aware of their rights in tourism planning and their responsibility towards the environment, moreover, there is insufficient information flow among local government, tourism enterprises and local communities. As a result, local people are not in synch with the development of the local destination.

In countries, including Vietnam, where legislation of community involvement and participation has been practiced, planners and developers insist that they have taken proposed plans to the public for discussion. Little evidence, however, has been provided for sound and meaningful participation on the part of the public (Cleaver, 2011), according to whom:

There is little evidence of the long-term effectiveness of participation in materially improving the conditions of the most vulnerable people or as a strategy for social change. While the evidence for efficiency receives some support on a small scale, the evidence regarding empowerment and sustainability is more partial, tenuous and reliant on assertions of the rightness of the approach and process rather than convincing evidence of outcomes (p.36).

This again requires a critical look at how this concept can be meaningfully put into practice.

While community participation has been referred to, the tourism literature has focused on its importance and/or lack of, rather than on how it can be realised by local communities themselves, and to what extent (Muganda et al., 2013). Few studies (Aref & Redzuan, 2009; Matarrita-Cascante et al., 2010; Tosun, 2006) have examined community participation in tourism development from the grassroots level. How local communities perceive and feel about these imposed roles have not been revealed. This creates a knowledge gap in how they would like to participate and what they think of their role in tourism development (Muganda et al., 2013). This last should be carefully addressed for the development of a better and holistic plan for sustainable tourism destinations.

2.4. Power in Tourism

The issue of power has become increasingly recognized and discussed in tourism studies (Church & Coles, 2006; Hall, 2010; Ryan, 2002). Questions were raised with regard to the power structure in tourism destinations, such as who is thought to be powerful, in other words, who has a reputation for power; and in that social structure who benefits? Can it be challenged, changed or resisted (Gaventa, 2003)? Power distribution has also been mentioned in the preceding discussion about community participation in the decision-making and in the implementation of tourism development in their location.

The question raised is whether local communities have power and do they (often/ever) exercise it? My study explores the complex issues of power relationships within the tourism industry, especially in CBT in which local people are encouraged to take control of their resources. This thesis specifically examines the power of the key stakeholders involved in CBT implementation, and explores how power occurs in and between local communities themselves (see Chapter 6). I argue that power is defined as the ability of each member of a society to do, to act and to control in a particular way. Since my thesis is on the role of local communities, I am also looking to give ‘control’ power to the local communities through CBT development in Thai Nguyen.

Cheong and Miller (2000) claim that tourism studies can be enhanced through a focus on power. This section thus considers how one aspect of Michel Foucault's conceptualization of power can be applied to the study of tourism. Foucault's notion provides a foundation to examine power relationships, which will be discussed in Chapter 6 for the Thai Nguyen area. This allows the formation of strategic pathways in tourism planning and development, which is then revealed in Chapter 7, section 7.4.

2.4.1. A Switch in Observing Power in Tourism

Politics studies often discuss power (Hall, 2002) because politics is normally perceived to be about power, who gets what, where, how and why (Lasswell, 1950). Key (in Sarkesian, 1981) suggests that “politics and power consist fundamentally of relations of super ordination and subordination, of dominance and submission,

of governors and the governed. The study of politics is the study of those relationships” (p. 144). By this definition, there will always be ‘dominators’ on one side and ‘dominated’ on the other. The history of economic development illustrates how power can move from one group to another, from total domination of Western governments and institutions imposing a certain form of development on countries they deemed ‘undeveloped’, to more decisions made by developing countries.

Government power is the capacity to exercise state control in tourism development. Government issues policies and decisions affecting tourism. Identification and representation of tourism resources and attractions, agencies responsible for tourism development, the nature of tourism development, all emerge from a political process (Hall, 2002). However, is power just about politics? Tourism policies issued by the government may hinder local development policy and weaken the representation of stakeholders in such places. This problem was raised in several policies and planning studies (e.g. Cheong & Miller, 2000; Ryan, 2002). In Western society, tourism is often understood as a product in which tourists have power because they can make individual decisions for travel.

The relationship formed between tourists and the locals, expressed also as between ‘guests and hosts’ or in the marketplace as consumers and producers, is seen as a power relationship between tourists in developed countries and locals in developing countries. This power relation is also interpreted as colonial and imperialistic (Mowforth & Munt, 2015). Power is identified as belonging to tourists in tourists-locals interactions. However, such power relation is more likely to bring negative outcomes, as tourists from privileged classes may display materialistic consumerism, and cause commodification of local culture for their satisfaction. A misunderstanding of the position of tourists in power relationships is clearer when people experience ambivalence about the prospect of becoming tourists (Cheong & Miller, 2000).

These problems lead to the question of whether power should always be identified with politics or tourists, and whether the exercise of power is one-sided and exclusively repressive (Cheong & Miller, 2000; Church & Coles, 2006; Gaventa, 2006; Hall, 2010). The appropriateness of exercising power among planners, developers, tourists and locals in tourism development has been debated

in some works, especially in community-based studies (Byrd, 2007; Ellis & Sheridan, 2014; Hall, 2002; Murphy, 1985; Reed, 1997). Reed (1997), for example, examined the power relations among stakeholders because they all have a significant impact on CBT planning and development in British Columbia, Canada. Discussion on how local people exercise control over their local and indigenous culture and heritage has also increasingly come into focus (Kibicho, 2008; Muganda et al., 2013).

A more critical approach of structural adjustments to the changing global economy is discussed in several development studies (Hall, 1994, 2002; Milne & Ateljevic, 2001; Mowforth & Munt, 2009; Sofield, 2003) that examine how tourism development was processed in national/international development programs and what was the global-local nexus. They include hierarchical relationships and unequal balance of power linked to the hegemony of developed nations and transnational corporations over developing countries that received development programs, as well as dependency of local people even in the age of new tourism. However, the one-sided flow of power was contested by some researchers (Cameron, 1997; Cheong & Miller, 2000; Milne, 1998), who claim that in the face of economic and social change, local people are not always passive. In the pursuit of their rights and interests, locals can be proactive and resistant, as they constantly negotiate and contest the direction of development instead of just accepting their predicament.

Such activism has added a new dimension to the familiar binary picture of local people dominated by government, investors and tourists. It demonstrates how power operates in both directions, and the assumption that the locals are continually oppressed is rejected (Cheong & Miller, 2000; Hall, 2002). Questions regarding the power of and within the community, have not been fully addressed or clarified (Hall, 1994; Morgan & Pritchard, 1998; Wearing, Wearing, & McDonald, 2010). To respond to this oversight, my study brings in some of Michel Foucault's political thought and conceptualization of power. A wide range of Foucault's work was written about power (McNay, 2013), and many studies have discussed this in different disciplines (Allen, 2002; Ball, 2013; Escobar, 1984; Sawicki, 1991; Schlosser, 2008). My study uses one particular aspect of Foucault's power notions

to further discuss power in local tourism development in developing countries including Vietnam. Foucault's notion has led to the understanding that the evolution of the concept of development and its implementation was in part due to a slow and subtle but inexorable shift in the world's power balance.

2.4.2. Foucault, Power and Tourism

Michel Foucault is widely acknowledged as one of the most influential thinkers in the Western intellectual tradition (e.g. Dreyfus & Rabinow, 2014; Gaventa, 2003; McNay, 2013; Sheridan, 2003). This section introduces two features of Foucauldian notions of power and subsequently applies them in tourism. The important argument here is that power is ubiquitous (Foucault, 1988b, p. 102) so it must be the case in tourism too. Gaventa (2003) expresses that "theories that see actors as autonomous agents capable of wielding or being dominated by power have tended to 'forget' or gloss over Foucault" (p. 6).

2.4.2.1. Preliminary points in Foucault's power notions

The key features of Foucault's power notions start from three preliminary points. First, Foucault challenges the idea that power is "a certain strength" that people are endowed with (Foucault, 1978, p. 93) or that it permanently subjugates one social group to another. These have been considered mainstream conceptualizations of power:

By power, I do not mean "Power" as a group of institutions and mechanisms that ensure the subservience of the citizens of a given state. By power, I do not mean, either, a mode of subjugation, which, in contrast to violence, has the form of the rule. Finally, I do not have in mind a general system of domination exerted by one group over another, a system whose effects, through successive derivations, pervade the entire social body (Foucault, 1978, p. 92).

Second, power for Foucault is not limited by formal rules and laws, nor is it an exercise in which one group dominates another. Foucault reconsiders power in a broader way, in which power consists of "a multiple and mobile field of force relations" and is "a complex strategical situation", which can never be totally stable (Foucault, 1978, p. 93-102). He believes power flows in multiple directions, and considers power as a relationship rather than an entity. Third, Foucault claims that

power and knowledge are becoming inextricably interwoven: “the exercise of power perpetually creates knowledge and, conversely, knowledge constantly induces effects of power” (Foucault, 1980c, p. 52). This means power and knowledge can hardly be considered one without the other, which he combines into “power-knowledge” in many of his writings (Foucault, 1980b). These preliminary points lead to key features: the omnipresence of power and its existence as a network of relations, which is why one can advance/support the empowerment of local people.

2.4.2.2. The omnipresence of power

Foucault sees power everywhere. Power exists “between every point of a social body, between a man and a woman, between the members of a family, between a master and a pupil” (Foucault, 1980a, p. 187). He explains:

...not because it has the privilege of consolidating everything under its invincible unity, but because it is produced from one moment to the next, at the very point, or rather in every relation from one point to another (Foucault, 1978, p. 93).

Foucault specifies that power is omnipresent in all social affairs and situations. This means that tourism is no exception (Cheong & Miller, 2000). Because power is coercive from top-down in most situations, it is not easy to see that power is everywhere in tourism. Power seems invested in what appear as powerful stakeholders such as the State or outside investors. Power, however, is not permanently invested in certain individuals within a stable hierarchical structure of power relations (Cronin, 1996).

The involvement and contribution of different key stakeholders, including NGOs, tourism agencies, and local people reveal that their power(s) should also be recognized in tourism systems, because as Collinson (2003) has argued “power and powerless determine the distribution of access to assets among and within different groups” (p. 10). The assets considered in this thesis are again local communities’ spiritual and cultural traditions. CBT was initially supported by expert advice. It was not implemented for revenue maximization of external businesses but by local people, so they would get direct benefits, i.e. income additional to their farming revenue. CBT is thus controlled by local people.

The power of local communities should be, therefore, understood as their ability to control their livelihoods and what is happening in their communities. For local communities, gaining power means being recognized as producers of economic goods and benefiting from that production. If they lose that power, they cannot manage what is happening in their locality (Collinson, 2003). They may lose not just economic benefits, but also their culture since CBT is based on local traditions (e.g. tea culture in Thai Nguyen). Because of the small scale of CBT, if local communities' desire is to preserve their culture, they have to keep what is authentic to them, which means CBT must be managed to preserve the authenticity of traditional practices. This will lead local communities to restrict the number of tourists they can welcome. It also means development of CBT would be sustainable. In other words, CBT is inherently self-limiting. Local communities should therefore be empowered to self-control their tourism development.

2.4.2.3. Power in a network of relations

Power is also not a commodity or a possession that one particular individual or collective entity owns; rather, for Foucault, power, which exists in a network of relations, also works through the network:

We must not look for who has the power ... and who is deprived of it; nor for who has the right to know and who is forced to remain ignorant. We must seek, rather, the pattern of the modifications which the relationships of force imply by the very nature of their process (Foucault, 1978, p. 99).

The role of state agencies and their power to transform society are not disregarded. However, government's power exists in a network of other powers. Foucault recognizes that different people can possess and be dispossessed of power in different circumstances, and at different points in time and place. Individuals are, therefore, always in the position of simultaneously (not) having and exercising this power. The character of power is therefore "circulating and never localized here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth" (Foucault, 1980d, p. 98). Power exists in a network of relations, idea which defies the traditional view of "dominators" on one side and "dominated" on the other. Foucault's reasoning leads one to interpret all situations as embedding or being embedded in power relationships.

This feature of Foucauldian power can be seen in tourism (Cheong & Miller, 2000; personal observation). At first, tourism systems, as conceived by public and academics, include two components, hosts of the destination and visiting guests. This model was rejected in favour of a sociological one that comprises three key elements: tourists; locals; and several categories of brokers because tourism is an activity actually facilitated by middlemen/women (Chambers, 1997; Smith, 2012). In this framework, brokers can be private-sector ones, such as hotel owners and employees, vendors, and guides, who provide goods and services to tourists in order to receive monetary remuneration. They can also be public-sector brokers such as city planners and politicians who work in government-operated tourism information centers, police and guides at the places visited.

Power relations in tourism systems are not stable but constantly changing (Cheong & Miller, 2000; Hall, 2010) because local people, the hosts of tourism destinations can become brokers when they establish their business or participate in planning of local tourism; they can also become tourists when they visit other places. Tourists can become brokers when they start a business or gain government positions. Brokers can become tourists or even locals. Locals, tourists, and brokers can shift identities through time, place and events (Cheong & Miller, 2000). Power relations can change within destinations throughout the phases of development. Consequently, there is no one-sided, fixed flow of power from one individual/group to another. Instead, a multiplicity of power relationships could be combined towards the common goal of CBT development, through collaboration of all stakeholders.

In different localized settings, specific and multiple productions of power relations arise from their own rationalities, histories, and mechanisms (Foucault, 1988a, pp. 37-38). For Foucault, local characteristics and backgrounds mark “the point where power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives” (Foucault, 1980c, p. 39). Therefore, this raises the potential that non-political parties and ordinary people including local people can gain power that contributes to the network of power relations; it can be useful for the general functioning of formal politics, particularly in tourism planning and development as is discussed in Chapter 7, section 7.4.2. It also means that local people or entire

communities can be empowered. This reveals the possibility to create emancipatory politics to enable full participation of local people in tourism.

However, power does not exist without resistance or conflicts, i.e. conflicts are often inherent in power relations. Resistance is understood as a constant process of adaptation and subversion of dominant discourses. It happens when individuals confront and reflect on their own performance (Schlosser, 2008). The role of resistance in understanding power has been examined in several studies (see Barbalet, 1985; Dahrendorf, 1968; Foucault, 1980b). Resistance was also key to Foucault's theory.

Understanding the relation between power and resistance must incorporate knowledge of the social context, since power and resistance function through different types of social bases or resources, and are associated with different aspects of the social system (Barbalet, 1985). Where efforts are made to transform power relations, understanding resistance is not only applicable; it is necessary (Gaventa, 2003). Resistance can happen at macro level between government and communities, and at micro-level between members of communities themselves (see Chapter 6, section 6.2.2.5). Recognizing the tensions allows discovering how a balance can be achieved. It can mean negotiation between who will benefit from CBT: local communities and/or stakeholders involved in tourism development.

The resource at play for the government is economic development of the country, so they will use policies or other means to create economic growth. Government however need to work with independent entrepreneurs, i.e. local people. Discourse is essential to the operation of power, but it is also essential to resistance. Foucault (1978) specified:

Discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart (p. 101).

Governments therefore need to flex their power with intelligence; they also must keep good faith with local people so they do not become (too) resistant to government programmes.

In addition, diffusion of power means power exists at the micro-level, between community members. There are CBT households and non-CBT households, with different involvement in tourism, which potentially brings conflicts since some may feel they have lost (or do not have any) power (see Chapter 6, section 6.2.2.5). However, it does mean that each can contribute his/her power to a common goal. CBT supports community desires to better their lives based on traditional tea culture. The thesis therefore addresses why it is important to understand that not only should managers empower local people, but also how local communities can mobilize, and utilize their power within the community to support change (see Chapter 6, section 6.4).

2.5. Conclusion

This chapter provides an overview of the literature on sustainable development and sustainable tourism development upon which this research is built. Principles of sustainable development have been set out from knowledge - building practices to cope with the failure of previous development strategies and because the evolution of development practices showed a slide of power from dominating Western models to more input from developing countries.

The discourse of sustainability has been widely accepted as a desirable objective of tourism development but it has been difficult to translate into practice, creating a significant gap between idealism and reality. Sustainable development and sustainable tourism development, therefore, need to be defined and implemented in terms of each and every culture, in its particular context, meaning each nation wields increasing power to direct its future. This study considers sustainable tourism development and its challenges in the ways it is understood and constructed from a local perspective in Vietnam.

The CBT concept emerged based on the theories of sustainable tourism development. A major characteristic of CBT is that it is managed and owned by the local communities, for the communities. Local communities are the core concern of this research – which I call a grassroots approach – to contribute to further understandings about them. It reveals their perceptions and experiences of CBT and sustainable development, but also their multiple, diverse, distinctive and unique

knowledge and practices that should increase their participation in CBT development. I outline that listening to the voice and accepting the major role of local communities, i.e. recognizing their power in development practice within the political context, are fundamental.

Little evidence has been provided for sound and meaningful participation on the part of the public. This creates a knowledge gap in how local communities themselves would like to participate and what they think of their role in tourism development. This matter needs to be carefully addressed, especially why and how it is possible to empower local communities to enable their participation as equal partners. This study, therefore, explores how local communities can voice their perceptions about their roles in CBT development.

If power is to uphold the central role of local people in CBT development, it is important to create space for knowledge of power to be reclaimed and reconstructed. This responds to questions about who has power in tourism. The thesis developed is that power is everywhere in tourism, following one of the notions revealed by Michel Foucault's studies. This challenges the assumption of power being only about politics and one-sided. Foucault's notion extends the understanding of power, by considering the (potential) power of local people in tourism development. This is a significant step if we are mindful about valuing local people, seeking to privilege their voices in local tourism development, and mobilizing them towards the common goal of CBT development.

CHAPTER 3:

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

3.1. Introduction

The main concern for any researcher is how to choose methods that fit the subject matter and ‘subjects’ (Smith, 2013). The expectation to reflect the voices and perspectives of communities challenged me in determining how to gather data appropriately because my study puts great emphasis on the role of local communities in tourism development. Given the complex nature of tourism-related phenomena, events, and processes, I combined quantitative and qualitative methodologies to explore those matters more effectively.

This mixed approach offers methodological possibilities, to more comprehensively understand the research problem and to draw conclusions that will offer solutions in both an academic and policy sense. It also provides better understanding of local communities and the implementation of CBT – in the context of growing concern for sustainable tourism development in Vietnam as well as in other countries that have the same tourism development direction. Methods employed include semi-structured interviews, focus groups, participant observations/sensing, photographs, field notes and survey questionnaires.

A wealth of information was obtained from the semi-structured interviews, furnishing insights from professional and management staff as well as from local residents. Questionnaires provided a larger number of local communities to voice how they defined, and thought about CBT development in their localities as well as how they determined their role in tourism development. This study highlights that local people, given their practice and experience of local issues, are experts in knowledge production about tourism issues in their destination.

This chapter also presents the obstacles and challenges met during my research trip. I acknowledge and reflect on the fact that one can never fully figure out the implications that our methodological decisions may have and whether they will work well in the field. Though difficult to anticipate, one needs to be prepared for such challenges. I offer different ways of discovering issues and ideals when working with local farmers in rural areas. In the Vietnamese context, I demonstrate

the ways focus groups were implemented in a culturally appropriate way, and I illustrate that researchers sometimes need flexibility to go out of their way to test methods in practice with different groups of respondents.

As we all abide by a set of personal values and have some form of bias, as much as possible, I determined through positionality and reflexivity to become better aware of my position in this research as well as how I could deal with research ethics and quality (Sultana, 2007). I also refer to the emotions experienced over the course of the field trip in Vietnam and what I learned from them. I illustrate that doing research, especially in the field, is a challenging but worthwhile journey.

The chapter first discusses my methodological approach and the use of both qualitative and quantitative methods. I then present how I put ‘ethics into practice in the field’. I continue by detailing the process of collecting primary and secondary data. I then express my reflexivity, positionality and emotions over the course of conducting this research. The last part of this chapter presents how I analysed the data.

3.2. Methodological Approach

Bearing in mind rationality as well as my objectives, I understand that the choice of methodology is important when designing the research process. It decides how I will get the necessary data, its quantity and quality in terms of relevance, usefulness and practicality, and hence, the kind as well as the usefulness of the results.

My study sought to understand better local people’s role in CBT development, to know whether CBT is an appropriate direction and what feasible solutions are necessary for CBT development in Thai Nguyen province to be successful. This first section covers my take on qualitative methodology, followed by a discussion of quantitative methodology as both are relevant to the focus of my research. I then present my rationality for adopting both as a mixed-method approach.

3.2.1. Qualitative Methodological Approach

Tourism has been seen as a social activity with the engagement and interactions of different relevant stakeholders: Local residents, government,

managers, international and domestic organisations, and tourists (Ellis & Sheridan, 2014). My study's discipline, tourism geography, is concerned with understanding how people relate to the places that are visited (Williams & Lew, 2015). This suggests to me a critical review of the methodology literature used in the social sciences to sort what would be useful for my research.

In the social sciences, there are two main research paradigms, positivism and phenomenology (McNeill & Chapman, 2005). Qualitative methodology belongs to phenomenology, in which the world and reality are socially constructed and given meaning by people (Milliken, 2001). People are conscious beings, aware of what is going on in a social situation, and therefore, able to make choices and decisions about how to act (McNeill & Chapman, 2005). Social scientists argue that behaviour, rather than determined from outside, actually lies in how people define the situation, their interpretation, and their reaction based on that interpretation. As a result, to explain social actions, we must consider insights into how people see and understand their lives, learn to see the world from their standpoint, and respect their views. Hence, "seeing the world as it really is, is all-important" (McNeill & Chapman, 2005, p. 19). Phenomenological research, thus, includes identification of the nature of human experience (McPhail, 1995; Yin, 2011), which contributes to understanding social, cultural and political contexts.

"Qualitative research is concerned with elucidating human environments and human experiences within a variety of conceptual frameworks", Winchester (2010, p. 5) tells us, helping determine how people behave, experience, and feel about their own lives (Gillham, 2000; Yin, 2011). Qualitative methodology is increasingly acknowledged as advantageous in studying phenomena in their normal settings, since it allows the researcher to take 'a closer view' of the studied phenomena (Patton, 2002; Phillimore & Goodson, 2004; Yin, 2011). It can be described as an art – and a robust research framework that offers how social matters are experienced, interpreted, and/or produced (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Yin, 2011).

Qualitative methodology deals with words rather than numbers, to answer the 'what', 'how' and 'why' of social phenomena rather than 'how much' and 'how many' (Bricki & Green, 2007; Bryman, 2016). Questions of 'what', 'how' and 'why'

gain more information when participants talk or explain because their ideas and opinions can be more clearly and deeply articulated. Those, in turn, provide the researcher better insights into the research matters and the studied respondents.

Qualitative methods are the most suitable for tourism research because tourism itself is a social phenomenon and a qualitative experience (Veal, 2011). With respect to my objectives, qualitative methods are the most important for four reasons. *First*, they helped me investigate local communities' attitudes, experiences and perceptions toward CBT impacts (e.g. semi-structured interviews, focus groups) and to personally experience phenomena that concern the area studied (Jennings, 2010) (e.g. participant observation). *Second*, they allowed the prospective respondents to voice their perception of the barriers they face to participate in CBT and how and in what way they would like to participate.

Third, as Strauss and Corbin (1998) and Gillham (2000) assert, qualitative methods can reveal what actually lies behind a phenomenon. This research examines the roles of local communities in CBT development, which requires a thorough understanding of the perceptions and experiences of relevant stakeholders. *Fourth*, human perceptions and behaviours often differ from one person to another and depend on various factors (Gillham, 2000; Yin, 2011), since each situation is unique and contextually specific. Hence, many human activities cannot be easily measured by conventional analytical tools, such as surveys, since it occurs in actual day-to-day settings, but it may be explained through qualitative methods (Yin, 2011).

The challenges of tourism development in a destination are caused by a variety of factors, economic, political and socio-cultural, which qualitative methodology is seen useful to understand. The researcher needs to find out the specific context of the studied destination. However, some factors can be potentially hidden by traditional and complex social norms, beliefs and practices. I chose to approach mainly the local communities, but also management officers in order to develop a deeper understanding of tourism development. I also wanted to apprehend managerial perspectives about the role of local communities in tourism development.

On the other hand, evaluations of qualitative findings are argued to rely on the researcher's unsystematic view, leading to bias and a lack of transparency (Bryman, 2003). Qualitative research offers other challenges for researchers such as how to raise questions for the respondents, how to develop rapport with them and/or how to manage emotions (Li, 2013). However, most potential limitations of using qualitative methodology could be addressed through the process of ethics, positionality and reflexivity as well as a careful and well-designed methodological plan.

3.2.2. Quantitative Methodological Approach

The second research paradigm in the social sciences is positivism. For positivists, a research methodology that produces quantitative data is considered reliable and rigorous because it is normally designed and organized in systematic and standardized ways (Berg & Lune, 2012; McNeill & Chapman, 2005). Weaver and Olson (2006) specify one strength in positivist research, the "generalizability of findings beyond a particular sample" (p. 463). The quantitative approach is considered important in tourism research because information can be elicited with relative ease and speed from a large number of respondents (Hara, 2008). That allows more members of local communities to voice their experiences and expectations so their voice could be more representative over a given geographical area. A statistical procedure is normally involved. Based on a reproducible research strategy, it is said to be more readily accepted by institutional stakeholders (Truong, 2014).

Positivism, however, has disadvantages. Sarantakos (2005) and Denzin and Lincoln (1994) insist that an over-emphasis on quantitative methodology may lead to a loss of social meanings which can hardly be captured through the use of only numbers and statistics. Numbers can also be manipulated, which would result in a biased conclusion, so understanding people and their perceptions as well as their actions might not be captured effectively. Such manipulation can easily be obfuscated since numbers seem real; however, numbers are for representation; they express only a part of reality. Moreover, this methodology still raises a question of whether results truly reflect deep concerns of the respondents (Li, 2013).

McNeil and Chapman (2005) suggest that “there are few areas of social life where one research methodology alone is sufficient to gain a meaningful insight into people’s lives” (p. 24). I have paid much attention to qualitative methodology. However, as my study focuses on local communities that include rural people, with different ages, genders, opinions, beliefs, I also wondered whether I could effectively reflect what the collective community thinks about and desires or whether they support CBT development where they live. This suggested a mixed methodology could be useful to provide a depth of subjective understandings with a wider breadth of community responses.

3.2.3. A Combination – Mixed Methodology Approach

Since qualitative and quantitative methodologies have their own strengths and weaknesses, they could be combined to complement each other (Bryman, 2003; Veal, 2011). Creswell (2011) specifies how a mixed methodology is an appropriate approach to addressing research problems, when “a quantitative design can be enhanced by qualitative data, or when a qualitative design can be enhanced by quantitative data... or when the quantitative results are inadequate to provide explanations of outcomes” (p. 34). Quantitative methodology is useful but it does not catch rich and deep data. As such, “the problem can best be understood by using qualitative data to enrich and explain” (Creswell, 2011, p. 130). On the other hand, “when qualitative research can provide an adequate exploration of a problem, but such an exploration is not enough, then quantitative research is needed” (Creswell, 2011, p. 34). It is the case when the researcher seeks to obtain a larger and more comprehensive picture.

Many scholars prefer to use mixed methodology. Sarantakos (2005) and Creswell and Clark (2011) give three reasons: First, mixed methodology helps to avoid the deficiency of single methodology studies (see also Fallon & Kriwoken, 2003). Second, mixed methodology stimulates researchers to be more flexible in utilizing the strengths of each. Third, it is more practical; the researcher is allowed to freely use all methods possible to address a specific problem and achieve a variety of information on the same issues. Therefore, mixed methodology would enable one to generate a comprehensive understanding of the research problem

(Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, & Turner, 2007). It creates a bridge between paradigms to resolve complex research problems (Johnson et al., 2007) and reveal opportunities for further research (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2011). A mixed-method approach offers a verification of research findings (Johnson et al., 2007; Veal, 2011; Yin, 2011). McNeill and Chapman (2005) even suppose that most researchers would now accept that it is sensible to use mixed methodology in order to “build up a fuller and more comprehensive picture of social life” (p. 22).

However, multiple methodology approaches besides critiques already raised, have disadvantages such as they are often expensive⁶. Another possible issue was that the large amount of data produced could be difficult to analyze, and contradictory findings could emerge (McNeill & Chapman, 2005). As I was aware of such problems, I paid attention to knowledge that I acquired during the field trip, alongside a focus on the research purposes and objectives, to deal with them.

A call was recently made for mixed methodology to capture and understand the very complex nature of tourism-related phenomena, events, and processes (Beeton, 2005; Pansiri, 2009). The relevance of the research would be enhanced because tourism research has until now relied mostly on quantitative methodology and descriptions, rather than on social analysis of stakeholders’ practices and especially not of local communities (Downward & Mearman, 2004).

Mixed methodology attempts to respect the wisdom of both qualitative and quantitative viewpoints while seeking a workable middle solution (Johnson et al., 2007). When choosing methods that best addressed my research questions and the theme which I desired to cover, I combined quantitative and qualitative methods (Creswell, 2011; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003; Truong, 2014). This research offers a critical review into the biases and differences of, for example, management hierarchy and the level of democracy or degree of participation, as they are experienced and practiced in Thai Nguyen province. As those matters are raised but not addressed openly in present Vietnam society, I was concerned with collecting rich and deep primary data, directly from people close to the issues alongside

⁶ For my research this was not the case as my house is not too far from the research area (about 15km) so that I did not bear any cost for stays. I also had flexibility in using my own vehicle for every day research travelling. It, however, required more time to collect data.

numeric information and to reveal hidden factors if they did exist. I thus adopted a mixed methodology, the majority of which was qualitative.

3.3. Research Ethics and Ethical Considerations

Researchers need to conduct their research with quality and integrity, therefore ethics⁷ should be considered at every stage of the research process (Creswell, 2009; Hesse-Biber, 2010; Yin, 2011). I put ‘ethics into practice’ for the entire research, but in particular during the field trip when I was working with local communities, managers and tourists. Before the interviews, participants were fully informed of the nature of the research (purpose, objectives, and methods and the intended use of the findings), through information sheets. Prospective respondents could then decide if they wanted to participate: participation was entirely voluntary (Yin, 2014).

Moreover, they were informed that the interviews would be audio-recorded to have an accurate account of all participants’ views and opinions but they had the right to stop the recording anytime they wanted. They were also assured of the confidentiality of the information they provided (Berg & Lune, 2012; Yin, 2014). Their written consent was obtained. I answered any questions participants had about the research. When they were willing to participate, I let them decide their preferred time and locations as was practicable. All participants were provided with the option of being identified or remain anonymous.

I sought to avoid that I might somehow (during the interview, actions and/or questions) influence the respondents and lead them to respond in ways different to their true beliefs (McNeill & Chapman, 2005). I also understood that conducting semi-structured interviews requires particular ways of questioning and listening and that the participants have equal status to the researcher in the dialogue (Burns, 2000). Therefore, I crafted my questions carefully, respected the respondents’ opinions and encouraged them to talk freely about research matters. I ensured the respondents were comfortable when participating. I actually faced unexpected issues in the field

⁷ According to the rules and regulations of the University of Waikato, the researcher must gain ethics approval before going in the field (see Appendix 1).

(that I will refer to below) and did my best to deal with them in as ethical a manner as possible.

3.4. The Research Field and Primary Data Collection

Since this study examines the CBT project in Tan Cuong specialty tea areas, it was important to establish how the concept was accepted and understood, and, on the ground, how it was implemented as well as how local communities reacted to its implementation. I approached relevant people, managers at different levels, as well as members of local communities to discover that.

3.4.1. Qualitative Data Collection

The qualitative methods used included semi-structured interviews, focus group interviews, field notes, photography and participant observation/sensing.

3.4.1.1. Semi-structured interviews

For Dunn (2010), interviews are an excellent method for four major reasons. First, they help fill a knowledge gap when other methods cannot; second, they provide access to multiple opinions, experiences and meanings; third, they are useful in examining complex behaviours; and last, they assist in empowering and respecting the respondents. Because people come from different class, ethnicity, age and sexual orientation, their opinions and experiences will vary; interviews assist in understanding how meaning differs among people (Dunn, 2010).

I adopted semi-structured interviewing, which incorporates the agenda of a structured interview and the flexibility of the open-ended unstructured interview (Burns, 2000). Semi-structured interviews involve a number of predetermined questions and topics, to address issues thought relevant by the researcher, which are arranged as ordered but flexible questioning (Dunn, 2010). The interviewers are encouraged (in fact, expected) to probe beyond respondents' answers to their prepared standardized questions (Berg & Lune, 2012). Patton (2002) suggests that probing helps establish a sense of rapport between the researcher and respondents and reduce tensions as well as potential for bias.

In semi-structured interviews, respondents can give explanations for what the researcher sees and experiences (Fetterman, 2010), they have freedom to interpret

their views, be questioned in greater depth, and solve or understand contradictions (Horton, Macve, & Struyven, 2004). Researchers then can seek to approach the world from the respondents’ perspectives and elicit more information (Berg & Lune, 2012). Semi-structured interviewing is considered an important data collecting technique in tourism research due to the rich information it can produce (Gillham, 2000).

The interviews were conducted with three key groups (see Figure 3): 1) Eight local households⁸ who have already implemented some kind of home-stay/CBT services (which I have labelled CBT households). I made this distinction because it seemed that CBT activities would signal a difference between local households. At first, not knowing specifically about which households had implemented CBT, I went to people’s committees of communes of Tan Cuong, Phuc Triu and Quyet Thang in order to ask for directions to these households.

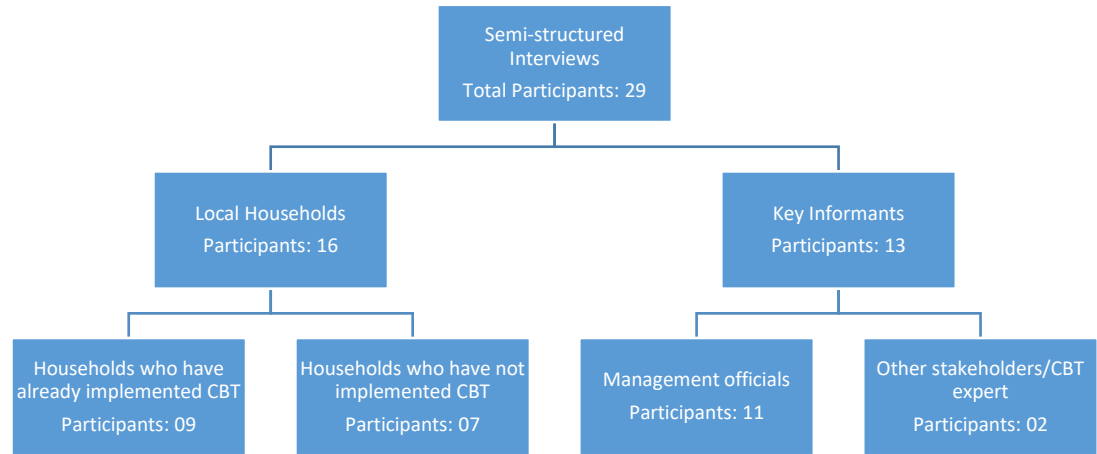


Figure 4: Semi-structured interview overview

The organizers of the project intended to combine CBT in traditional tea areas of Tan Cuong and Phuc Triu communes with bonsai villages in Go Moc hamlet, Quyet Thang commune, so there would be more attractions for tours. Through research, however, I discovered that no household in Quyet Thang commune

⁸ A spouse also participated so I had 8 households but 9 participants.

implemented CBT and only some in Go Moc hamlet were involved during the project training. Therefore, the participants from the eight CBT households involved in semi-structured interviews were local people in Tan Cuong and Phuc Triu communes only.

After the interviews, as per my research approach and ethics, I asked if they were willing to show me around their businesses and for me to take photos. During the walk, I recorded the experience and any dialogue that occurred. I also asked permission to be involved in observing their daily work and CBT activities⁹. All of the respondents accepted my request so I had several follow-up visits to some of the local CBT households.

2) I also looked for households (seven exactly) among tea growers who had not implemented home-stays or other tourism services (referred to as non-CBT households). I targeted local residents who had not heard about CBT but who lived not too far from where CBT occurred. In the field, I understood that CBT was somewhat new to many of the local people, except for those that were involved in different CBT training classes organized while the project lasted. That trained group was small considering the total number of households. I thus worried that if I went too far from the CBT central areas, my results could be biased as the people in those places may not have any idea or concern about CBT.

For both groups of local households, other adult members of the households could participate in the interview. In some cases, their spouses did. I ensured that all passers-by/family members understood their rights, received research information, and knew that research was being carried out¹⁰, so that they could knowingly participate (or not) in research conversations before they signed the consent forms.

⁹ These include accompanying tourists for sightseeing of green tea hills, picking tealeaves with farmers, participating in crumpling and processing of tea, having lunch made from local specialties. I describe those activities in Chapter 4, section 4.4.2.

¹⁰ I went to the local households that I wanted to interview to leave my information letter, research questions and consent forms (given their willingness); then I talked with them where it was suitable because they were always involved in daily farming work. I contacted them by phone later to confirm their participation and the time of the interview. Frequently they were only free at home at lunchtime or dinnertime after finishing work.

In approaching the local people for semi-structured interviews, I faced some of the initial challenges of the field trip. I found that the local people did not always have time to read all my information. Therefore, to start and make them feel comfortable, I carefully explained about my PhD study, what I aimed to do and willingly answered questions they raised. Local communities in the traditional tea production areas in Thai Nguyen province do their tea related work everyday and are very familiar with tourists from throughout the country and abroad. Therefore, it was my expectation before the field trip that they would be willing to participate. Nevertheless, it was not practicable in all cases.

The local communities were often involved only with their daily farming work. Therefore, being approached by a stranger for a face-to-face interview, to be recorded, made them cautious. I found that they hesitated as they thought that I might be a government official, or a member of the press. Yang, Ryan and Zhang (2014) had noted that Chinese people might not respond truthfully to strangers, because they worry that the researcher might inform others of what they have said, especially the government, which might have negative consequences for them. Therefore, they tend to provide answers they believe are desired by the questioner.

Initially some of the CBT respondents hesitated to talk with me about CBT because few households had actually welcomed CBT tourists. Therefore, they thought they had nothing to talk about so I should talk to other households. For example, a local CBT man said a model was built up and his house was chosen as a welcome-tourist household but he had not welcomed any CBT tourists yet, so he did not have any experiences in CBT to talk about. When I asked to record the interview, a local resident was afraid that what he said would not meet my requirements. He suggested that maybe I could interview others:

We are farmers and we are just able to communicate normally and not skilfully like others.

(RP13¹¹, non-CBT local man, Phuc Triu commune, 06.09.2016)

¹¹ Although the respondents in this study gave permission for me to identify them (use their names), I decided to use a code to maintain their privacy.

These situations created issues that I knew I had to deal with. Explaining further how the research was for my PhD study in New Zealand and that I was not from any official department or any television office took much time¹². I come from Thai Nguyen province, my place is not too far from their localities. I put more effort in explaining about confidentiality if that made them more comfortable. I asked their permission to record the interviews¹³. I also talked about research ethics and I expressed respect to all the respondents.

A CBT household member in Hong Thai 2 hamlet, like several people, did not want to talk with me the first time and showed his discomfort. I patiently approached him but ensured that I was not disturbing. I gradually gained his confidence. At the end of the interviews, he explained that it was not that he did not want to talk, but if he had to say anything untrue, it would bring a negative side¹⁴. I knew that I had to do my best to make all my respondents feel as comfortable as possible so they would share their real opinions. A non-CBT woman confirmed:

In fact I hesitated to be in an interview, but through talking with you, I felt I could open up and talk. Actually when talking with you, it is just what I know, I would talk more willingly...

(RP12, 22.08.2016)

All semi-structured interviews with local households took approximately 45 minutes to 2.5 hours¹⁵. The interviews did not just provide answers to research questions. I also listened to stories about family conditions, children, daily lives, their passion for tea trees, their work, and their difficulties. Showing patience and

¹² I explained to them that my study of tourism development in Thai Nguyen province has a grassroots approach; it means its interest is in the local people. Therefore, I aimed to listen to their stories as well as their thoughts, opinions, and their hopes. What I cared for was that the participants would be very comfortable to say and tell what they knew, or express their truthful feelings and opinions. In all cases, I let respondents have more time if they needed to decide, and set a time when I could proceed with the interviews or come to have a talk later. I understood that I myself needed that time to gain their confidence and belief at least in some aspects so they would willingly participate.

¹³ I presented my sincere reasons for recording the interview: I was going to conduct many interviews, so the audio-record would support me best when I came back to work on the data. It would also ensure that I could have an accurate account of all respondents' views and opinions. They had the right to refuse if they did not feel at ease with the recorder. I luckily received acceptance for the recorder from all interviewed.

¹⁴ I better understood what he meant through the interview later.

¹⁵ The hour-long conversations were sometimes interrupted, as the respondents had phone calls, guests or other jobs. In those cases, I tried to see whether I could continue then or not.

sincerity in my approach, as well as honestly listening to them, questioning them during the talks, but not always confined to the research questions all helped build up trust and their readiness to share their knowledge. Everything was easy after mutual understanding was built up. A CBT local man, even actively asked me to stay to have lunch with his family (wife and son), then to participate in his process of making tea that afternoon. Or a local woman talked with me no matter how dark it got; we sat outside in the yard, no light, and lots of mosquitos around.

Flexibility was always essential. Much knowledge was built up from those conversations, even if the responses were not always focused on the questions. I always carefully noted down their answers and really appreciated the time local people spent with me, giving me opportunities to understand more about them, in spite of their busy daily work and life.

To reach the places of my research, sometimes I had to overcome obstacles of weather, darkness, and fear. The weather was very hot¹⁶. I went by motorcycle (as I could not often use my car on the small village roads) along rugged and twisty roads that went deeply into the specific households. Sometimes I hardly found anybody to ask for the way. I realized that I did not fear difficulties and obstacles since the most important thing was that the picture of the local people and of CBT in Tan Cuong took shape step-by-step more clearly in my mind.

Many of the respondents approached seemed to feel glad that someone was researching about tourism development in their localities. For example, a 60-year-old local farmer in Phuc Triu commune, had prepared by reading carefully and keeping the information sheet, and consent form and brought them all to the talk when I returned for an interview. A 76-year-old man after the interview lent me all the materials that he had kept carefully from the training classes during the CBT project time. I also appreciated the help of a leader of Khuon 2 hamlet, Phuc Triu commune, also a CBT local household. Even late noon one day¹⁷, he took me to four households to introduce me so I could distribute the information sheet and consent form, without anything in return. His enthusiasm made me feel that he was

¹⁶ In Vietnam, during the summer, especially in July and August, it was about 36-39°C.

¹⁷ In Vietnam our culture requires taking a break from 11.30 – 1.30 to have lunch and a nap.

willing to support me because my research could help the locality, which greatly strengthened and motivated me during the trip.

I understood that I needed initiative to create rapport with the local communities because the creation of a friendly and close relationship would facilitate the research. Respondents' sincere sharings are extremely important in social research. In turn, they were themselves sometimes the ones who made me feel warm and approachable, which I had never thought about before my trip. Those were in specific moments, such as when Mrs Sinh¹⁸ brought me jackfruit after I told her that I love this countryside fruit; Mrs Nguyet invited me to eat her house's guava; Mr Thai and his wife asked me to have lunch so that I did not have to return home by a sunny 39°C; Mrs Binh Anh thoughtfully gave me a bunch of bananas from her house garden; uncle Duong asked me to use his old motorcycle to visit households that I had difficulty accessing by car; together with many small tea packages and small tea trees.

During conversation, I kept in mind that I should limit what I said, or explained about CBT so as to not influence participants. Traveling everyday to the research field, I gained opportunities to have more contacts and approach important respondents. Research is an interesting journey during which one should always be ready to catch opportunities to collect as much data as possible.

3) Key informants (management officials and other stakeholders/experts) who worked on tea production management and/or CBT.

Management officials were from different provincial, city and communal levels and were working with and concerned about the CBT development project. Other stakeholders included those who have expertise in tourism and consultants selected for their extensive knowledge and involvement in the CBT project and were identified from Thai Nguyen Province's Tourism Association and the city of Victoria (Canada)¹⁹. They were initially targeted through reading reports of CBT in

¹⁸ Although I did not identify respondents' names where I used the information they provided to protect their privacy, it is my intention to reveal some respondents' names here because it is a way to acknowledge their support, which motivated me during my field trip.

¹⁹ As mentioned, the model of CBT in Thai Nguyen was deployed with professional support of the city of Victoria in Canada.

Thai Nguyen province and local newspapers about community tourism events. They were expected to be interested to become informants in this research.

During the field trip, I went to their office (myself or sometimes accompanied by an acquaintance who could introduce me) to present myself and leave an information sheet and consent form. Sometimes if it was more convenient, I phoned or sent emails to invite them to participate. They were offered the option of face-to-face, online (via skype, viber) or over the telephone interviews²⁰. Each interview lasted about 30-90 minutes. The duration was flexible due to their willingness as well as their needs. In some cases, interviews were interrupted by other management staff for work so I asked their permission and willingness for me to return when they were free. It worked out well for those cases.

A woman staff offered kind support and great facilitation, because she works in the Cultural and Information Department and understood when the Department's manager could have time to talk, which happened after only a few days. He openly and enthusiastically²¹ discussed the CBT project and the questions I raised. Thanks to this first interview, I got a much better understanding of why Tan Cuong, Thai Nguyen was chosen for a CBT project with the support of experts in the city of Victoria, Canada; how they implemented the project; what stage it had reached then; about the local households who had participated in this project; and especially his opinion as the manager most in charge of this project.

I also had an interview with the woman staff to understand more about the actions of an official in charge of the CBT who regularly worked directly with the local communities during the CBT project time. She shared about advantages as well as difficulties and challenges linked to the project, her opinions as well as experiences working with the local communities. The interview provided further insights and importantly, opinions of both management and local communities in CBT implementation.

²⁰ All interviews were undertaken in their work offices, except for one CBT expert who worked in Hanoi, the capital. The interview was conducted through skype at her chosen time.

²¹ The interview lasted from 4.30 pm to 7pm (normally 5.30 is the end of office working time).

During my field trip, I did not know personally in advance any management staff from hamlets, communes, city and province levels who were involved in CBT. Therefore, it required networking to find them. For example, when I came to the People's Committee of Tan Cuong Commune, I approached a land officer whom I knew (also through introduction). She informed me that normally the People's Committee always had two Vice Presidents and one of them would be in charge of cultural matters including CBT.

The CBT project ran in 2012-2015, and I went for my field trip in Vietnam in August – October, 2016, therefore, some fundamental managerial changes had occurred. That Vice President was assigned to another position in the People's Committee of Tan Cuong commune. I faced similar problems when I visited Phuc Triu commune's People's Committee and even at the Provincial People's Committee²². I chose to approach and conduct interviews with the ones who experienced and worked on the CBT project. This project was supported by the Federation of Canadian Municipalities through the Association of Cities of Vietnam. It was deployed in 2012 until the end of 2015. I had realized that since the CBT project finished when the city of Victoria, Canada ended their support at the end of 2015, there were no further CBT activities. I did find ways to approach the people who held the highest position in the local communes in order to capture their appreciation of the current and potential CBT development of the communes.

3.4.1.2. Focus groups

The focus group method refers to a discussion between a small group of people on a topic or issue specified by a researcher (Cameron, 2010). McNeill and Chapman (2005) advise that “focus group members are encouraged to talk to and respond to each other, thus allowing people to explore their own attitudes and experiences in their own words” (p. 65). Importantly, interaction between a group's members is a major feature of this research method, which provides an opportunity for people to explore difficult points of view, formulate and reconsider their own

²² The change of people in charge was recognised as one of the important issues that I would reflect on again in the analysis of my findings.

ideas and understanding, and draw conclusion about topics or issues (Berg & Lune, 2012).

Goss and Leinback (1996) argue that “the main advantage of focus group discussions is that both the researcher and the research subjects may simultaneously obtain insights and understanding of particular social situations” (pp. 116-117). Moreover, a focus group permits the researcher to collect a large amount of information from potential groups of people in relatively short periods of time; and it can generate important insights into topics that previously were not well understood (Edmunds, 1999; Marshall & Rossman, 2006).

With regard to numbers, too few participants per group (under four) may restrict the discussion. However, too many participants (more than ten) could limit the time that each member has to contribute (Cameron, 2010). It also could be too difficult to manage or control so it would be hard to capture understandings of the information offered (Breakwell, 2006). Each group in the study included 5-8 local people identified as the ones who experienced tea tourism and tea production. Each focus group lasted approximately 60 – 120 minutes. It is also important to form a group in which participants feel relaxed whilst they share their opinions.

Focus groups were formed in accordance with each commune in Tan Cuong specialty tea areas where CBT had already been implemented. I conducted three focus groups, two in Hong Thai 2 hamlet, Tan Cuong commune (CBT-centred commune) and one in Khuon 2 hamlet, Phuc Triu commune²³. In all three focus groups, respondents had different ages. I believe that each age group might provide different views and insights. However, I tried to ensure that there were not any considerable differences and that the respondents felt relaxed²⁴ when they participated in a focus group.

²³ I had intended to conduct a focus group in Go Moc 2, Quyet Thang commune. However, as already mentioned, I had discovered that very few people became involved during the CBT project. These households ran landscape and bonsai businesses, not tea production, so I decided to interview just a few specific households.

²⁴ Participants were encouraged not to share their sensitive information (related to the research topics) but instead to talk to me personally if they thought such information might be helpful for the study. I clearly indicated that shared information would be kept private to the people within the group.

I only gave key questions and topics to discuss during any focus group (Berg & Lune, 2012). Moreover, I also paid attention to strong personalities who might dominate or gain control over the discussion, and direct the group's responses (Cameron, 2010). I encouraged all members to participate in the discussion. Light refreshments were provided. Each focus group had different characteristics. It was first about locations that researchers need to think of strategically (Holbrook & Jackson, 1996). Focus groups are best held in an informal setting which all participants can easily reach. In addition, the types of people (CBT and non-CBT involved) was also determined in advance.

This study provides new and different ways of discovering issues and ideas from focus groups, in which respondents are local farmers. In the Vietnamese context, it demonstrates culturally appropriate ways for focus group formation and implementation. Researchers should be willing to go out of their way to seek opportunities to meet and talk with the targeted respondents.

The first focus group was conducted an afternoon in the tea fields while they picked tealeaves²⁵. The discussion went well because it looked like a chat between tea pickers and I. I directed them to talk on specific major topics. There were even jokes in-between from the tea farmers. They told me that they often shared funny stories or jokes so they would not feel too bored during long working days. It created a comfortable atmosphere for them to talk more openly, even about some questions concerning CBT they thought they did not know much about. They showed how to pick different kinds of tea; they told stories about the village. I was impressed by the enthusiasm, laughter, and the silent moments when they stopped to think more about some of the questions. Respondents were also encouraged to share their individual stories.

²⁵ Earlier I stopped and talked with them casually during one of my regular trips. After creating a closer relationship, I asked them for a focus group discussion. I handed them information sheets and the focus group questions, and I asked for their willingness to participate later while they performed their daily job.



Figure 5: First focus group – Hong Thai 2 hamlet, Tan Cuong commune

(Picture taken by a participant, August 08, 2016)

The second focus group went differently as it was located in the cultural house of Khuon 2's hamlet where respondents often had communal meetings. A room in local community centres is ideal (Cameron, 2010) as respondents find such a place familiar. I had organised a meeting there in order to distribute questionnaires²⁶. It was suggested that they worked every day, so it might be best to gather people on a Sunday night. I thus intentionally started the focus group as soon as I finished distributing and collecting questionnaires so that the participants in the second focus group (that I had earlier personally contacted at their houses – four people actually) found it convenient to both fill the questionnaires and join in the focus group.

After the questionnaire collection, I asked if anybody would like to join the focus group for further discussion. Unexpectedly, all 18 people stayed and seemed to want to be there for more information. I acknowledge that, at first, I felt somewhat embarrassed but I realized I had to deal with the situation so I thanked them for remaining. I handed them information sheets and the focus group questions. The progress of the focus group had to change unintendedly. I suggested that respondents see this focus group as an open discussion; for every topic that I put forward, they might have opinions, or share something relevant, to discuss with other attendees. The main themes were their understandings about CBT, difficulties

²⁶ I discuss them more specifically in the following section on the questionnaire survey.

and obstacles in participating in CBT, and how tourism was expected in the locality as well as their recommendations in developing tourism (if they expected it).

With such a large unexpected number of participants in an impromptu focus group, I paid even better attention. Nothing, however, went out of control or nothing offensive happened. Initially some of them asked for more definitions of CBT. I felt like a teacher explaining basic concepts. I wondered if, coming from a researcher, my explanations could influence my respondents' perceptions. However, not only were they eager to stay, importantly they listened attentively, so I felt it was right to explain fundamental concepts of CBT.

Even though one could speak of a town hall meeting rather than of a focus group, the numbers who stayed did not actually change the format since only eight respondents actually joined in the discussion (including the four people I had invited). It remained a focus group since the people who stayed did not participate; they kept silent and listened attentively to get more information. I asked several times if there were other ideas; I, however, respected their silence. I was also aware that the presence of other people might affect participants' opinions. However, the hamlet was small so people did know each other and had probably exchanged such points of view before. In addition, respondents often attended communal meetings together, according to the head of the hamlet, so they were used to the presence of other people in the hamlet and were used to sharing opinions on different issues. I did not chase the people who did not participate away since I was happy to share information with them. I also intended to share some of my solutions with local people, meaning that I was not trying to withhold anything from anybody. At the end of the discussion, I decided to keep only the consent forms and personal information from the eight respondents who participated as members of the focus group.

This focus group (on September 11, 2016) was also a special event for me. I cannot forget the local people who actively and voluntarily helped light up the cultural house (it normally is quiet dark with few lights), and those who stayed and

listened intently. Uncle²⁷ Khanh and uncle Thuan came early at 7.15pm (7.30 was the invitation time) to prepare lights and wipe tables and chairs. Uncle Khanh brought a light tube from his house, then uncle Thuan went to his house to get one more; uncle Doan helped me arrange the tables and chairs, and auntie Hong brought her own family's tea set. All that occurred without any payment or pre-arrangement. It happened naturally. The cultural house was actually better lit that Sunday night than at any other time. I felt very touched by the sentiments of local people. I remember and appreciate the local farmers who helped me feel that my research was worthwhile so it became much easier²⁸.



Figure 6: Local farmers helped lighten up the Cultural House

(September 11, 2016)²⁹

²⁷ In Vietnam, we often use this appellation based on age differences – in my case I called them ‘uncle’ in normal communication.

²⁸ It became a memorable research experience during the three-month field work in Thai Nguyen - my hometown.

²⁹ Pictures in the thesis were taken by the author, unless otherwise stated, and are all used with permission.



Figure 7: The Cultural House lightened up

(September 11, 2016)



Figure 8: Second focus group – Khuon 2 hamlet, Phuc Triu commune

(Picture taken by a participant, September 11, 2016)

Discussions went on, with silent moments, and a lot of laughter, for example, when they were discussing about speaking English as an obstacle or when a person asked what if tomorrow our village welcomes a group of tourists - participants responded cheerfully. Fun and humour of participants dispelled tension, when they

talked about preparing food for tourists, about their embarrassment when speaking English with foreigners or brand naming their businesses; about added services from tea trees such as tea bath, or tea spa. Some participants shared freely and openly about CBT matters, as they had been actually involved. Due to the nature of their busy daily work, I set the appointment for the meeting at 7.30pm, but we started at 8.30pm. I understand and sympathize with the work of the local people, and I much appreciated their presence and serious involvement until 10.30pm that night.

The third focus group was located in a CBT participant's house³⁰ on September 23, 2016. My intention was that the majority of participants were local CBT households. As at that time, I had gone through a considerable number of interviews, participant observations, focus groups and questionnaire distribution, I wanted to figure out questions to capture additional matters. Many serious ideas and opinions about CBT development of the locality as well as the role of local communities were given.



Figure 9: Third Focus Group – Hong Thai 2 Hamlet, Tan Cuong Commune

(September 23, 2016)

³⁰ I previously asked his family's permission and willingness to organize the focus group there and I also asked other participants if they felt the place suitable.

The encounters with the local people, who had practiced and experienced tourism development actually led me to recognize that they had become experts, in their own ways that significantly contributed to knowledge production about local tourism issues. More studies are said to be required to find ways to involve local communities effectively in tourism (Tosun, 2006). Local people, more than any other stakeholders, I argue, could understand themselves far better and more clearly, what they hope and desire for tourism development in their communities. It suggests that local communities' participation in tourism development can be significantly improved if their knowledge is valued and incorporated. Their expertise and visions offered important ideas for this study.

3.4.1.3. Participant observation/Sensing

To understand social life, we must also examine the social meanings or interpretations that people attach to their behaviour in their everyday social life, by accessing their lived experience and thinking from the perspectives of their members. "Imitating real life" is important (McNeill & Chapman, 2005, p. 90). Participant observation involves going out, staying out, experiencing local lives, and participating in local ordinary activities (Bernard, 2000; Brewer, 2000). Participant observation allows the researcher to gain knowledge from informal interaction with local people; 'deviant behaviour', which is possibly not disclosed in the interviews, could be explored (Veal, 2011).

Driven from the inside, my participant observation was to understand the life of local communities as honestly as possible, to discover the way they saw it themselves and to know the social contexts in which their behaviour occurred (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002). It enabled me, to "tell it like it is" (McNeill & Chapman, 2005, p. 89). It means neither what has been written nor said about, but what has actually been done (Gillham, 2000; Yin, 2011). The observations required to spend a great deal of time hanging around with a clear focus, and a high level of patience, precision, and attentiveness to details (McNeill & Chapman, 2005). In addition, I paid attention to ethical issues, such as remaining fully aware of what I was permitted to observe. Otherwise, the prospective participants might find their actions constrained or uncomfortable (Bryman, 2003).

I observed and participated in different local households' daily activities. When I saw groups of local farmers (often 3-7 people) harvesting tealeaves, I often stopped even for just small talk. When I, as the researcher, endeavoured to take part in daily activities of the group, I sought ways to establish a close rapport through chats about types of tea they picked, or how often a tea garden would be harvested. I was not seriously approaching so the group took my presence for granted, and their behaviour could remain "normal" (McNeill & Chapman, 2005, p. 96). Multiple observations at different times and places and with different participants helped enhance the validity of the findings obtained (Yin, 2011).

These participant observations helped me build up a relationship of trust from which people's beliefs, opinions, attitudes and interpretations of the world could be explored (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002; McNeill & Chapman, 2005). The local farmers seemed to get more open after a while, when they discovered that I also came from Thai Nguyen city. Through talks, I knew that they sometimes were both owners and renters in the tea gardens. They shared stories of tea plantation and their worries about selling fresh tealeaves for low prices. They enthusiastically showed me how they picked tealeaves, so that sometimes I joined in. I discovered matters that I would add to interview questions, or when I asked information during casual encounters.

One day I also joined in picking tealeaves in the morning and participating in tea processing, packing tea until 7.30 pm at a CBT local household's house. I was taught how to proceed during each stage. I also watched and joined activities with the wife of a CBT local man in their house, or with another CBT local man and his wife when they worked on their tea processing together. I participated in a daily job in another CBT household where I could see his 70-80 years old parents still joining in and supporting them (as they had many years of experience). I learned a lot about the daily work of local farmers. For example, I got more ideas concerning the issue of gender equity here, as I observed how both husband and wife worked together, and how they equally and comfortably responded to me.

I also participated in various CBT activities, watching preparations and decorations, and even sometimes helping in preparing food for CBT tourists (I thought it would be better to help than just stay there and watch). I observed

carefully how they welcomed tourists. Furthermore, I joined in different CBT activities of tourists with their permission. It all provided insight into CBT activities and about tourists who joined them.

Participant observations were also carried out at local public events such as a contest between talented farmers, during which, I observed and participated as a normal guest. When engaging in participant observations/sensing at local public events and/or festivals, I did not inform all local communities that they were being studied as the group might possibly act differently (Kitchin & Tate, 2000). However, some local people that I had a chance to talk to or work with, recognised me and they pulled me under their umbrellas as it was 39⁰C under a hot summer at noon. Other people at the local events asked me what I was doing. I honestly explained to them and everything went well.

Personal observation provided me with a better understanding of what happened in relation to tea tourism and CBT, as perceived from the perspective of the insider rather than just relying on reported information. Insider – in the sense that local farmers accepted me more readily, took me for granted, for me to be involved, and to be in close rapport. Since “the good researcher is all eyes”, careful observation also aids in interpreting data (Veal, 2014, p. 224).

3.4.1.4. Field notes

Dewalt and Dewalt (2002) pointed out that writing field notes is an effective way to record daily observation, and experiences including feelings, sights seen, and discussions of daily events. Sunstein and Chiseri-Strater (2012) listed important elements to write effective field notes during research: Record data, time, and place; write specific facts, numbers, and details of what happens at the site; provide sensory impressions like sights, sounds, gestures, voices, textures; note personal responses to events; provide summaries of conversations; list questions about people and events at the site for future investigation, which I did during the field trip. I also considered the smell and taste of the tea products and of local specialties when I was invited to try them.

I stopped many times to write my field notes every day in the field about participant observation in on-site activities and events, residents' lives, their

behaviours and my reactions to what was going on around me - all were observed and carefully written.

Thai Nguyen - Vietnam, summer days are often heavy with rain. It helps wash away the hot of the summer sun, but also makes it much harder for farmers to harvest tea. Today it was raining heavily. Driving on the road and seeing images of local farmers still working in the heavy rain, I realized they work regardless of rain or sun, just as their tea cannot wait to be harvested another day, because of quality. I wonder and think about how the tea trees can promote their strengths and potentials to bring more benefits to the local communities.

(Field notes, September 09, 2016 – 11.30 am)

3.4.1.5. Photography

Photography is utilized for two reasons. Images were recognised as primary data, providing insights about the local communities in CBT development. They were also used as secondary evidence supporting the existing texts and findings. Szto, Furman and Langer (2005) assert that “photography is more accurate than statistics, because it is a direct representation of reality” (p. 143). Their point of view seems acceptable and significant. For example, photos of the dark community centre and the small area lit up helped me understand better the difficult conditions for local farmers, and to think about and appreciate sufficiently their hopes for better lives. Through photos of people, scenery and activities, we can partly see, understand and/or feel how it is happening in real life. As the researcher, however, I understand that I should be aware of the possibility that the photos might only be a truncated representation. A hasty vision would not be useful to appropriately reflect the social picture. This directed me to use photos openly, but cautiously to support other data.

Many photos were taken during my research trip of local communities’ daily and CBT activities³¹ to understand local people’s daily lives and their relation to CBT development today, during special local events, and of tourists in CBT activities. I consider my photos a research diary. I carefully saved them to my laptop at the end of the day, with a short description and title caption for each. When I came back to work at my office and looked at the chain of photos, I could return to

³¹ E.g. planting and caring for tea trees, welcoming visitors, preparing local specialties, processing tea.

the places I had visited, recall whom I met, and the time it occurred. I received photos from local community members of their previous CBT tourist welcome or of local public events in which they had participated. I also received photos from tourists that I had the chance to join during their visits in Tan Cuong, through emails.

I asked permission of the local people, tourists or other participants to take photos. Faces visible on photographs would be hidden unless the person had given written permission to use the photos. To ensure consent of their use, I showed the images I had taken to participants. I had also prepared a separate form to record details of the photos (such as descriptions and date taken) and to especially note which images the participants approved of, and whether they would like certain aspects of the photo blurred (i.e. faces, signage, commercially sensitive detail, etc.). In fact, I found that local people and tourists were most generous and comfortable for me to take pictures and to use them for my research.

3.4.2. Quantitative Data Collection Process

Quantitative methods involve collecting, counting, and measuring facts, observable data and phenomena (Gillham, 2000). Among quantitative methods, a survey has for many years been the most widely used method of social research (Bryman, 2003; McNeill & Chapman, 2005). Surveys are defined as a means of “gathering information about the characteristics, actions, or opinions of a large group of people, referred to as a population” (Tanur, 1982, p. 2). They can be conducted to collect information about people’s behaviour, expectations, and knowledge (Neuman, 2006).

A survey is important to complement and verify observation and interview data and hence support drawing valid conclusions. Although the survey may not provide rich and deep information, it is advantageous in exploring the perceptions of large groups of people thus making them more representative of the wider society (McNeill & Chapman, 2005). Questionnaires are considered the most typical for gathering survey data (Gillham, 2000; McNeill & Chapman, 2005) because they are standardized, which helps participants respond easily to the questions raised. The quantitative method used in this research included two questionnaires: A household survey and one for tourists.

3.4.2.1. Household survey

The household survey was preferred (against street, telephone, site or user survey, and captive group survey) for three major reasons: First, it is generally representative of the community (as the samples were drawn from all age-groups and all occupational types); second, it is one of the most appropriate research methods designed to provide information about the community as a whole; and third, it generally represents a complete geographical area (Veal, 2011). Since the study sought to collect the attitudes and opinions of local communities, then a technique that would lead to representation of the whole community was necessary. In addition, such a survey would allow a meaningful comparison of responses.

In response to Gomm's (2004) critique that "approaching respondents like this creates a thoroughly unnatural situation, so whatever the results, they won't have much bearing on what respondents usually think, generally feel, normally experience, or really believe" (p. 124), using qualitative methods such as semi-structured interviews and focus groups helped solve this issue. Moreover, questionnaires require minimal interaction between the researcher and the respondents, creating fewer opportunities for subjective bias caused by factors like status differences and power relations that could affect the validity of the collected data. Questionnaires are seen to be highly reliable because they are easily reproduced and the quantifiable data can be verified by others (McNeill & Chapman, 2005). In my study, they allowed local communities in Thai Nguyen province the privacy and time to consider and develop their responses to sensitive questions (Truong, 2014) which might not have been possible through observations and interviews.

Questionnaire design

Each questionnaire³² started with an opening paragraph, which clearly stated the purpose of the research and ensured the confidentiality of the respondents' personal information. The household questionnaire then followed with questions to explore residents' evaluation and attitudes towards tourism impacts in their

³² See Appendix 17 (survey questionnaire for local communities) and Appendix 19 (survey questionnaire for tourists).

communities and personal lives from economic, socio-cultural and environmental aspects; the perception of their roles in CBT development, whether and how they would like to participate in CBT; the barriers that prevented their participation and their suggestions as to further tourism development or not. The household questionnaire included both closed and open-ended questions. All research tools were translated into Vietnamese since research occurred in Vietnam.

Respondents' Sampling Technique

The study used a simple random sampling technique to produce a representative sample. I drew subjects from an identified population in such a manner that every unit would include all age-groups, above a certain minimum (18 years of age here), and where all occupational groups have precisely the same chance (probability) of being included in the sample (Berg & Lune, 2012).

I decided to distribute questionnaires in Tan Cuong and Phuc Triu only as CBT-centred areas³³. At the beginning, I intended to choose 6% of the total number of households in these communes. Each commune included 15 hamlets. However, during my trip, I undertood that only about 20 local households were involved in CBT training, which means that other households in these two communes did not have specific concepts of CBT yet³⁴. Therefore, I decided to not distribute questionnaires to all hamlets in Tan Cuong and Phuc Triu communes. Rather, I concentrated on local households in CBT centres - Hong Thai 2 hamlet and Khuon 2 hamlet.

Hong Thai 2 hamlet has 170 households while Khuon 2 has 78, according to the statistics from the communes' People's Committee, which served as the basis for recruitment of the target population. Based on the number of households and conditions in each targeted hamlet, I expected to distribute questionnaires to 40-60% of households. Respondents were selected by random sampling in each commune.

³³ Three communes were involved in the CBT project: Tan Cuong, Phuc Triu and Quyet Thang. Quyet Thang commune was not selected for this method. As mentioned earlier, just a few households, working in landscape and bonsai businesses, were involved in CBT training. I worked closely with Quyet Thang commune's management staff and local households to understand the local situation before I decided not to include them in the survey.

³⁴ I carefully checked that when I went to different hamlets in both communes. Almost all of them responded that they had not heard about this project or of CBT.

I tried to ensure that every commune would be well represented, all households having an equal chance of inclusion. 60% is significant to provide enough accurate data to address the research questions, and would be well representative of the research population (see Muganda et al., 2013; Truong, 2014). I was certainly aware that the response rate could be as low as 5-15% of the total.

Organization for collecting questionnaires

In Vietnam, communication is normally easier if the researcher is introduced formally by a community member (Huxford, 2010; Truong, 2014). I first worked with a leader of Khuon 2 hamlet, Phuc Triu commune, as I had interviewed him with follow-up visits. He really supported me, as he understood that my research was for people and tourism development in the locality. I asked his help to distribute information sheets and questionnaires to all 78 local households (after their normal meetings). Then I asked his support to organise a meeting with all in the hamlet's Cultural House³⁵ to make them feel comfortable in familiar surroundings. I wanted a public meeting because I could then respond when questions were raised or to clarify points which they still felt somehow difficult to understand and answer.

It was set for Sunday night, 11 September 2016. At the meeting, I introduced myself, my research and responded to all the questions raised. I handed the questionnaires and collected them once completed. To ensure the integrity of the research, no incentives (money or other) were offered to participants³⁶.

As a person who clearly understood his hamlet, that leader suggested Sunday night would be most convenient for local people. However, due to their busy work schedule³⁷ and for different reasons, only 18 representatives of households came. I knew he had tried his best to help gather local people. He, however, acknowledged that this situation happened quite often in the hamlet whenever they organized a general meeting. This information was later confirmed by another manager of the

³⁵ This is where they often had local meetings.

³⁶ I appreciated their participation, however, by giving a new pen to each so that they found it easy to fill in the questionnaires. At the end of the meeting, I gave each of them a small packet of biscuits and a soap that I brought from New Zealand. None was of great value but just showed how much I appreciated their participation in my research.

³⁷ I later understood that because I saw many households process tea until late in the night.

hamlet. Therefore, only 18 filled questionnaires were received. This situation made me consider other ways to continue. He and I went to other households to get the questionnaires filled if people were willing. In Hong Thai 2 hamlet, I did not follow the same procedure, instead, with the help of a local leader, I went to each household to distribute and collect questionnaires. My aim was to obtain as many filled questionnaires as possible in these two hamlets. However, I always relied on their willingness and agreement.

Finally, 130 questionnaires were collected, including 90 in Hong Thai 2 and 40 in Khuon 2. This represented approximately 53% percent of the local population in Hong Thai 2 and 52% in Phuc Triu. It could be considered representative of the research population. Eliminating those with too many missing answers, 122 were usable (93.8 %). Although I tried to reduce/eliminate bias and misunderstanding, mistakes remained³⁸.

3.4.2.2. Tourist surveys

As tourists are an integral part of any tourism development, I intended to distribute 50 questionnaires to tourists who participated in tea tourism, home-stays and other CBT activities in the study area, to support understandings of local communities' roles in CBT from tourists' perspectives. To ensure the comfort of tourist participants and not intrude on the tourist activity, I distributed the information sheets and questionnaires via accommodation providers and hoped to collect the completed questionnaires later³⁹.

Unexpectedly, such distribution did not work out. I sent my questionnaires in the two households who had implemented CBT. However, they responded that the tourists came and left very quickly. They took time to experience tourism activities and could not fill in questionnaires. Because local CBT households' English was not good, the owners hesitated to give questionnaires to the tourists. Therefore, to create a comfortable sense for the owners of the households as well as the tourists,

³⁸ Because the local communities got equal chance to participate in answering the questionnaire survey, differing educational levels or/and knowledge of CBT meant that the results might be biased.

³⁹ I had prepared questionnaires in both English and Vietnamese for foreign and domestic participants.

I asked permission to directly come and join in tourism activities when the owners had tourists, so that I could talk with tourists, given tourists' permission. They happily agreed. Local people also thought that I could help them by translating and communicating with tourists.

Tourists who participated in tea tourism/CBT showed their interest in this kind of tourism and the local communities. I explained my research by giving them the information sheet and asked their permission to join them in their journey. Luckily, all accepted my request and agreed for me to use their photos and information that I got from conversations with them in my thesis. Therefore, while I was not successful with questionnaires, I had great and different experiences accompanying them on their activities, discovering their opinions about the research matters I was concerned with. This particular work is part of my participant observation and was often recorded in my research diary.



Figure 10: Accompanying Dutch tourists along rural roads in Tan Cuong

(September 24, 2016)

During my 3-month field trip in Vietnam, I met and talked to about 12 different groups of tourists who visited the local households. They were both CBT and non-CBT tourists. Four groups joined in CBT in Tan Cuong, including a Dutch

couple, an Israeli couple, a group of 4 Czech tourists, and a group of 17 Japanese tourists. The remaining groups were day visitors who wanted to view the tea gardens and buy tea products from local households. I did not reflect on my encounters with domestic tourists as most were non-CBT tourists. They visited the local households as they were interested in visiting the tea gardens in the areas as well as to buy some tea products. They did not actually join in CBT activities.

The group of 17 Japanese visiting a CBT household belong to Takarazuka Vietnam and Japan Friendship Society. They travelled to various parts of Vietnam from 13 to 19 September, 2016. Their leader is a retired professor of a Japanese University. He studied Linguistics in California, US and could speak Vietnamese very well. He guided the group about Vietnamese language, history and tea culture. He gave suggestions about shortcomings as well as potentials for CBT development and local community participation in Tan Cuong. I found that accompanying tourists worked well. As the number of tourists visiting the area remained low, I did take every opportunity to visit the local households and meet tourists. I kept on asking the owners of the houses to inform me when they had visiting CBT tourists, then I would immediately go there.

I met Czech tourists in the Thai Nguyen Tea Cultural Space (see Chapter 5, section 5.2.1). We have been in contact through email and I received pictures of their trips in Tan Cuong and other areas in Vietnam from some. I sent my prepared questionnaires and received only three filled ones, but I was lucky to be with tourists, to draw ideas and better pictures of CBT and local communities from their perspectives.

In summary, the various methods used in this study are displayed in Figure 11:

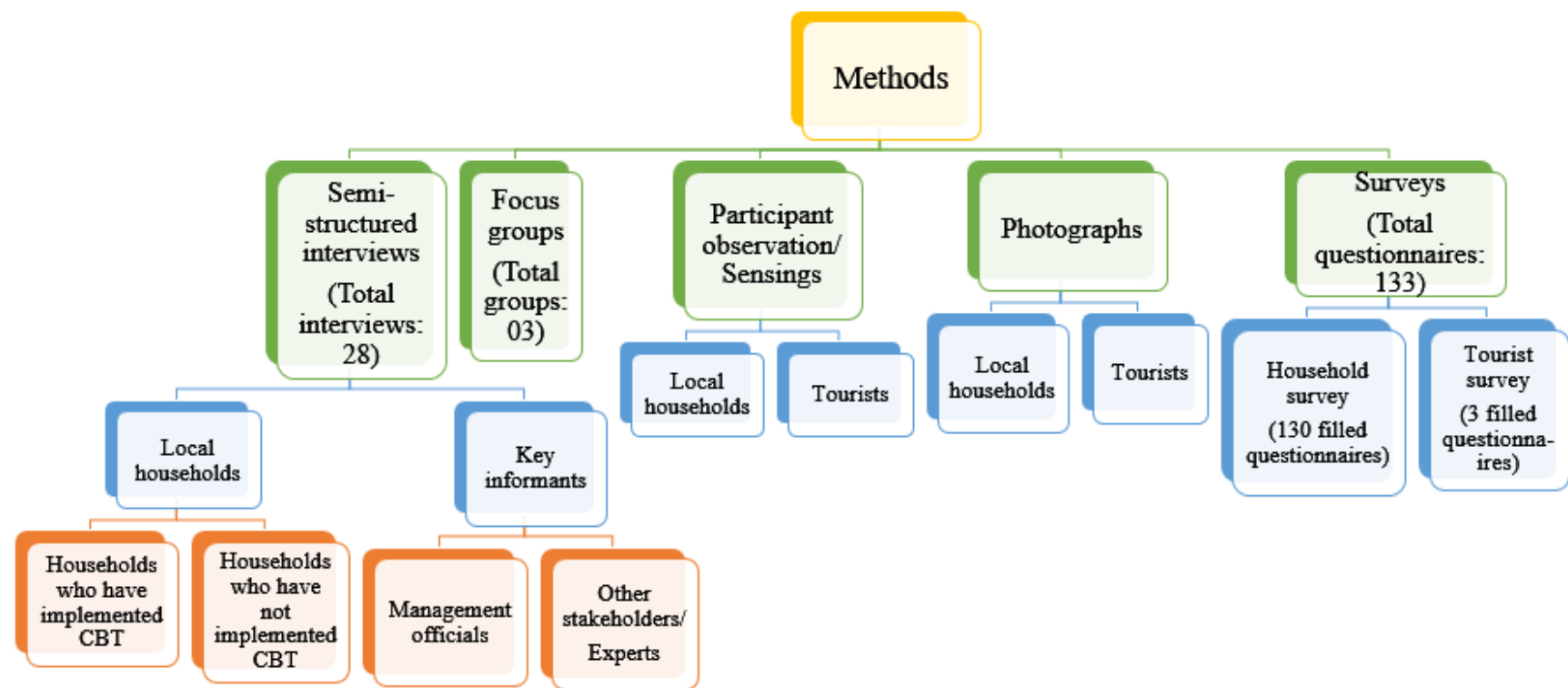


Figure 11: Summary of research methods for primary data collection

3.5. Secondary Data Collection

Secondary data for the research were collected from journal articles, books, reports, online and other publications of local and international authors the content of which was relevant to development discourses, sustainable and sustainable tourism development, CBT, and local communities. These publications helped build the theoretical framework, from which research objectives were identified and methodologies were drawn. Several official documents, reports of Thai Nguyen city's People's Committee contained significant information about the research area at the first stage of this research.

Vietnamese Tea Magazines, sport, culture and tourism bulletins, newspapers and professional magazines, tourism brochures, tour guiding pamphlets, other promotional tourism materials, official statistics and other publications were collected during the field trip from official tourism departments such as Thai Nguyen city's People's Committee, Thai Nguyen province's Culture, Sport and Tourism Department, Thai Nguyen province's Tourism Promotion Center, and Thai Nguyen Radio and Television Broadcasting. Other secondary data included documents, books collected from Thai Nguyen city's Cultural and Information Department. Materials that had been distributed during the CBT project period were gathered from local people; or reports of local communes and unpublished theses, etc. A number of specialty tourism websites were also visited.



Figure 12: Publications collected during the field trip

3.6. Reflexivity, Positionality and Emotions

Paying attention to issues of reflexivity, positionality and power relations in the field enables ethical qualitative research (Sultana, 2007). Objectivity is often considered elusive (Berg & Lune, 2012; McNeill & Chapman, 2005); it can hardly be captured (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011) as some form of bias exists even when believing to be objectively looking at the very facts of life (Gillen, 2011). I recognize that one abides by a set of personal values, due to social, ethnic, religious background, and beliefs, perspectives and ideologies. Therefore, while I cannot be entirely independent from the object of the research, I remain aware of the nature of my involvement, the influence of social relations and am reflexive to reduce bias.

I am a young woman researcher interested in tourism studies and social development. I wish to apply the principles of sustainable development (see Chapter 2, section 2.2.2), especially in developing countries like Vietnam to tourism growth if it can assist the local communities.

I see and appreciate the way local people, who have attached and dedicated their long lives to traditional tea cultivation, are learning and finding ways to approach and implement this new kind of CBT based on tea products and a unique culture, for the betterment of their lives and their communities. However, I also understand and realize the importance to start better practice, and the role of local government planning. Therefore, I tried to maintain a critical look at the development of CBT in my province so that I could identify both positive and negative impacts on the local communities. A critical perspective allowed me to maintain some objectivity, remembering that all knowledge is essentially subjective.

I am also of Vietnamese origin, from Thai Nguyen province. I have visited traditional tea production areas for both leisure and research purposes many times, therefore, I am familiar with the local lives there. I speak the same language and practice the local customs. Such commonalities enabled me to engage and be accepted in regular conversations with local people, even if the rural local communities and I did not possess the same identity. My semi-structured interviews, local household surveys and participant observations, I believe, have enabled me to understand the situation. Seeing, sensing, attaching, hearing actually helped me

develop outcomes for research – about, and – for the local communities in Thai Nguyen province.

Nonetheless, there were issues around cultural sensitivity in Thai Nguyen province and Vietnam. The principles of protection, participation and partnership were useful. I ensured that their participation was within a context of cultural responsiveness and that I reciprocated where appropriate with a small gift as is the custom in Vietnam. I recognize that my participants offered me their expertise, which I respect because we were partners in the build-up of the knowledge for my thesis. Hence, I offered them to examine the recommendations I would make as part of my thesis before I submit them to officials.

As my educational background might have created gaps with local people, I did, to the best of my ability, avoid any social marks that might affect their attitudes and the collection of realistic qualitative data. In the field, I understood that it was solely my responsibility to engage in a careful and ethical manner, respect the value, well-being, dignity, opinions and interests of those involved in this research. I, however, recognize that I could not know reactions of people of different age groups or of a different gender to me and to this research. I thus did everything I could to ensure cultural safety and to respect respondents' values.

I was able to only partially access the lives of the local people I am interested in. The important thing for me was to be faithful to the relations in that space and time, and to the stories that were shared and the knowledge that would be produced through the research. I listened carefully to get relevant information, but I also listened to stories told of their family conditions, their children, their daily difficulties as farmers and sometimes their passion for tea trees and the improvement of their family lives, from which, I could better understand their ideas and opinions. One community leader's advice was useful in translating the survey questionnaire in Vietnamese so it would be understandable for local people. For example, I replaced "barriers for local people" with "difficulties of local people".

In respect to my research topic, moreover, I acknowledged how my identity and positionality as a young woman researcher could affect the research process. Since critical reflexivity is important to deal with the issues of subjectivity and

intersubjectivity (Dowling, 2010), I have paid greater attention during the process to my own knowledge production (Sultana, 2007).

I agreed and understood that, social science:

...does not and cannot provide final answers and ultimate truths about the social world, for they do not exist. It is a way of looking at the world that tries to develop new insights by approaching familiar questions from an unfamiliar angle. There is no single reality waiting to be discovered, no one right answer waiting to be found. The test is how far it helps us to understand the social world, for understanding and knowledge are the foundations of effective action. It will be more successful in doing this if research is done according to principles of integrity and rationality (McNeill & Chapman, 2005, p. 192).

Feelings, emotions, and precious experiences learned should also be included in positionality. I learned during difficult times to patiently approach some of the members of local communities. I then always remembered smiles, joys, enthusiasm, and openness, small sudden gifts, kind help, and generosity of time. I could not express enough how much easier I felt then, doing my research. Many local people felt happy that a young researcher was studying tourism development for their locality. For what I have gained and valued from the research experiences, I also include the great emotions that local people expanded for me, demonstrated by their offers of lunch, dinner, or staying until late for long discussions.

There was uncertainty during my research trip about whether I would have successful interviews/meetings/observations (in my own definition), together with anxiety. However, I understood that each researcher faces challenges during their field trip, in different and particular ways. The important thing was to keep moving forward, pushing myself without any hesitation to go further.

I remember how much courage I had to muster on the motorcycle when I organized interviews, observed tea processing, or attended meetings with local households at 7.30 pm, or conducted focus groups until 10.30 pm, or questionnaire distributions until 11 pm⁴⁰. I was however always ready, any time that I could set up a meeting, to go, regardless whether it would rain heavily or be sunny, or

⁴⁰ In Vietnam, even in summer, it gets very dark soon after 7 pm. Especially in rural areas, they did not have street lights everywhere. Living most of my life in city areas - with a poor memory of roads, which I had to acknowledge, I felt quite scared to go alone along the dark deserted streets, which might have been familiar and less scary for local people.

sometimes noticing I had not had lunch yet when it was 2.30 pm. My supervisor once told me that sometimes one needs to be ready to seize any opportunity. I am grateful for her advice because I could understand more clearly this motto during my field trip and applied it. Serious efforts were required directed by a passion for research and the ambition to find useful answers⁴¹.

3.7. Data Analysis

After the fieldwork, qualitative and quantitative data were analyzed using a parallel mixed analysis strategy. It means both types of data were independently analyzed but the results were integrated in the interpretation phase to answer the research questions (Creswell, 2009; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2011).

3.7.1. Qualitative Data Analysis

With 28 semi-structured interviews and three focus groups, i.e. 54 participants in total as well as some recordings of informal talks with local people and tourists during my field trips, it took time to process the data. First, I transcribed and translated over more than two months for a total of 219 pages of transcription. I did not transcribe everything, but I ensured that I captured all that would be useful for the study. I listened to the audio recordings an additional time to check.

I then analysed the data using critical discourse analysis (CDA), which is a language-based method of qualitative analysis (Matthews & Ross, 2010), to examine both primary data collected from interviews, focus groups, participant observations as well as secondary data such as official documents, reports and publications. CDA is a well-established interpretive approach in human geography to determine driving ideas or discourses. It is useful to “offer insights into how particular knowledge becomes common sense and dominant” within a specific context (Waite, 2010, p. 217) and uncovers what lies beyond the sentence (Schiffrin, Tannen, & Hamilton, 2008). CDA in this study helped to understand how CBT in Thai Nguyen province was socially constructed through local people’s thoughts, discussions and experiences of their social environment. It was also used to examine discourses of sustainable development, power, and community participation.

⁴¹ In a way this thesis is also “a telling of my stories”, where I found myself overcoming fear and lack of confidence, and the increased motivation to research community development and empowerment to support local persons in their community.

The data were analyzed through steps such as understanding, categorizing, coding under themes, connecting with theories and academic discourses, and then described narratively (Dey, 2003; May, 2011). The classification of data into separate themes is an important process (Bryman, 2016), so it was established through intensively careful reading (Muir-Cochrane & Fereday, 2006). NVivo 11 pro helped arrange contents from transcripts into separate themes. This qualitative data analysis computer software package, produced by QSR International, aids in the search for an accurate and transparent picture of the data (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013). Categories were first established based on my research questions. They included economic, social and environmental impacts of CBT, willingness to participate, community participation as perceived by different groups of respondents (management officials, local communities, CBT expert and tourists), and barriers for local communities' participation in CBT.

By reading over again carefully, examining repeatedly and in depth the data, more themes, other than the ones already mentioned above, were gradually added, for example the importance of local knowledge and recognizing this knowledge, challenges and prospects of CBT and sustainable tourism development in Thai Nguyen, collaboration of key stakeholders, and power in tourism development. Such review also helped sort more significant themes from mundane ones. I could develop a more complete picture of community participation and CBT development in Thai Nguyen. I then related the themes to theories and academic discourses to explain them.

In discourses, the type of language utilized (for example emotional, intellectual, or condescending), the ideas that underlied the text, and how those ideas were transmitted through the language were examined (Matthews & Ross, 2010). I noted the type of language, emotions and behaviours of the respondents when I interviewed, and I further discovered more when I listened to the recordings again, for example the silences across participants' stories and sharing when I asked about the CBT project and the sustainability concept. It was a worthwhile process since it contributed to understanding social phenomena and changes that occur for the local communities in CBT.

3.7.2. Quantitative Data Analysis

Quantitative data, including 122 filled and usable survey questionnaires, were also analyzed. They were first coded and entered into a Microsoft Excel worksheet and then converted into SPSS (Statistical Product and Service Solutions) version 20.0 for analysis. SPSS is recognized as one of the most commonly used software packages to organize, analyze and present numerical data (Matthews & Ross, 2010). The analyzed data were then presented as percentages, frequencies, cross-tabulations and in charts and graphs.

With respect to the mixed methods data analysis, the data obtained from both qualitative and quantitative approaches might complement or disagree with each other (Sale, Lohfeld, & Brazil, 2002). However, the results from both types of data acquired through the empirical study were combined through triangulation to develop a deeper and fuller understanding of the attitudes and roles of local communities towards CBT development. In this study, quantitative data complement and support qualitative data.

3.8. Conclusion

In this chapter, I show how a mixed approach of qualitative and quantitative methodologies was useful in providing a depth of subjective understandings with a wider breadth of community responses to tourism development of the destination. Local people were the focus of my research, which I demonstrate through the ways in which a larger number of local participants, where reasonable, could voice their opinions and aspirations about CBT development. A mixed methodology enabled me to answer in the best possible way (I believe) my research questions, drawing more comprehensive conclusions and pictures about the local communities' role in CBT development in Thai Nguyen. I hope my work contributes to the existing academic literature pertaining to the role of local communities in tourism development in general and policy implications for CBT development in Thai Nguyen.

The local farmers, in this research, had somehow challenged me to deal with issues of mutual understanding and belief in my initial approach. They, however, were then open to talk and share about tourism matters that they had practiced and

experienced. I recognize that they were experts, in their own ways, that significantly and importantly contributed to knowledge production for this work.

My research also offers different ways of discovering issues when respondents are local farmers in rural areas. During the research process, researchers should be open, flexible and ready to, if necessary, go out of their way to change research approach and to see how methods specifically can work for different groups of respondents. It is essential to acknowledge that each research project and its implications on the respondents are impossible to fully know in advance, and even once in the field.

Positionality and reflexivity allowed me to conduct as ethical and quality research as possible. I reflect on the ways in which the research field trip was challenging but such an interesting journey, full of precious learned experiences and knowledge; memorable and mixed emotions shaped, and were shaped by, research interactions. The use of CDA to examine qualitative data was slow and ponderous but helped uncover ideas that underlied the data, confirmed by the analysis of questionnaires by SPSS.

CHAPTER 4:

DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREA

4.1. Introduction

Amongst agricultural villages, perhaps "flower village" and "tea village" are the places that have the most beautiful, and attractive natural scenery. Their landscape satisfies visitors who want a quiet countryside, clean atmosphere and bright green color picture (Trinh, 2014, p. 50).

Tourism always occurs in a specific geographic location. When talking about tea products and tea landscapes, most Vietnamese people mention Thai Nguyen first (T. L. T. Nguyen, 2012), known through the history of aromatic tea cultivation as the kingdom of tea trees in Vietnam (My, 2014). The tea tree is central to Thai Nguyen's spirit, explains To (2012):

“Visit Thai Nguyen province... to raise cups of tea, sniff the perfume of flowers and green rice, and taste the sweet and rather tart flavour, to understand thoroughly Thai Nguyen land and Thai Nguyen people” (p. 181).

This chapter explores how tea trees have become the symbol and a point of distinction used for tourism in Thai Nguyen province. It describes the specific conditions for CBT implementation there and questions whether it is a suitable site to develop CBT linked to tea plantation.

Valentine (2014) argues that when studying social relations, understanding spatial structures that underpin those relations is necessary. Understanding space illustrates how local people identify themselves, and what constitutes their social identities. It allows an exploration of how and in what ways host people identify an attachment to place; how their tea cultivation is linked to the history of the place and the Vietnamese tea culture; and how their social interactions are formed and reformed through tea cultivation and CBT. Spaces and society do not merely interact with or reflect each other; they are mutually constituted (Valentine, 2014). It is thus crucial to examine how tourism is located in this context and tourism activities are facilitated. Knowledge of the study area contextualises issues of place, people, relationships of power and development discussed later in this thesis.

I begin by examining the geographic, political, historical, cultural and economic characteristics of the area. The traditional tea plantation and tea culture in Thai Nguyen is an integral part of the Vietnamese tea culture. I then discuss the relationship between tea planting and tourism, through government politics, Tea Festivals, and the national goals of building new rural areas. The chapter lastly explains how CBT was established in Thai Nguyen and the various activities offered to CBT tourists.

4.2. Geographic, Political, Historic, Cultural and Economic Characteristics of the Study Area

This section explores the conditions for developing tea tourism in Tan Cuong, which produces ‘the most reputed tea’ and ‘the best tea in Vietnam’ (Bao, 2012).

4.2.1. Geographic characteristics

Thai Nguyen is the capital and the largest city of Thai Nguyen province, ranked third largest in the North after Hanoi and Hai Phong, the 10th populous city nationwide (Thai Nguyen Province People's Committee, 2016). It has 353,318 ha or 3,541 km² of natural area, and a population of nearly 1.2 million people (Q. T. Tran, 2015). Thai Nguyen shares borders with Hanoi, the capital on the south, and provinces such as Bac Can on the north, Vinh Phuc and Tuyen Quang on the west, Lang Son and Bac Giang on the east. Thai Nguyen city is central to Thai Nguyen province as well as the gateway and centre for political, cultural, socio-economic, scientific, technical, and medical health, education and tourism exchanges between the northern mountainous provinces and the midland region (Travel Vietnam, 2011).

Favourable geographic conditions of Vietnam in general and of Thai Nguyen city in particular have formed the distinctive Tan Cuong specialty tea products. Vietnam, located in tropical South East Asia, has much potential for the development of agriculture and for tea, especially in mountainous and midland areas, one of the cradles of tea trees. Tea trees have been grown in Vietnam for a long time, which now happens in 34 provinces and cities over a total area of 130,000 hectares (T. D. Nguyen, 2012).

Vietnam has great potential for tea export and tea tourism development (Duong, 2012). Vietnam tea products have been exported to 110 countries earning 200 million USD/year. Tea production zones in association with the processing industry have been formed in Thai Nguyen, Lam Dong, Phu Tho, Ha Giang, Yen Bai, Tuyen Quang and Son La provinces (Nguyen, 2015).

Today Vietnam has two main products: green tea and black tea. Thai Nguyen grows the traditional green tea, named “Che bup”, or “Che Thai”. Known as the center of Vietnamese tea, the capital of tea, it covered 21,000 hectares in 2015, ranking second nationwide, after Lam Dong province (Q. T. Tran, 2015). According to the Institute of Techniques and Science, Thai Nguyen tea is of higher quality than other tea products (Q. M. Nguyen, 2012).

Tan Cuong specialty tea areas are among the most famous in Thai Nguyen. Their Tan Cuong tea brand is known and honoured as “No.1 tea” (Le, 2012, p. 187), “the most reputed tea” (Bao, 2012, p. 172) of the country or “the first tea” (Q. T. Tran, 2015). Tan Cuong tea has a very mild bitter taste, yellow-green color with a light sweet taste that lingers in the throat. Fresh tea buds in Tan Cuong have high quality (Q. M. Nguyen, 2012) thanks to the naturally fertile soil and temperate climate. Local people are aware of these advantageous natural conditions, as one participant stated:

The Thai Nguyen specialty tea area has a favourable geography for beautiful tea fields. We have advantages of clement weather, favourable terrain, nature, and people. That is all to our advantage.

(RP6, hamlet leader & CBT local man, 24.08.2016)

According to analysts, the amount of useful radiation in Tan Cuong is 61.2 Kcal/cm²/year, which is lower than in other tea growing areas. Tea areas are located in valleys or on hills that are surrounded by high mountains as in Tam Dao or Than Lan. These mountains shield planted areas from the extreme sunlight of summer as well as the freezing winds of winter. The average temperature is 22 – 23⁰C during the year. Humidity in Thai Nguyen also further enhances tea production with 2,000 to 2,500 mm rainfall per year.

Tea plants in Tan Cuong are grown in a fresh ecological environment, located West of the city (Kim, 2015). Water is another element in the flavour of Thai

Nguyen tea. Irrigation water originates from Cong River and Nui Coc Lake. The water has flown and permeated through stone and underground water circuits and absorbed minerals, which feed lush green tea plants (Vietnam Online, 2015), reiterated by the city's manager:

Tan Cuong tea area is a hillside area, located in a favourable climate zone, above is Tam Dao Mountain, below is the Cong River, so it creates a cool climate for special tea varieties.

(RP16, Thai Nguyen city's manager, 05.08.2016)

Tan Cuong is one of the five national products registered under the geographic origin protection of the Department of Intellectual Property (Ministry of Sciences and Technologies). The certificate for Tan Cuong tea includes three communes: Phuc Xuan, Phuc Triu, and Tan Cuong, with a total area of 4,861.8 hectares. Tan Cuong commune covers 400 hectares; around 1,300 families grow and process tea (Bao, 2012, p. 172). Hong Thai 2 hamlet, Tan Cuong commune and Khuon 2 hamlet, Phuc Triu commune together with Go Moc hamlet, Quyet Thang commune were selected to implement the CBT project in 2012 (see section 4.3.4) and are my three research areas.

4.2.2. Political and Administrative Characteristics

This section describes the political system in Vietnam, which provides the foundation to examine relations between political power and development analyzed in Chapter 6. The administrative divisions are also explained to locate the research areas and observe which management levels are directly in charge.

Vietnam has a top-down political system. The Constitution of Vietnam recognizes the National Assembly as "the highest organ of state power"⁴² (GOV, 2018b, p. 1). The Central Government is the executive organ of the National Assembly, and the supreme state administrative agency of Vietnam. The Government's components are the Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Ministers,

⁴² It is the highest representative organ of the people and the sole organ that has the power to draw up, adopt, and amend the constitution and to make and amend laws. It also has the responsibility to legislate and implement state plans and budgets.

The Fourteenth National Assembly (2016–2021) consists of 496 elected deputies to a five-year term and meets twice a year. The National Assembly elects the President, the Chairman of the National Assembly and the Prime Minister.

Ministers and ministerial-level agencies (Government Inspectorate, State Bank of Vietnam, Committee on Ethnic Minority Affairs, Government Office). Ministers and heads of the ministerial-level agencies are approved by the National Assembly and in charge of State management over their assigned branches or affairs. The Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism is responsible for management of public services of culture, family, sports and tourism, based on the provisions of Vietnamese law (Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF), 2011).

According to the Institute for State Organization Sciences, Ministry of Home Affairs (2013), Vietnam is divided administratively into 58 provinces (including Thai Nguyen province) and 5 cities under direct central rule⁴³. Provinces are further sub-divided into provincial cities, towns and rural districts. The provincial city and the town are divided into wards, and communes that are Vietnam's lowest level of local administration. Thai Nguyen city is the provincial city of Thai Nguyen province, with 21 wards and 11 communes including Tan Cuong, Phuc Triu and Quyet Thang communes. Communes consist of hamlets and villages, however, this is not an official tier.

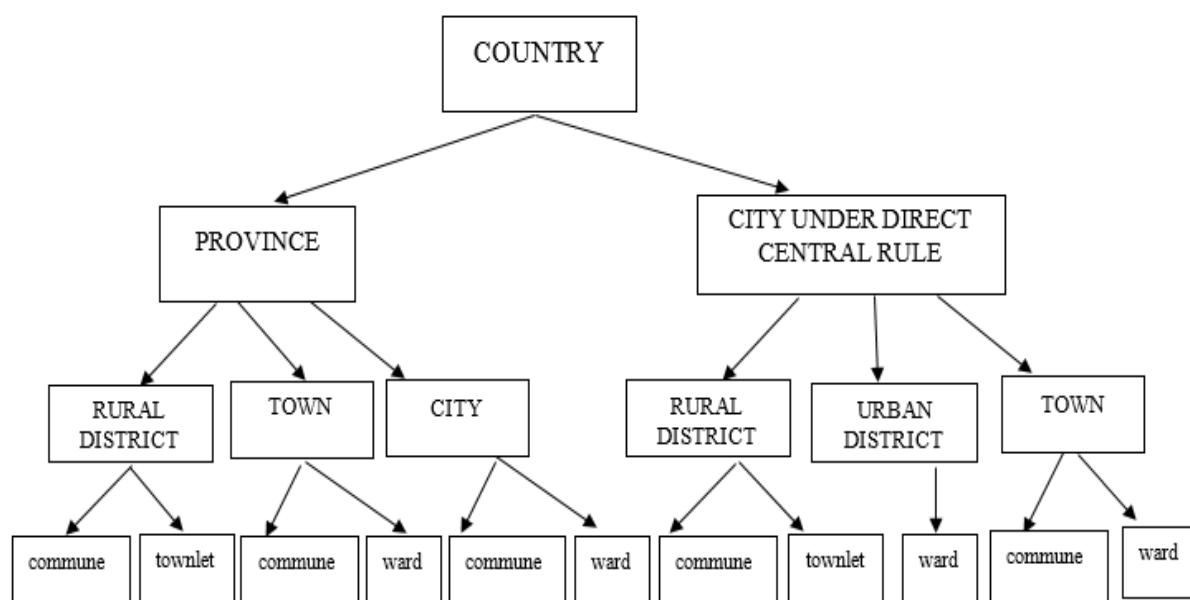


Figure 13: Administrative territorial organizational chart of Vietnam

Source: Institute for State Organization Sciences (2013)

⁴³ These include Hanoi, Hai Phong, Da Nang, Ho Chi Minh, and Can Tho.

At the provincial, city, district, and commune levels, the highest government authority is an elected People's Council⁴⁴, the actual work of which is carried out by a People's Committee⁴⁵ elected by the council (GOV, 2018a). The establishment of People's Councils and People's Committees in administrative units is determined by law. The Cultural and Information Department, which is under Thai Nguyen city's People's Committee is in charge of the CBT project implementation in Tan Cuong, Thai Nguyen. The Department's Head was directly involved and provided guidance on CBT work.

4.2.3. Historic Characteristics

4.2.3.1. Historical places linked to tourism

Thai Nguyen is also the Wind Capital of the country, with a rich revolutionary tradition (Q. T. Tran, 2015). The city played an important role in Vietnam's struggles in resistance against the French colonialists (1946 - 1954). Thai Nguyen was a Safe Zone, the national Resistance War capital of the whole country. President Ho Chi Minh, the first President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and other party leaders worked and lived in the Safe Zone to lead the Resistance War, where major decisions were made leading to the Dien Bien Phu Victory. It led to liberation from the French (Voice of Vietnam World, 2012).

Many mountains, forests, streams, mountain passes and villages have been named after President Ho and leaders from central government, front and armies' days in the Safe zone so they can be remembered. Dinh Hoa Historical Monument Safety Zone (ATK Dinh Hoa) (Dinh Hoa district, Thai Nguyen province) is one of the Special National Historical Monuments named by the Prime Minister on 10/05/2012. Revolutionary tradition, nationally historical places and well-known tea specialties have become the highlights for this destination.

⁴⁴ The People's Council is the local organ of state power; it represents the will, aspirations, and mastery of the people; it is elected by the local people and is accountable to them and to the superior state organs.

⁴⁵ The People's Committee elected by the People's Council is the latter's executive organ, the organ of local State administration. It implements the Constitution, the law, the formal written orders of superior State organs and the resolutions of the People's Council.

4.2.3.2. Historic characteristics of traditional tea culture

Many tourists come to Thai Nguyen to explore the traditional tea culture of Vietnam and of Thai Nguyen. The history of Tan Cuong tea plants and tea villages started in the early 20th century (Q. T. Tran, 2015). People in Lam Son hamlet and Guoc village in Tan Cuong commune still tell the legend of their origin in Thai Nguyen. The people then were poor and had a difficult life. Dr Nguyen Dinh Tuan (often called Dr. Nghe So) in 1920-1922 (Bao, 2012), was worshipped by the local people as the Village God. He worked together with them to reclaim and expand the farming area. He discussed planting tea trees from other places so people could earn more. Under Dr. Nghe So's instructions, a Sergeant named Doi Nam (his real name was Vu Van Hiet), other men and some soldiers of Dr. Nghe So were assigned to Phu Tho province to collect tea varieties.



Dr Nguyen Dinh Tuan (or Nghe So)

Mr Doi Nam (Vu Van Hiet)

Figure 14: First people who brought tea from Phu Tho to Tan Cuong

(Picture taken September 21, 2016, Tan Cuong Tea Cultural Space)

The tea breed was Trung Du, easy to care for, resistant to pests, diseases, and cold; it can live to one hundred years. In the early 1920s, Thai Nguyen people could harvest from the tea trees brought from Phu Tho. Initially it was called Bach Hac

tea⁴⁶ (Q. T. Tran, 2015), which is also the name of the material to make tea products, because tea seedlings were taken from the Bach Hac tea area, Phu Tho province. It was unexpected that the Trung Du tea breed from Bach Hac tea area developed a new tea flavour, better quality, and great aroma when growing in Tan Cuong thanks to appropriate climate and soil conditions (Bao, 2012).

In 1935, Sergeant Nam took the tea to a competition in Dau Xao, Hanoi and won first prize with the brand Canh Hac Tea (Crane Wing Tea). Consumers first knew Tan Cuong tea as Canh Hac tea. It was sold in Hanoi and other provinces then. This is the first tea brand to contribute to the name of the land, and the brand of Tan Cuong Thai Nguyen tea today (Duc, 2015). Since then, Tan Cuong tea has become famous locally and is enjoyed by many tea connoisseurs worldwide (Nguyen, 2015).

Through time, local people improved the new tea plant and planted over a large area in neighboring hamlets and communes. The ancient tea trees are still in Tan Cuong; they are about 90 years old (Bao, 2012). Tea has been industrially grown for 50 years (Dam & To, 2012). People continuously created new varieties with high output and quality. Today tea plants are grown, processed, and enjoyed very diversely in many localities (Nguyen, 2015).

4.2.3.3. Tea tradition and love and passion

Local people also have stories of the love and passion for tea cultivation from generation to generation. One local man expressed:

“The tea here is considered to be the best, because it is planted in the ground and sprouts in the fresh air of Tan Cuong, in addition it is cared for by Tan Cuong people with great love. Tea does not just give us income, it is associated with our meals and sleep, it is in our heart and passion”.

(Truong, 2015, p. 109)

Another factor that helps Tan Cuong tea's special quality is local people's talent in growing, caring for and processing tea (Bao, 2012). Their cleverness and enthusiasm gave birth to the specific flavour and to unique tea products (Q. M.

⁴⁶ Bach Hac tea was originally planted in Guoc hamlet (now separated into Lam Son and Guoc hamlets), Soi Vang.

Nguyen, 2012). In Thai Nguyen every aspect of local lives was linked to tea as a traditional career. The head of Khuon 2 hamlet expressed:

In general almost 100% of the local people have experience in tea processing; we have a deep knowledge in tea processing.

(RP6, hamlet leader & CBT local man, 24.08.2016)

I also visited Hong Thai 2 hamlet – one of the places where the famous Tan Cuong specialty tea products are made to understand the situation:

Almost 165 households in the hamlet do tea work. We take care of the tea plants so we have beautiful tea hills. Other hamlets in the commune do not have much tea as such.

(RP24, hamlet leader, 20.09.2016)

In another hamlet - Khuon 2, a 64-year-old local man has six children; as in many other households, the children continue tea work, a tradition transmitted through the generations.

I was acquainted with tea since childhood. It started simply as we were born in a farmers' family and we had to work. After school, weekends or holidays, I still had to help my grandparents and my parents picking tea, processing tea or preparing tools for tea processing.

(RP4, local CBT man, 09.08.2016)

A local CBT man, told me that he took over tea work 20 years ago, when his father was 60 years old.

I have six siblings, all of us do tea work and all have tea making techniques, thanks to our parents. My family has had a tea work tradition for several generations. My parents engaged in tea and tea processing in 1971: when they got married, they set up their own household and changed waste hills into cultivated areas – where my family is living and planting tea now.

(RP5, local CBT man, 06.08.2016)

A 36-year-old man, after getting married, continued the tea work of his parents with his wife. The elders in the family then were those who supported, were consulted and transmitted their experiences.

When growing up, I was taught from experiences of my grandparents, my father and my mother.

(RP4, local CBT man, 09.08.2016)

The parents of a CBT man were well-known tea makers. He expressed his pride of inheriting his parents' experience:

I am very fortunate to inherit their experience. My father, when he was young, learned agriculture and cultivation. He had very good farming techniques. In addition, he was also very dedicated to the tea industry.

(RP5, local CBT man, 06.08.2016)

The younger generations actually learned and felt how tea was valued through the work of their parents. He told me about his childhood:

Many years ago, technology was still poor. After processing, the tea was sold at the market, but people did not distinguish its taste. However, every time I brought tea packages to the market, buyers kept fighting to buy. Then I knew that my father's tea was more fragrant and of better quality. I gradually realized that delicious tea is due to processing and care techniques. Since I was 14, 15 years old, I have loved the tea profession.

(RP5, local CBT man, 06.08.2016)

Their passion for tea trees has also been recognized. A local man continues:

...Since, I found that tea is the essence of our culture, and I started to be passionate about it. Considering the enthusiasm inherited from the elders and born in Tan Cuong, I always wished to contribute to enhancing the value of Tan Cuong tea, driven by this inner call, from my heart, my mind and my passion.

(RP4, local CBT man, 09.08.2016)

Young people can now develop tea production further by contacting new customers, developing new specialized products and starting to approach tea tourism. Tea tradition, pride in their local tea products have emerged from local people's stories as an important and special point in understanding local characteristics, the roots of tourism development (see Chapter 5).

4.2.4. Tea – an Integral Part of Vietnamese Culture

In many countries, the use and enjoyment of tea has been elevated to a cultural art (T. D. Nguyen, 2012) as in Japan and China. Tea culture enriches the world culinary repertoire (Nguyen, 2015). Traditional tea plantation and tea culture in Thai Nguyen is also connected with the Vietnamese tea drinking culture, a long-standing custom of the Vietnamese people (Dam & To, 2012; T. L. T. Nguyen,

2012; Thai Nguyen Province People's Committee, 2015). Most, regardless of region, age, sex, wealth, background, occupation or character, drink tea. It is an everyday occurrence with their meals or after, plain or with sugar, milk, lemon, and/or ice. Tea products are used as presents in every important event from wedding to village or family festival, Tet holiday, or the place of work (Luu, 2015). They drink dried or fresh tea from cups, glasses or bowls. They have it in a five-star hotel or in the street. Drinking tea is, therefore, considered an ethereal and elegant pleasure (Editorial Board, 2015).

Thai Nguyen's tea helps bring people closer together: to begin a conversation, while receiving visitors and while chatting. Vietnamese people consider tea an important cultural act as it symbolizes respect and hospitality (Le, 2012). Tea is used to communicate gratitude when used as a gift for close friends, relatives or partners. Drinking tea is, therefore, undertaken to create good relations (Editorial Board, 2015), contributing to promoting and building communication in social life (Luu, 2015). Drinking tea is a way for people to be in harmony with nature (Duong, 2012).

Thai Nguyen people are very interested in the art of making tea, to feel and experience the tea thoroughly. They use a dried bamboo or aromatic wood spoon to get tea in the teapot. For a good cup of tea, the tea and teacups must be warmed with boiling water so tea in the teapot will be at the highest temperature. Dried tea is put into a teapot. A little boiling water is poured from the top to 'clean' the tea. Another measure of boiling water is poured over the mouth of the teapot to remove the bubbles in the tea, and then boiling water is poured on the lid to maintain the teapot at the highest temperature. This second water helps get the best tea. Tea must be poured properly by putting cups close together so each teacup has the same concentration as the others (Luu, 2015). People will raise the cup to the nose to enjoy the aroma, then drink a small sip. One should drink tea slowly, a little at a time. These are the unique features of the art of Thai Nguyen tea (Luu, 2015).

4.2.5. Economic Conditions in the Study Area

For Vietnamese people and Tan Cuong people, tea trees and tea products are also valuable from an economic aspect (Le, 2012). By stabilizing, developing the local economy, and improving the lives of local people, tea is a staple crop in

provincial agricultural economic development, used intensively in Vietnam for about 100 years. Tea production and business, which are located mostly in mountainous areas, midlands, known as lower socioeconomic areas, supplied jobs and income for farmer households (Q. T. Tran, 2015). Tea has helped local people to enrich themselves in the process of building new rural areas in Thai Nguyen (Duong, 2014) (see section 4.3.3). A leader of Tan Cuong commune's People's Committee commented:

70% of our income is from tea trees, such a great potential! In Hong Thai 2 hamlets, houses, cars are all from the tea, only from tea products.

(RP19, commune leader, 12.08.2016)

From 2008 to 2011, 52 traditional tea villages⁴⁷ were recognized in five districts and Thai Nguyen city by the People's Committee of Thai Nguyen province (Q. M. Nguyen, 2012). Their recognition has contributed to raising the value of their tea products (Thanh, 2015). Thanks also to the International Tea Festivals organized in the locality, the price of tea increased. The local people were very excited and cheerful as they appreciated that the Festivals were organized locally, so they could benefit economically.

A local manager said some large tea producing and trading establishments have a revenue of billions of VND per year from processing and trading specialty tea. In the commune, many households now have incomes of 100 million VND/year (about US\$ 4,390) or more thanks to tea trees, so that in 2015, Tan Cuong reached the economic standard of a new rural commune (a national program) (Q. T. Tran, 2015) (see section 4.3.3).

4.3. Favourable Conditions for Linking Tea to Tourism

Positive conditions exist for developing tea tourism, as tea has been continuously a target for development. Thai Nguyen city is striving further to boost

⁴⁷ A traditional tea village is a community-based economic organization (Thanh, 2015). According to the latest data of the Thai Nguyen province's Association of craft villages, Thai Nguyen province has 140 tea traditional villages (where tea production and processing have occurred in the locality for more than 50 years) out of a total of 162 traditional villages or 86% (Thanh, 2015).

socio-economic development, with a focus on promoting advantages given by nature to develop tea tourism (Q. T. Tran, 2015).

4.3.1. Development Direction for Tea

Focus on the tea tree was also introduced into the resolution of the Congress Party leadership at all levels to implement programs, with positive results (Q. T. Tran, 2015). According to Dr. Hoang Anh Tuan (Vietnam Ministry of Foreign Affairs), the development of a tea branding strategy, of tea culture in Thai Nguyen and the distinctive cultural products of the regions in the country have special significance. Several countries in the region have done that well. In Korea, cultural products (movies, music, and tourism) are often one-step ahead, developing in a way that is effective to advertise electronic products, cars or consumer goods. Vice versa, industrial or service products back soft cultural products (N. Tran, 2015).

Thai Nguyen chose tea products and tea culture (N. Tran, 2015) because tea is richly traditional in Vietnam and embodies Vietnamese nature, which is not the case for coffee or other beverages brought by Westerners. The maintenance and development of the tea ceremony is the way for Thai Nguyen to preserve a national identity, which has been crystallized over 100 years (Thanh, 2015), to promote the image of Thai Nguyen in the country, and the tea culture of Thai Nguyen, and of Vietnam to the world (N. Tran, 2015) (see section 4.2.4). Thai Nguyen tea products have a competitive advantage with about 5 million customers nationwide (N. Tran, 2015). Tea is also suitable for the Thai Nguyen midlands where the provincial government selected it as one of the key industrial crops⁴⁸.

Since 2008, the “Thai Nguyen tea” trademark has been identified by the intellectual property service (Duong, 2012). The famous tea specialties of the province have their own trademarks, including Tan Cuong specialty green tea, which is consumed both domestically and internationally (T. N. Nguyen, 2012). It is exported to many nations such as China, Pakistan, Taiwan, Russia, India, Japan, US, and Sri Lanka, having gained the international record for reaching “The top of

⁴⁸ In 2015, fresh tea output reached 200.000 tons; tea trees cover nearly 21.000 ha. Quality and value of Thai Nguyen tea products have constantly improved.

valuable specialties in Asia” (Q. T. Tran, 2015). The tea tree has confirmed its position as the key strength of the province.

The Party and the State issued policies on the new rural construction (see section 4.3.3), associated with the restructure of the agricultural sector towards higher added value and sustainable development. Thai Nguyen continues to choose tea as one of the key components included in the General Assembly Resolution 19 of the Provincial Party, planned from 2015 to 2020 (Q. T. Tran, 2015). The Thai Nguyen government has directed the deployment of capacity building projects to plant, and process tea in a safe manner to attract investment in the production of high quality and value tea and to protect the Thai Nguyen tea brand.

Tea products have also become more popular with consumers following discoveries for health. Tea has high nutritional value, increases resistance of the body, and is anti-aging. It is also material to manufacture valuable high-tech goods such as pharmaceuticals and cosmetics. This last is, therefore, also a new potential direction for the tea industry (Q. T. Tran, 2015). As more people are concerned about drinking tea for health, more tourists intend to visit tea areas to understand more about its healthy attributes (Jolliffe, 2007).

4.3.2. Tea Festivals

Tea festivals have been the significant events organized in Thai Nguyen, facilitating CBT development as more domestic and international tourists visit tea plantation areas during the festivals or know about the areas through public information. A manager of Thai Nguyen city, in an interview, elaborated that, since 2005, Thai Nguyen city’s People’s Committee accompanied by local people organized small-scale festivals to promote cultural traditions of the people in the tea areas. By 2010, the provincial People's Committee decided for the first time to recognize a festival and named it “Festival of spring tea flavour - Tan Cuong Thai Nguyen specialty tea area”, which has become the trademark of the tea area. It also became the precondition for the First and following International Tea Festivals organized in Thai Nguyen.

The International Tea Festivals were co-organised by the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism, with the Thai Nguyen city People’s Committee, to honour tea

growers, as well as to introduce and promote Vietnamese and Thai Nguyen province's tea products to both international and local visitors. Images of different development stages in Thai Nguyen and of when the city established a tea production area were introduced. The Festivals are also a chance for Vietnam to know about teas from other countries, and for businesses to share and exchange experiences in tea growing and consumption. The Festivals are great opportunities to introduce the diversified and rich cultural values of Vietnamese tea, maintained by local people in Thai Nguyen. These events also promote cooperation and attract new investors in developing tea trees, processing and consumption of tea products; it gradually improves the efficiency of production and business activities for Vietnam's tea producing communities.

Until now, three Tea festivals were organized in Thai Nguyen in 2011, 2013 and 2015. Each Tea Festival focused on its own theme⁴⁹, showing the efforts of the Vietnamese Government and of Thai Nguyen province in introducing the brand of Thai Nguyen tea to the world. Mr Duong Ngoc Long (2012), the President of the People's committee of the province - the Head of the Board for the First International Tea Festival 2011 - commented, "The International tea festival held in Thai Nguyen from November 9th to 15th 2011 is a socio-economic event, a converging place for sharing tea cultures between Vietnam and the world". The international tea festival was held officially and made impressions on thousands of national and international visitors (Thai Nguyen Department of Culture Sports and Tourism, 2012).

The First International Tea Festival was selected to be one of 10 typical events in Vietnam in 2011 (T. L. T. Nguyen, 2012). At the 2011 and 2013 Tea Festivals,

⁴⁹ The 2011 Festival welcomed nine nations using Vietnam tea products, 30 tea businesses having famous trademarks, 44 tea villages of Thai Nguyen and more than 3,000 guests (Duong, 2012), who participated in 21 different programs. Main activities of this festival included an international conference about tea trees, an exhibition introducing Vietnam and its people, a beauty contest, and a tea cultural festival. Other events supported the Festival: boat racing, Chinese chess, traditional market, folk musical shows and other arts performances (Vietnam Online, 2011).

All activities of the 2013 Festival focused on restoring and promoting tangible and intangible cultural values of Vietnam and of Thai Nguyen tea, advertising tea brand names, enhancing tea production and processing, and encouraging investment in tea production.

The Tea Festival in 2015 worked towards celebrating the 'quintessence of Vietnamese tea culture' through festival activities, introducing various aspects of tea culture (Ma, 2015).

Thai Nguyen established four Vietnamese and Asian records (Thai Nguyen Province People's Committee, 2015), including the biggest teapot set, the biggest number of tea drinkers enjoying tea at the same time, Thai Nguyen tea - the most popular tea; and the most valuable gift of Asia. These affirmed the reputation and cultural values of Thai Nguyen tea (Truong, 2015).



Figure 15: The biggest teapot set in Tan Cuong Tea Culture Space

(August 11, 2016)

On 22nd January 2013, The Prime Minister issued Decision no.203/QĐ-TTg approving the Thai Nguyen tea tangible and intangible culture preservation and promotion project (Pham, 2014). Thai Nguyen tea festivals affirm the title of “first tea” among domestic and international tourists, maintain and promote tangible and intangible traditional values of Thai Nguyen, contributing to agricultural development and building new rural areas toward sustainability (Pham, 2014).

Since 2015, no other Thai Nguyen - Vietnam Tea Festival has been organized but the “Festival of spring tea flavour - Tan Cuong Thai Nguyen specialty tea area” has been held annually in January (Duy & Thanh, 2018). It continues to honour and promote the traditional tea cultivation and tea cultural products of Thai Nguyen. It is also a meeting place for exchanging and learning between tea producers and

processors, and for those who drink and love tea. The success of the festivals advertised Thai Nguyen, Vietnam and Thai Nguyen tea to domestic and international tourists (Pham, 2014). Tea festivals are considered a cannot-miss event for tea lovers (Vietnam Online, 2011). A growing number of traditional tea villages have become popular tourist sites (Pham, 2014).

To prepare for the First International Tea Festival 2011, and to preserve and honour the cultural values of tea, a Tea Cultural Space was built over an area of nearly 27,000 m² in Tan Cuong commune. Since 2011, each year the Space welcomes thousands of visitors who come to learn about tea and tea culture⁵⁰ (Luu, 2015). Tourists who joined CBT during the time of my field trip visited it too.



Figure 16: Tan Cuong Tea Culture Space

(August 24, 2016)

Local people themselves consider the tea festivals their own, they feel proud of such development, that a featured product of their homeland is honoured (Ma, 2015). Since local people play the most crucial role in CBT (see Chapter 2), the events of the festival have a valuable spiritual value to motivate and encourage local people in supporting local tourism development.

⁵⁰ Tan Cuong Tea Culture Space has a unique architecture with an open area. Three main architectural spaces converge in it: a reception space; an exhibits space and space to introduce tea culture and tea products. The gallery exhibit acts as a miniature museum depicting the full story of tea in Thai Nguyen (Luu, 2015).

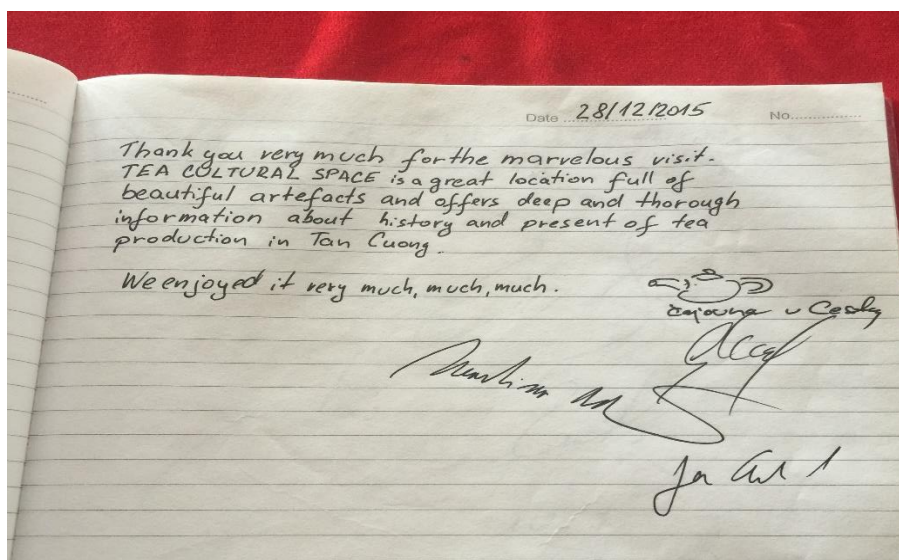


Figure 17: Tourist comments, public notebook in Tea Cultural Space

(August 24, 2016)



Figure 18: Prizes local people received in tea competitions

(September 27, 2016)

4.3.3. Building New Rural Areas – Another Condition for CBT Establishment

The measures implemented to achieve the national goals of building new rural areas in Tân Cương specialty areas have created conditions for the implementation of CBT. The national target Program on new rural building in the period 2010-2020 is a comprehensive program for socio-economic development, security and defense

by the Government of Vietnam to develop rural areas throughout the country⁵¹ (GOV, 2010). Thai Nguyen was determined to build new rural areas in order to improve the material and spiritual life of the people. It aims to change the social face in rural areas and bring benefits to local farmers, by building comprehensive agricultural development with specific and applied science and technology planning (Trung, 2012).

Tourism requires a destination to be accessible, facilitating the flow of both domestic and international visitors. During my field trip, I met several groups of foreign tourists from Hanoi who came to visit Tan Cuong specialty tea areas. They could return to Hanoi within the day. The new highway three connecting Hanoi, Bac Ninh and Thai Nguyen, of 60 kms (30kms of which are within Thai Nguyen) was inaugurated in 2013. It shortens travel time to the capital (80 kms away), marking a new level for transport in the province (Nguyen, 2014). The government, thanks to the Festivals, invested in a decent major road with lights, facilitating transportation from Thai Nguyen centre to Tan Cuong specialty tea areas. It provides an important basis for upcoming events, including the development of tea tourism as well as improving people's living standards (Duong, 2015).

Thanks to the implementation of building new rural areas in Tan Cuong, many new cement roads⁵² were built between villages and hamlets, or to connect Tan Cuong commune with other communes such as Thinh Duc and Phuc Triu. An ex-manager of Tan Cuong commune in an interview (11.08.2016) explained that then the commune managers worked closely with local people to implement the objectives. Local people voluntarily donated their land to expand the roads and money to build them.

⁵¹ Its objectives are by 2015, 20% of the communes will meet the new rural standards and by 2020, 50% of the communes will meet those under the set of national criteria for new rural areas (GOV, 2010).

⁵² Building roads was funded by the State and enterprises (70%) and also local people (30%).



Figure 19: The road from Thai Nguyen city to Hong Thai 2 hamlet

(October 14, 2016)

Another leader said that Tan Cuong reached the standard of new rural communes in 2015 thanks to great contributions from tea plants, and the tea making profession (*interview 12.08.2016*). The whole commune (over 400 ha) carried out the restructuring of the plantations, area planning, including the specialized areas of tea and rice cultivation. The Steering Committee for new rural areas also paid special attention to tea quality. Low yield varieties were replaced by new high yielding varieties with the support of local people.

Besides accumulated experiences over time, local people were trained on tea care techniques and safe tea production according to Vietnamese standards (VietGAPs⁵³ or Vietnamese Good Agricultural Practices) (Trung, 2012). As food safety has been a major concern for the Vietnamese government and people, VietGAPs was established in 2008 by the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MARD) based on GlobalGAPs safety standards (Dao, Nguyen, & Hoang, 2015).

⁵³ Principles established to ensure a clean and safe production environment and healthy food without disease-causing agents, such as biological poisons (bacteria, fungi, viruses, parasites) and chemical substances (residuals of plant protection chemicals, heavy metals, and nitrates).

It is connected with the use of land, fertilizers, and water; pest prevention; harvesting; packaging; storage; field sanitation; and record keeping at each step of the production process and transport to develop sustainable agriculture. This ensures the safety of products and producers, environmental protection, and tracing the product back to its source (Nguyen, 2012).

As tea processes are closely and scientifically controlled, quality of the products increases. The application of VietGAP and GlobalGAP standards satisfies food safety, following the motto of “safety from tea terraced-fields to tea tables” for the health of both producers and consumers. This modern agricultural technical method raised customers’ confidence level in their products (T. N. Nguyen, 2012), which is also a condition for development of tourism in safe tea growing plantations.

A manager of Thai Nguyen city expressed:

The most important matter to consider for tea is quality. Training to raise awareness of farmers is very important, because they often cultivate in a scattered, small and separate way. Helping them constantly improving their knowledge is to bring efficiency.

(RP16, 05.08.2016)

Safe tea production in accordance with VietGAP is widely applied. In 2013, there were 15 safe tea models compliant with VIETGAP standards, by 2015, there were 42 models covering 500 hectares in Thai Nguyen province (Q. T. Tran, 2015).

4.4. The CBT Model

This study aims to understand the role of local communities in CBT development. Understanding how CBT was established locally is therefore important before examining local social relationships.

4.4.1. How CBT was established

According to a leader of the Cultural and Information Department under Thai Nguyen city’s People Committee, the project was not to invest but to help build a pilot model. Building a model for a CBT cultural village in Tan Cuong specialty tea production areas was the result of an urban partnership and economic development program between Thai Nguyen city, Vietnam and the city of Victoria, Canada for new rural construction.

At that time, both cities desired exchanges, cooperation, friendship, and organization of partnership activities to support each other. The experts of Victoria, Canada went to Thai Nguyen and did a survey in 2011 and 2012; they wanted to invest in something to support the city. As Thai Nguyen’s government was

concerned with the tea area development, its representative suggested support to build a CBT model for the Tan Cuong tea areas and the city of Victoria agreed.

Thai Nguyen city is defined as the center of the Viet Bac area, an interzone region that comprises 17 provinces in Northern Vietnam. Economic and tourism development became a great motivation for the region. A CBT project was chosen to embrace future activities and opportunities (such as investment) to promote tea areas with potential for tourism development. Therefore, the CBT project resulted from a request of Thai Nguyen province, considering the needs for development of its rural areas and culture.

The CBT project in Thai Nguyen city is very special because the Ministry of Science and Technology protects intellectual property rights throughout the Vietnamese territory, for Tan Cuong Thai Nguyen. We built this tea area with two goals, CBT development and building new rural areas, a new model that we find very effective.

(RP16, Thai Nguyen city's manager, 05.08.2016)

The CBT model was being developed in association with the construction of new rural areas; the manager specified that:

If we leave out the words 'tourism', and 'tea area', it is rural area. When implementing the CBT project, the whole country was actively implementing the building of new rural areas, so the whole new rural policy on roads and schools was very appropriate.

(RP16, Thai Nguyen city's manager, 05.08.2016)

The project was to take advantage of local tourism potential, to increase income for local people: create more jobs for rural workers, offer more sales of products to tourists; and involve local people themselves in developing a model originating from their tea culture.

When the foreigners asked us why we chose this model, we replied that we wanted to favour the farmers. New rural construction is to increase productivity, income, and jobs. Implementing this CBT model is a way of transforming the economic structure for local farmers.

(RP16, Thai Nguyen city's manager, 05.08.2016)

The Vietnam Urban Association sent a delegation of experts to help Thai Nguyen city. This CBT project was implemented in three localities of Tan Cuong

specialty production areas in Thai Nguyen city, namely Hong Thai 2 hamlet, Tan Cuong commune, Khuon 2 hamlet, Phuc Triu commune and Go Moc hamlet, Quyet Thang commune, which are also the research areas.

Many households participated in CBT training courses to raise their awareness of benefits that tourism can bring, to learn tourism marketing skills, or skills in accommodation services (how to welcome guests, arrange accommodation, and prepare the menu and meals). They attended English classes. Following these tourism initiatives, the people of tea areas were enthusiastically caring for and embellishing their tea gardens according to VietGAPs standards; participating in planting guidance classes, producing safe tea for high quality products. Local people who participated in the CBT training also had a chance to visit some other CBT areas in Vietnam.

4.4.2. CBT activities

During my 3-month field trip, I took every opportunity to observe the CBT activities offered: visiting tea gardens cultivated according to VietGAPs standards, experiencing tea processing, cycling around the rural areas, and having lunch prepared by the hosts. Accommodation was also provided for tourists who wanted to stay overnight. When tourists left, they often bought the local tea products as gifts for their family or others. The tea hills and gardens attract tourists from all over the country to also enjoy rural Vietnam (Nhat, 2015).

I accompanied tourists to the tea fields. A CBT local farmer explained carefully how they pick the tealeaves, and that different ways of picking will produce different types and qualities of tea. The most common tea is Moc Cau (hook)⁵⁴ because, Dai explained, after processing the dried tealeaves are curved like a hook. Another kind, Tom tea, is picked shorter, one bud and two small leaves. Tom tea requires more intensive and special care so it has a sweeter taste and better quality.

⁵⁴ This is a traditional local name. Moc Cau tea is the most purchased because of its reasonable price.



Figure 20: Tom tealeaves



Figure 21: Moc Cau (hook) tealeaves

(August 08, 2016)

Once they understand about picking tealeaves, they visit tea gardens, so tourists can appreciate the varieties of Tan Cuong tea. A CBT local man, said the traditional mid-land tea (Trung Du tea) is still the most characteristic. Its yield is lower but of better quality. The best tea products are made from this variety. It is also the registered trademark of Tan Cuong Tea. Another variety is crossbred tea, which gives higher yields because of greater density but it is lighter and has less aroma than the mid-land one.



Figure 22: Japanese tourists visiting tea hills

(October 14, 2016)



Figure 23: Visitors involved in picking tealeaves

(September 29, 2016)

In addition, visitors can experience tea processing. During one participant observation, a CBT man carefully explained to tourists about how tea processing has changed over the past 40 years, going through four stages, using four different technologies. In the past, tea was mainly produced manually such as in a cast iron pan, using a water wheel, square steel plates for drying, and crushing the tea with feet and hands. This used much labour but tea quality was poor, and food safety was affected.

Currently, high technology helps increase tea output, tea quality, save time and cut cost down. For the last 20 years, farmers have processed tea by burning wood and using steel rotator pans attached to an electrical motor. Visitors experience this model most often. Tea processing now uses either wood (traditional) or gas (modern way). Currently, some families use the latest gas technology, which tourists could also experience.



Figure 24: CBT tourist experiencing tea processing

(September 24, 2016)

From tea trees, and their fresh tea buds to fully worked-out products is a long process. The best time to pick tea is from early morning to lunchtime when locals believe the essence of earth, the early morning dew still hangs on the tea buds and the sunlight starts drying them. The right parts of tealeaves are carefully picked to ensure continued growth.

After picking, tealeaves are processed right at their local houses. If the tealeaves are still wet, locals will put them on a mattress on the floor to dry. As soon as they have dried, they are processed to ensure the taste will not be affected. During my participant observation, local people shared that tea production and processing may differ between local people, because of their different perceptions and experiences: how tea is processed contributes much to its flavour.



Figure 25: Toan, a local man, processing tea

(October 04, 2016)

To produce quality green tea, the dried tealeaves are not broken; it requires regular fire, correct heat and the right amount of tealeaves for each batch. Local farmers are artisans with sensitive hands to know when they need to increase or reduce the temperature of burning wood, when tealeaves are sufficiently dry to put in a steel rotator pan so tealeaves are crumpled. Different temperatures will make tea with slightly different flavours, but temperature must remain within a range. After, tealeaves are put back in the large pan that they were dried in for the first time, to dry once more. Then local people sift and winnow to remove the old tealeaves, which are not curved after processing. The tea then is put in the big pan again to dry for the third time, to awaken the scent, and reduce the humidity of the tea to the lowest so tea products keep longer. The first batch is now finished but local people continue until all tealeaves are processed.



Figure 26: Van, a local woman, processing tea

(August 16, 2016)

Nature endows Vietnamese green tea with the ability to absorb the special flavours of varieties of flowers such as lotus, jasmine, or daisy. The tea process then is somewhat different.



Figure 27: Tea scented with jasmine

(August 08, 2016)

After participating in tea processing, tourists can drink and enjoy their self-made teapot and appreciate tea culture explanations from the hosts. In one afternoon after tea was infused, I observed how a CBT local man poured hot tea for tourists.

He guided tourists to smell and enjoy the tea. Tan Cuong tea has a honey golden color. It has a special scent that tourists enjoyed as well as the subtle fragrance of flowers in nature. The tea has a bold but puckering taste at the tip of the tongue. Just after drinking, the bitterness leaves a sweet taste in the throat, which is gradually pervasive. The CBT man said, is its strength and uniqueness. He also talked about village life and tea culture.

Another CBT activity that many foreign tourists chose was cycling. With permission, I joined a Dutch couple, Christiwe and Aart and an interpreter named Dan in their cycling around the countryside. They had time to look at the local church, the paddy fields, the dam, and the lake, which are characteristics of this rural area. When local people recognized they were foreigners they waved hello, the tourists happily waved back.



Figure 28: Cycling with tourists and stopping at Nui Coc Lake

(September 24, 2016)

CBT tourists were also invited for lunch prepared by the hosts. In my observations, tourists really enjoyed the taste of local food specialties, perhaps because it was different and they were excited that the locals prepared local dishes from all local ingredients, culled from their farms such as chickens from the garden, or fish from the lake.



Figure 29: Lunch prepared for Japanese tourists
(September 14, 2016)



Figure 30: Lunch prepared for Dutch tourists
(September 24, 2016)



Figure 31: Japanese tourists welcoming lunch at CBT local house

(September 14, 2016)

During my field trip, most tourists came in the morning and left in the afternoon. Few stayed overnight in a local household. A CBT local woman whose family had welcomed the majority of CBT tourists to this area took me to see the rooms that her family prepared for tourists. The rooms have sufficient comfort for tourists.



Figure 32: A room for CBT tourists

(August 15, 2016)

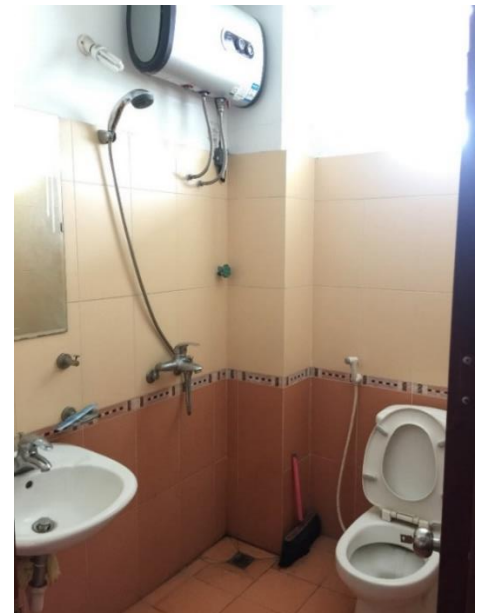


Figure 33: Bathroom for CBT tourists



Figure 34: View from a room for CBT tourists

(August 15, 2016)

Tours have been recently considered to enable tourists to have more experiences in Thai Nguyen. Thai Nguyen province's Department of Culture, Sports and Tourism organized, surveyed and constructed ecological tours to Nui Coc Lake, Mo Ga spring, and Phuong Hoang cave (Q. T. Tran, 2015). As the Tan Cuong tea area is on the way to the famous scenic Nui Coc Lake (Kim, 2015), tours⁵⁵ to Thai Nguyen tea villages have been gradually linked to exploration of the lake.

4.5. Conclusion

The central factor for CBT implementation in Tan Cuong and Tan Cuong tea's special quality is local people's talent and hard work, together with their pride

⁵⁵ Tours are also being created to connect with other special tea areas of the province (Nguyen, 2012) with visits to the Museum of the Cultures of Vietnam's Ethnic Groups (which is in the center of Thai Nguyen city) and Nui Coc lake (boat trip on Nui Coc lake) to La Bang Tea Cultural Space and Tea Village.

Other visits are linked to Ban Quyen Tourism Cultural Village of Ban Quyen and Song Thai, and to special national historic monument in Dinh Hoa Safe Zone (ATK Pavilion, the work of President Ho Chi Minh in Ke Keo Hill, the Memorial to President Ho Chi Minh, Khuon Tat Monument).

and passion for the tradition of growing, caring for and processing tea. Meanwhile, it is important to emphasize that in CBT, as a kind of tourism that is managed and owned by the communities and for the communities (see Chapter 2, section 2.3.1), local people play the most critical role. It therefore all starts with the local people who generate the special tea products.

Another important element is that tea has become an integral part of Vietnamese life. Tea culture lies in the essence of tea and humans in communication, with nature too. The tea culture attracts tourists to visit and join in CBT. Other conditions significantly help improve and facilitate tea tourism development, including the geographic, political, historical, cultural and economic characteristics of the area, the convenient transport infrastructure, and the national goals of building new rural areas.

In addition, the government of Thai Nguyen province developed specific directions, including implementing safe tea production, attracting investment in the production of high quality and value tea, in order to build and protect the Thai Nguyen tea brand. The International Tea festivals and annual local ones have also shown the efforts of the national Government and of Thai Nguyen province. These activities introduced the image and brand of Thai Nguyen tea to the world, and the diversified and rich cultural values of Vietnamese tea, which have been maintained by local people in Thai Nguyen. Many conditions demonstrate that it is suitable to implement CBT, so this chapter provides the setting to discuss the research questions in the coming chapters.

CHAPTER 5:

LOCAL CHARACTERISTICS: THE ROOTS OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

5.1. Introduction

CBT is similar in nature in Thai Nguyen specialty tea regions as in other regions in Vietnam or elsewhere, but it differs according to regional characteristics in the place where the product is: Thai Nguyen's product is the local farmers who have long cultivated tea in the area, it is a highlight. The characteristics of each region are the human factor, the land, the local culture. Therefore, when we build a travel product, we need to stick to those traits.

(RP26, CBT expert, 27.09.2016)

People are travelling more than ever before thanks to improved economics and means of transport. The question that tourists might ask before their trips is “what can I do around the area?” If a tourism destination is to welcome tourists, it should have answers at the ready. In order for CBT development in Tan Cuong to be successfully implemented, two specific questions are raised: 1) What are the factors that drive tourists to the area, and 2) how should planners and developers incorporate the identified factors in the development of CBT?

This chapter investigates the roots of tourism development, and so reflects and re-examines understandings of local landscapes, local culture and local people's importance in tourism development. Should local characteristics be better focused on when developing tourism experiences? How should the area plan for continued sustainability of the community and culture for the locals? It is essential for the study to recommit local characteristics as the roots of tourism development because such knowledge and understanding are integral to developing local products, as well as enhancing destination attractiveness and competitiveness for the benefit of the community.

Local characteristics are also significant in sustaining natural local landscapes, continuity of the culture and its preservation as well as in successful economic and social development. In the global cultural economy (George et al., 2009), how do rural communities ‘position’ themselves when many others with strong cultural traditions exist across the world? Promotion and affirmation of culture and the

notion of cultural appreciation become essential. This chapter discusses the significance of ‘uniqueness’ and bringing it into tourism. It is thus important for local landscape, local people and local culture to be protected and supported.

Local people are the most important element in CBT development (see Chapter 2). They are the ones who will protect and develop their homeland (Aref et al., 2010), but do they have the willingness to support and/or participate? No one should have a stronger interest in local development than the local people. This establishes a baseline to develop further and more effective tourism and to examine whether or not tourism should be strengthened and promoted in Thai Nguyen as well as how to make it sustainable from the grassroots.

The significance of local characteristics and the perceptions of local communities of CBT impacts are examined from three aspects of sustainable tourism development: economic, social and environmental. Barriers facing local communities in CBT development are then revealed, in which the *homogeneous* or *heterogeneous* nature of the community are critically discussed. By seeking answers from the local people, this study emphasizes the importance of each of them as a member of a community that is practicing tourism. To address how CBT can develop in Tan Cuong, it is important to first discover the voices of the community.

5.2. The Importance of Local Landscapes, Local Culture and Local People in Tourism

Tourism products in rural areas are usually commodification of local landscapes and local culture. The uniqueness of each region and community should be celebrated. Knowledge and understanding of those elements must be integral to developing sustainable rural communities, sustaining natural local landscapes, enhancing destination attractiveness and competitiveness through continued political means, such as policies and financial support (see Chapter 7, section 7.4.1). This means the local characteristics must be the focus when developing tourism experiences.

5.2.1. CBT in Tan Cuong - What Did Tourists Look For?

Tourists are an important stakeholder in tourism because any tourism destination expects to welcome more tourists. During my field trip, I was fortunate

to meet and talk to different groups of tourists who joined in CBT in Tan Cuong (see Chapter 5, section 5.2.1). Robinson and Picard (2006) argue that the key motivations for tourists are their desire to encounter and experience different cultures and local material and immaterial expressions. Findings reveal that groups of tourists visited the area for different purposes. Tea tourists were attracted to the area because they are tea lovers and have a strong interest in tea and tea culture. Jolliffe (2007) defines tea tourists as those who are driven by tea interests. Non-tea tourists enjoy the rural landscape and atmosphere, and want to obtain new experiences of interacting with local people, learning the traditional way of local life. Some tourists were also driven by the combination of a high interest in tea culture and rural experiences.



Figure 35: Israeli couple enjoying Tan Cuong tea

(October 14, 2016)

On my trip in October 2016, I accompanied an Israeli couple, who had just married and were holidaying in Vietnam for 3 weeks. In every place visited, they looked for the tea. They said they really love tea and like to learn about tea culture; they have drunk tea in India, China and Japan. I noticed that they asked many questions and listened very attentively to the explanations of a CBT local man and the translation of the tourist guide. This suggests that tea drinking habits are closely associated with tourists' willingness to travel. Findings support the study of Cheng, Xu and Zhang (2010), which concludes that the more people know about tea and

the more frequently they drink tea, the more willingness they express to become tea tourists.



Figure 36: Isareli couple in CBT in Tan Cuong tea field

(October 14, 2016)

In another chance encounter, I met Czech tourists visiting the Tea Culture Space (near CBT areas in Hong Thai 2 hamlet). When they found that I could speak English, they were happy to talk about their trip. They knew that the Tan Cuong specialty tea area is a famous destination of Thai Nguyen. They asked me for help to visit tea gardens and a local household who made tea to learn the life of local farmers here. They expressed their interest in learning how tea products are made by local people. This reveals that the tourists were attracted to interact with local people in order to discover local daily life which processing tea is part of; this would give them new experiences during their trip in Vietnam.



Figure 37: Accidental encounter with Czech tourists

(October 12, 2016)



Figure 38: Czech tourists visiting a CBT household

(October 12, 2016)

When I returned to New Zealand, I received an email from David, a member of that Czech group. He attached pictures taken during their visit and described their exciting experiences:

The trip to Vietnam was amazing. Thanks again for organizing the afternoon with the local tea farming family. We had a very interesting afternoon, being at beautiful tea gardens, watching farmers working, picking our own tealeaves, learning about the drying process and tasting different kinds and qualities of the home made tea...

(David, email exchange, 07.11.2016)



Figure 39: Czech tourist group experiencing tea picking

(Picture taken by the tourist David, October 12, 2016)



Figure 40: Czech group and tea processing at a CBT household

(Picture taken by the tourist David, October 12, 2016)

5.2.2. Local Assets in Tourism Development

Rural areas in Tan Cuong offer lush natural scenery, quiet rural areas, and vast tea hills. This attracts visitors because they can get out of urban settings and enjoy a different experience and significant benefits, which Molera and Albaladejo (2007) and Frochot (2005) identified as: nature and peacefulness, outdoors, rurality, and relaxation. This was confirmed by the Dutch tourists Christiwe and Aart when I joined them cycling and feeling the freshness of the countryside.



Figure 41: Japanese tourists enjoying the rural landscape and plants
(October 14, 2016)



Figure 42: Accompanying Dutch tourists along rural roads

(September 24, 2016)

As my primary focus is on the local people, I have read stories and researched about local/indigenous people in different localities around the world. Among them, I felt attracted by the stories and traditions of the Māori in New Zealand. This whakataukī proverb asks ‘what is the most important thing in the world?’ The answer is ‘it is people, it is people, it is people’. I used this Māori proverb to start my thesis to underline the importance of local people. While impressed but aware I was not getting its full meaning, I asked my office mate who is a Māori woman. She explained that the proverb focuses on the importance of being human, on the collective standpoint, to look from the past to the present. It is crucial to reflect upon how local people have forged their history and shaped their present and future.

This new awareness encouraged me during my field trip to pay attention to everything local: their histories, beliefs and values, expression, communication, and their relationships within and outside their localities. These helped me understand how they behave as societies as well as individuals, in traditional tea production areas in Thai Nguyen province and in the tourism development of their homelands.

During my 3-month field trip, I observed that every aspect of local lives was linked to tea as a traditional career (see Chapter 4, section 4.2.3.3) and it has shaped their attachment to their land, also partly because knowledge and care are rewarded by beautiful tea products. Local people have created a tea culture, unique aroma and special taste of tea products from their local resources – immense green tea hills.

That is why many international tourists who love traditional tea products have come to Tan Cuong.

Local people cherish and are meticulous in making pots of tea for tourists, or for visiting family and friends. Thai Nguyen's people are proud of their local specialty (Le, 2012).

Tourists in the country come to Thai Nguyen but if they have not yet visited Tan Cuong or drunk Tan Cuong tea, their trip is still not complete.

(RP18, commune ex-leader, 11.08.2016)

It could be considered a salient point because in rural tourism, culture has also been recognized as an integral asset, from which rural communities could construct unique tourism offerings (George et al., 2009; Hall, Kirkpatrick, & Mitchell, 2005).

Proshansky et al. (1983) introduced the concept of place identity in tourism as "those dimensions of the self that define the individual's personal identity in relation to the physical environment, characterized by individually or collectively constructed attitudes, values, thoughts, beliefs and behaviour" (p. 57). It is linked to cultural identity in which tradition, lifestyle, and values have determined community identity (McIntosh, Hinch, & Ingram, 2002). It is, therefore, crucial to understand how local people and their communities have been constructed through time, and the meanings as well as the specific background or context of their lives before examining other activities occurring in these communities such as tourism (see Chapter 4, section 4.2).

In a study of indigenous people in New Zealand, McIntosh, Hinch and Ingram (2002) applied the concept of cultural identity, place identity and attraction identity. They concluded that different specializations of a community such as culture, history, festivals and customs could be assembled into a "cultural bundle", a commercial package, to attract tourists. It is also what Burns (1999) refers to as commodification of culture. Place identity and cultural identity are constructed by a specific community, which later could be perceived, confirmed and promoted for tourism if that community engaged with tourism (George et al., 2009).

Local people's attachment and pride for their traditional culture and homeland are important because a living countryside is what tourists seek (Nelson, 2012). The direct involvement of local farmers in agricultural tourism activities can create rich,

attractive and differentiated tourism products. Local farmers are seen as stewards, or custodians of their rural landscapes (Daugstad, Rønningen, & Skar, 2006). Tourists seeking the authentic real rural life, consider them as a “verifying element” (Hall et al., 2005). Their lifestyle, their knowledge, their appreciation of tradition and culture would be shown through interactions with tourists. Nilsson (2002, p. 10) claims that it is the village lifestyle and “the man [sic!] behind the farm” that are consumed rather than merely the activities offered. A local man also expressed:

In CBT, I think local people are very important because the tourists mainly go to learn the culture of the region. When going somewhere, I am also curious and want to ask many things. I see foreigners always ask very carefully. In Sapa⁵⁶, for example, the local people can speak English very well. I asked the local people why the tourists asked so many questions; local people responded that they asked everything from the food, the living, and even to the smallest things; they are curious about everything.

(RP2, CBT local man, 07.08.2016)



Figure 43: A local man preparing a local lunch for tourists

(October 14, 2016)

The important role of local people in CBT in Tan Cuong was confirmed by David, the Czech tourist. After their trip in Vietnam, and back in the Czech Republic, David stated via email in the questionnaire he filled:

Local people are the most important part of the CBT as the tourist’s experience, memories and feelings are deeply affected by the approach of the local people.

⁵⁶ A place in Vietnam where CBT was implemented early.

(David, Czech tourist, 09.11.2016)

A local CBT woman showed me many pictures that she and her husband took with CBT tourists. They looked very happy and friendly together. She said the interpreter often praised them because of their hospitality, fun and enthusiasm. Tourists often give her family very good feedback after their trip.



Figure 44: The host Van with tourists experiencing tea processing

(Picture sent by Van, a local CBT woman)

5.2.3. Protecting and Supporting Local Characteristics

Local characteristics should be the focus in developing tourism experiences, planning to seek continued sustainability of the community and culture for the locals (Huang, Beeco, Hallo, & Norman, 2016). Knowledge and understanding of these elements should be integral to developing local tourism products and sustainable rural communities through policies and financial support, which take a wide approach to culture and tourism, seeing them as factors which can boost the attractiveness of regions not just as destinations to visit, but also to live, work and invest in (OECD, 2009). Understanding the importance of local natural and cultural assets is also for local communities to develop them into tourism activities for their benefit.

Tourism has happened and has been developed within a globalizing context. The impact of globalization and technology change (for example in production

technology) has brought local communities considerable opportunities and challenges. First, economic restructure has stimulated many communities both urban and rural to attract investment for development. Globalization, restructuring and uncertainty can actually generate conditions that can change the feeling of people about places (George et al., 2009). It means that globalization and technology can serve as forces for change. Williams (2002) argues that it can also bring opportunities for localities regarding difference and distinction, which determine how places can be made unique and special.

Many regions are now actively developing their tangible and intangible assets, such as friendly service, a safe environment, clean air or a unique history and/or culture, as their comparative advantage in an increasingly competitive tourism marketplace, to create local distinctiveness in the face of globalisation (OECD, 2009). The different unique cultures contribute to the incredible diversity of the world (Robinson, 1999). Local assets such as the traditional tea culture of Vietnam need to be celebrated and protected (Raj, Griffin, & Morpeth, 2013).

Tourism has been recognized mainly as a significant tool to achieve economic benefits, even though “tourism is bound up in contradictory tensions and tendencies as it can be a force of preservation and protection in times of change just as it can be a force for change all on its own” (Williams, 2002, p. 357). Tourism brought to local communities could be appreciated as a new transformation, especially when localities first approach this concept (George et al., 2009) with the understanding that intensive encounters between hosts and tourists can bring both positive and negative points.

CBT, which is underpinned by the principles of sustainable development (see Chapter 2, section 2.3.1), is favoured by many local destinations. The question is, however, whether such communities have the *potential* to develop and implement tourism strategies towards sustainable development. Even with great potential, how many communities and governments are actually pushing to reach a sense of sustainability (George et al., 2009, see also Chapter 2, section 2.2)?

As local landscape, local culture, and local people become commodified items but are acknowledged as important in any rural tourism, the question is how the integrity, traditional values, ways of local life, souls of local people could be

preserved and protected. It arguably relies on communities to determine how they perceive tourism and the cultural bundle offered to tourists (George et al., 2009).

5.3. Willingness to Support and/or Participate

Moving from tea tradition to tea tourism, one needs to consider the awareness of local people themselves and their willingness to support and/or participate in local tourism implementation. The lives of local communities in the traditional tea production areas in Tan Cuong have been governed by daily tea work. CBT aims to improve local lives and communities but it has brought impacts. This study follows a grassroots approach, so perceptions of local communities on CBT impacts is one of the major research questions, which can serve significantly to, later, understand the willingness to support and/or participate of local communities in tourism. Attitudes of local people should be well-considered because “if residents resent or fear tourism, their resistance and hostility can destroy the local industry’s potential” (Murphy, 1991, p. 153).

Understanding host people’s perceptions of tourism should be considered a necessary part of the planning process for sustainable tourism development. This study responds to that need by arguing that if CBT is introduced as a positive direction for local development, local governments must recognize how the host communities react to its introduction.

5.3.1. Perceptions of Local people of CBT Impacts

The limited understanding of tourism impacts has often been identified as restrictions to tourism development in developing countries (Moscardo, 2008). This is probably because the concept of tourism is too new to them, as for example, in the case of pro-poor tourism (Truong, 2014). This study, however, reveals that local people in Tan Cuong have an understanding or a certain ability to identify the potential impacts of CBT on their communities. The International Tea Festivals 2011, 2013 and 2015 were organized there (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.2). Both positive and negative perceptions of local people about CBT impacts will be discussed.

5.3.1.1. Perceptions of local people on positive impacts of CBT

I examined the perceptions of local communities on three kinds of CBT impacts: economic, social and environmental, which are also dimensions of sustainable tourism development. Results collected from the interviews, focus groups and questionnaires have revealed mainly positive feedback from the local people. In terms of the local economy, local communities perceived that CBT brings additional income for local households.

CBT helps generate an additional income for us aside from our normal job.

(RP13, non-CBT local man, 06.09.2016)

In their daily lives, local people in Tan Cuong also receive income from selling tea products that they make through their own tea processing. It was perceived and expected from most of the respondents that CBT will contribute to the sale of more tea products.

When visitors come, they often buy dried tea products for their families or as gifts to others.

(RP9, non-CBT local man, 09.08.2016)

The economic benefits brought to households are thought to contribute to the economic development of the locality:

Our products are brought to other places. When people see the real taste and original price, Tan Cuong's brand tea and Tan Cuong's image will be broadly promoted. Our locality can gain more economic benefits.

(RP9, non-CBT local man, 09.08.2016)

Tourism not only improves people's income, but also enhances economic development for the locality.

(RP19, commune leader, 19.08.2016)

In addition, it is recognized that incomes should also be generated from tourism services. It is essential when tourism services are offered to tourists, that such expenses will be counted. The CBT expert explains:

In terms of economic benefits, tourism helps significantly improve local income, tourists come there not only to sleep for one night, but

also to have other services such as eating, experiences of local lives, transportation, and many other services.

(RP26, CBT expert, 27.09.2016)

When local households get involved in CBT activities, it is expected that more income, including income from tourism services would be attained and that, the local people should *really* benefit economically from CBT. During my field trip, I re-visited several times two CBT households, who often welcomed more tourists than the other households, to be able to observe how CBT activities were performed.

The first household is near the main road and has beautiful green tea hills. Groups of tourists (who visited Nui Coc Lake) often stopped by to view his tea hills. Some other groups visited his house, enjoyed hot cups of tea and bought tea products. The other household was the only one that I observed that welcomed CBT tourists. According to that household, the numbers of CBT tourists were not stable. They often welcomed 1-3 groups of tourists (mainly couples or families) every month. When I questioned about income from CBT, they shared:

I have to tell you the truth if we think about economic benefits, I still hope to receive some in the future only. If every day there are guests, I think tourism will be very good. But because we have not had many guests yet, few economic benefits are gained.

(RP5, CBT local man, 06.08.2016)

The study reveals that CBT and its economic benefits were expected but questioned by the local people. A CBT local man said:

It is true that tourism has not had any effect on income yet (*emphasis*). Since it was not put properly into operation, how can it have specific influence?

(RP3, 08.08.2016)

His statement reveals the shortcomings of CBT implementation and its operation. Those matters are carefully examined in Chapter 6, section 6.3.2.

In terms of social impacts of CBT, local communities in Tan Cuong have also perceived them positively in a variety of ways. Positive perceptions came from respondents regardless of their level of involvement in tourism. This finding is similar to Sakata and Prideaux's (2013) and Andereck et al.'s (2005) results. *First*,

CBT was perceived to help introduce and raise pride in the cultural trait(s) of the locality.

Each region has a different culture and characteristics. CBT helps present specialties, the culture of our area, which is tea culture.

(RP4, local CBT man, 09.08.2016)

Second, CBT was perceived to encourage cultural exchange. According to local people's self-awareness, it enlarges their understanding of others, even by those not involved in CBT as the following quotes demonstrate:

CBT helps us to gain more knowledge, know more about other communities, make more friends.

(RP15, non-CBT local man, 04.10.2016)

When tourists come to the area, they mainly want to understand how we make tea and our tea culture, but also through the conversations we will learn about their culture, thoughts, way of life, how they do their business. So we also learn. It promotes understanding and enlarges the knowledge of our local people.

(RP9, non-CBT local man, 09.08.2016)

From meeting with other people, we know more, we have more knowledge and it helps open our mind, also how to do business.

(RP14, non-CBT local man, 07.09.2016)

Third, CBT has enabled local people to broaden their lifestyle beyond just engaging in everyday rural farm work:

We think that doing tourism will encourage us to have better manners, be more polite, we can strive for village courtesy and civilized behaviour to be raised significantly.

(RP23, commune leader, 05.09.2016)

Local people thought they could learn a lot from visitors. For example, local people could learn about politeness when they go somewhere. The rural farmers get used to simplicity. So a polite and sincere sentence made them feel so comfortable. Or a local man supposed that Western guests are very polite: when they eat candy or anything, they also put wrappings in bags and never throw bags in the tea gardens, they are very conscientious.

New technology has also changed their lifestyle:

Tourism can bring many developments. For example, foreign tourists may require wifi (internet), so the high tech will be brought to remote areas like that. CBT has not only economic impacts but also has the added value of changing the face of the village.

(RP26, CBT expert, 27.09.2016)

Fourth, local security will also be promoted to welcome tourists:

Each family must do good security for their families, communities and neighborhoods to attract visitors. If problems happen like guests lose their things, or local people argue with each other, visitors will dislike coming.

(RP19, commune leader, 19.08.2016)

CBT has been perceived to also bring meaningful environmental impacts by local people. It first does encourage local people to protect their natural resources for tourism:

CBT helps local people be more aware of taking care of the tea hills more beautifully, especially protecting the natural resources we have to welcome tourists.

(RP2, CBT local man, 07.08.2016)

In addition, local people believed CBT has encouraged and increased their awareness of environmental protection. Many respondents confirmed this positive impact of CBT:

At present, we have not welcomed any CBT tourists but there have been many visitor groups which went through here and they stopped to visit the tea fields. Therefore, our tea hills are cleaned up, made more beautiful, rubbish is collected.

(RP2, CBT local man, 07.08.2016)

Many households have animals, tourism will stimulate them to have a better sense of cleanliness, including proper waste disposal and water treatment, because they know, if the house is dirty and smelly, who will come to visit.

(RP14, non-CBT local man, 07.09.2016)

The interviews with local communes' managers also revealed that tourism is significantly and positively changing local people's consciousness of environmental sanitation.

For tourism, the environment must be green, clean and beautiful. Local people are now much more aware of not throwing away

rubbish. 16 hamlets in the commune now have environmental sanitation units.

(RP18, commune ex-leader, 11.08.2016)

5.3.1.2. Perceptions of local people on negative impacts of CBT

A few negative impacts of CBT, however, have been recognized. According to some local people, negative impacts can hardly be completely avoided. They perceived that while a majority of people who travel often have good awareness, a few people may bring problems. Young groups of tourists drink alcohol, smoke, speak indiscriminately, causing security disorder. A CBT local man, who welcomed mainly CBT tourists shared that when Western tourists went to the tea gardens, they stood hugging and kissing each other. Sharing his opinion, he said:

I understand they only show their love to each other. In the city, I think people may get familiar with this more, but in the countryside local people may feel it is strange.

(RP5, 06.08.2016)

In Vietnamese culture, showing emotions publicly is restricted compared with Western culture. Especially in a rural area, this causes some trepidation. The issue of cultural difference has also been referred to in my interview with the CBT expert when talking about impacts:

If CBT is not implemented properly, their culture will more likely be commercialized and they will be susceptible to other cultures.

(RP26, CBT expert, 27.09.2016)

More generally, however, it is worth emphasizing that a majority of participants strongly said they could not think of any negative impacts. Positive impacts seem to far outweigh negative ones.

I think in CBT, nothing is negative, it is mostly positive. Most tourists are very conscientious because they just want to experience the routine work of our local people here.

(RP4, local CBT man, 09.08.2016)

There is nothing negative, certainly not. Actually, this [CBT] does only benefit the households and the locality. Moreover, if our locality is green, clean and beautiful, tourists come, and nothing is negative for the locality.

(RP7, CBT local man, 05.09.2016)

This is supported by quantitative data from the household questionnaire survey as 100% of the respondents agreed that CBT has brought more positive benefits than negative effects. Van shared his wishful thinking as a manager:

If CBT is implemented successfully, there will be only positive impacts (*affirmative voice*).

(RP18, commune ex-leader, 11.08.2016)

To create a fair and just destination, it is essential to understand more about the ways CBT is perceived by local residents (Jamal & Camargo, 2014; Saufi, O'Brien, & Wilkins, 2014). Fair and just destinations pay much attention to empower disadvantaged local groups, including poor, minority and indigenous populations. To involve a wider community into tourism in these rural areas, I argue, these special characteristics should also be recognized.

5.3.2. Willingness to Support and/or Participate

The world tourism sector continues to experience continuous growth (Telfer & Sharpley, 2016). Within this trend, CBT claims to achieve the involvement and participation of local people (see Chapter 2, section 2.3). This study argues that concentrating on understanding the willingness to participate or not of host communities towards CBT development in their locality should be well considered to establish a baseline before developing tourism.

As suggested by the literature, sustainable tourism development cannot be achieved if imposed without regarding the host residents' attitudes (see Chapter 2, section 2.2.3). To understand whether or not tourism should be strengthened and promoted and how it can be achieved from the grassroots as the goal of CBT implementation requires knowledge of local residents' perspective. This question should align with community aspirations and the province's plan and provide robust evidence for well-informed decision making later in Thai Nguyen province. In addition, if local people are willing to participate, only in this case, visitors looking for a cultural encounter can be assured to enjoy high-quality experiences (Horochofski & Moisey, 2008). As the CBT expert asserts:

The attitudes and support of local people have a decisive role in CBT development in their local area. If they have a negative attitude and perception, they will never want to develop tourism products,

because CBT comes from households and communities. So if the local people do not support it then surely the model of tourism development in the locality will not be successful.

(RP26, CBT expert, 27.09.2016)

The findings reveal that CBT implementation received strong support from the local communities. I listened to the voices from both CBT and non-CBT households; both groups showed willingness to support such development. The local people were also enthusiastic to talk about it. These were expressed through many dialogs:

Dung: Do you support the development of CBT project in the locality?

RP6: *(Replied immediately and decisively)* I support 100%, with both hands, and both legs. I really like it *(emphasis)*. When the CBT project started, I was the one who encouraged people in the village to go to training classes *(laughs)*.

(RP6, hamlet leader & CBT local man, 24.08.2016)

Dung: Do you like doing tourism?

RP8: Oh, I like it, I like it very much, extremely like it. Last year I went to training and participated enthusiastically.

(RP8, CBT local man, 01.09.2016)

I completely support CBT development of local communities and I will also join with the people of the commune to develop together.

(RP4, local CBT man, 09.08.2016)

A non-CBT local man in Khuon 2 hamlet organised a co-operative with 13 other households in the locality. He is dedicated to tea cultivation, tea care while learning how to enhance the value of tea for his family and other local households. He showed great initiative in CBT:

For me and my family, it is not only support but also enthusiasm, we are dedicated to initiatives linked to tea development.

(RP14, 07.09.2016)

The answers of non-CBT participants about their willingness to support local tourism development in this study challenges the assumption that highly attached to tourism residents show more support than those who are less attached (Choi & Murray, 2010; McCool & Martin, 1994).

Dung: Do you support the CBT development in the locality?

FG4: Yes, I completely support it.

(FG4, focus group 1, 08.08.2016)

Another respondent affirmed:

There is no reason not to support it.

(RP15, non-CBT local man, 04.10.2016)

In addition to showing their own viewpoint about CBT, local people referred to other people's thinking in the locality.

Other people are also of the same mind, they also support tourism very much.

(RP3, CBT local man, 08.08.2016)

I think in this locality, 100% of the people will support CBT development. Everybody wants to, not just a few individuals.

(RP7, CBT local man, 05.09.2016)

About CBT, I think that if we are afraid of difficulties, we will never achieve anything. We need to know the difficulties to see how we can overcome them. It takes time, beneficiaries always have to suffer first.

(RP1, CBT local man, 05.08.2016)

A local man proudly told me that local people in his hamlet have been living here for long and are extremely united. They obtained a certificate as a cultural village. Many certifications of the province or city (gold cups, awards of individuals and groups in tea competitions) were exhibited in the cultural house of that hamlet.

During the time of the CBT project, each hamlet could only select a few households (5-10) to join training classes. We could only choose households that were a little more enthusiastic. However, some people really regretted that they could not be involved.

(RP6, hamlet leader & CBT local man, 24.08.2016)

The expectation to reflect the voices and perspectives of local communities challenged me in utilizing appropriate methodologies (see Chapter 3, section 3.2). Quantitative data from survey questionnaires helped support and complement qualitative results. The table below shows that the majority of local people surveyed (97.5%) indicated their willingness to support or strongly support CBT development in their community. Only a small percentage (2.5%) indicated 'neutral'

and none of them expressed ‘not support’ or ‘strongly not support’ CBT development in the community.

Table 1: Respondents’ willingness to support CBT development

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly support	65	53.3	53.3	53.3
	Support	54	44.3	44.3	97.5
	Neutral	3	2.5	2.5	100.0
	Total	122	100.0	100.0	

Source: Survey questionnaire

CBT is supported because it uses the local resources; because local people desire to preserve their traditional tea culture; and because of the benefits of tourism development; their own knowledge and perceptions; and their experiences in approaching tourists. The positive attitudes of the host communities are seen to be associated with their willingness to support. Studies by Gursoy et al. (2002), Choi and Murray (2010) and Saufi et al. (2014) also found that how host communities perceive impacts is strongly related to support for tourism. Positive perceptions indicate support for more tourism. They further specified their willingness to participate.

This CBT brings benefits, not just for the tourists or for the family but also for the community.

(RP7, CBT local man, 05.09.2016)

If the tourism industry has been developed, all people will be involved and supportive, no one is against it because it brings a lot of benefits to the people.

(RP10, non- CBT local man, 09.08.2016)

One of the benefits is that CBT helps to introduce their brand, and confirm their branded products.

Tourists who come here can help promote local products with domestic and foreign visitors, helping us to sell more products.

(RP6, hamlet leader & CBT local man, 24.08.2016)

Ninety-three percent of the local people surveyed perceived that CBT has contributed to protect their traditional local culture. That is why they want to support CBT in their community:

It is because I have travelled to many regions, which have been doing CBT for a long time, then I felt that they are also in the countryside like us, they have their own cultural traits and so do we. I think that we could also do CBT to introduce our culture to everybody.

(RP4, local CBT man, 09.08.2016)

We really want to preserve our culture...

(RP2, CBT local man, 07.08.2016)

A local man affirmed that his family is dedicated to preserve tea culture and develop tourism products:

Dedication is when I completely pay attention to it, pouring all time and effort on it. At the end of the year, I am going to build a tea-enjoying space, and a community room, not a private room, like in Sapa, where if many people come, we could still welcome them.

(RP14, non-CBT local man, 07.09.2016)

Locals shared many of the difficulties that they face during my field trip, which allows a better comprehensive view of the study area, but also helps explain partly their willingness to support CBT development in their locality. I argue that accepting difficulties faced by local communities in their daily job is necessary to understand how their beliefs, opinions or ideas about tourism were shaped. Local people desire to sell their tea products at their just value, that the Tan Cuong Thai Nguyen tea brand is confirmed as quality tea, that tourists will come to understand the hardship of tea work, so that their tea products are sold at a price worth their value.

Visitors come here to learn about culture, the way of life and will experience the work and also the difficulties of local people in the area ...

(RP2, CBT local man, 07.08.2016)

One afternoon, I talked with a local woman packaging tea. She said growing tea is very hard; the first two years require great care, through very hot summers with heavy rain to extreme cold and dry winters; using fertilizer and removing weeds for a long time until they become big tea trees. One can start to pick tealeaves from the third year. From a tea bud to the finished product is not simple either. They, however, will only make a profit if the sale price is good; otherwise, they might not even receive enough to hire people to pick tealeaves. In earlier times, her family also processed tea. It was much easier before because now it is sold in the market for

very cheap. Therefore, many households, like her family, only plant, pick and sell fresh tealeaves to large processing facilities.

Selling products without a profit is very hard for farmers. I am lucky because I do not have to bring tea products to market. I also can sell to provinces like Ca Mau, Can Tho, or Dak Lak. We are in famous tea areas but only some families have the right conditions: Not everyone has the buyers to sell at a high price.

(RP3, participant observation, 08.08.2016)

It is not easy to appreciate what tea work involves without close observation. With local families' consent, I participated in some of their tea processing activities. One late afternoon at a CBT household for 3 hours, I asked:

Dung: Do you feel tea processing is hard?

RP2: It is really hard (*quick reply*). It is strenuous work, it requires work continuously, from morning to tea drying and processing in the late evening everyday.

(RP2, participant observation, 07.08.2016)

I felt it was very hot processing tea because of burning wood at a temperature of up to 300⁰C, and because it occurred in summer. They always had to adjust the amount of wood because if it is too hot, tea will be crushed, its quality reduced. Having good products requires much effort. An older local woman told me that her house makes jasmine tea. She needs to marinate jasmine flowers into the tea. Many times when jasmine flowers blossom at 12 midnight is also when they start to add them to tea. During the night, they wake up three times to stir flowers to perfume the tea.

One day without picking means the tealeaves will spread out, the tea quality will drop so it cannot sell at a good price. If you do not communicate with the tea pickers, you cannot know how hard local people work. Sun or rain we still have to work. Tea pickers have hurt legs, aching feet, back pain when standing all day. At noon or in the evening, people have to take care of rice paddies, harvesting rice, raising chickens, pigs, cleaning pig houses. I cannot tell enough about the farmers' hard work.

(FG1, focus group 1, 08.08.2016)

The hardship of making tea is 100% standing outside, now we innovate with canvas to cover, but when the sun shines, under the canvas is also very hot.

(RP9, non-CBT local man, 09.08.2016)
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During the day, we take care of the tea trees and pick tealeaves. It is hard work but we still have to do it. We are farmers; we only know to keep working.

(RP2, participant observation, 08.08.2016)

Thus, one respondent expressed:

Many times, customers keep saying that one kg of tea is very expensive, but they don't know how much time and people we need in order to have one kg of dried tea. Therefore, I really want people to visit and experience to know how people make tea, then people buy tea at its worth.

(RP7, CBT local man, 05.09.2016)

Respondents emphasized that local tea planters need enthusiasm and necessary experience in order to pursue their farming. A local man talked with me while his hands kept on processing tea:

If people do not have enthusiasm, devotion to tea and really love tea trees, they will feel bored, they cannot continue. It costs a lot for us from buying fresh tealeaves or paying for picking tealeaves... Many people keep telling us that we are rich from making tea but people do not understand. Tea work requires enthusiasm, dedication and experience.

(RP2, participant observation, 07.08.2016)

Local people have also often referred to maintaining the reputation of local tea products. They worry about mixed Thai Nguyen tea products (not the original tea that they produce) sold in the markets. A local man shared that when he went to different regions, people there told him that they bought Tan Cuong tea for only 90-100 thousand VND/kg (US\$ 3.9 - 4.4), the tea has aroma, and sweet taste. The tea, however, was mixed with that from other tea areas. Tan Cuong's output is insufficient to produce such quantities every day, but now one can find Tan Cuong tea everywhere.

I found very inadequate protection of Tan Cuong tea products. Every place sells Tan Cuong tea.

(RP4, local CBT man, 09.08.2016)

Self-motivation is hard when having to deal with high costs and low profit, because if the sale price is high, no one buys. Out there, some people buy tea for a few dozen VND, then mix that in the packages of Thai Nguyen tea to sell for high

profits. A local man questioned how people from remote provinces could know whether Thai Nguyen tea is real or not. The information to consumers has been very limited in spite of festivals, fairs, and exhibitions attended to advertise the real Tan Cuong tea products. They, therefore, expect once CBT has been implemented in their localities, that tourists will come and buy the genuine Thai Nguyen tea products, made by Thai Nguyen people.

Because the goods now are not recognized, the image of Tan Cuong tea is under threat. People who travel here know how we make real Tan Cuong tea, so they can understand that our tea products are valid; the value of our tea can be higher.

(RP1, CBT local man, 05.08.2016)

When there are many people visiting Tan Cuong Thai Nguyen tea area, to understand and know how local people actually make original tea is what every one of us wants.

(RP4, local CBT man, 09.08.2016)

Another important element that added to their willingness to participate was their happiness when they could welcome tourists to the locality.

If visitors come to our house or village, it is glory for all of us, for the locality. My house is always ready and happy to welcome guests.

(RP7, CBT local man, 05.09.2016)

Before, the local people were just acquainted with tea farming. Once they felt embarrassed and strange to approach tourists, now they have become more friendly, according to a CBT local man. Not only people who were linked to CBT but also those not involved in CBT showed excitement and seemed to be very hospitable when encountering tourists. This was shown through the happiness and fun attitude when they talked about tourists. The positive interaction between the CBT family and tourists helps both local people and tourists have a sense of satisfaction when they are involved in tourism.

Foreign visitors are very enthusiastic; to pick tealeaves, we must guide them 3, 4 or 5 times. However, they are still very enthusiastic. Just like yesterday, 12 o'clock noon they had not eaten yet, they were guided to pick tealeaves, plant tea trees, it was very hot and sunny but they were very enthusiastic. As a dedicated tea planter, observing the way they were so enthusiastic made me very happy (*laughs*).

(RP4, local CBT man, 09.08.2016)

A CBT local woman excitedly told stories about the many groups who come to this traditional tea production area. Even when tourists came to her house unexpectedly for a short visit, she was always happy to welcome them. Another CBT local man expressed:

Like wherever I go, if there is anyone who offers to sit down for a drink or warm welcome, I am very happy. Therefore, we are very happy to welcome tourists here (*smile*).

(RP29, CBT local man, interview, 05.08.2016)

A non-CBT local man told me that both domestic and international visitors behaved very politely. Even if they did not buy tea products, he still invited them for cups of hot tea; many times he gave each visitor a small tea package as gift. He expressed his sincere hope that more tourists will come to the locality.

I did not understand what the foreign tourists said, but they shook hands several times until they got into the car (*laughs*). Therefore, I think they like me. When I made a hot tea pot and invited them, they nodded repeatedly and smiled, so I think they were complimenting the taste of my tea (*smiles happily*).

(RP9, non- CBT local man, 09.08.2016)

A CBT local man, one of those whom I experienced difficulty in approaching at first, when talking about tourists, was very excited to run into the house to get his camera to show me images of tourists that he took, such as delegates from the Russian Embassy whom he had a chance to invite for lunch and to experience tea processing. Another local man expressed his thoughts:

We would like to introduce our traditional tea products to people who want to enjoy tea. People will spread our good reputation. However, if we are bad, bad reputation will be spread. When welcoming them, I hope our friendliness, enthusiasm, our local tea products are remembered and introduced to the others (*very excited and honest to share about this issue*).

(RP1, CBT local man, 05.08.2016)

A 68-year-old non-CBT local man added:

I myself would like to have many tourists to the locality, even if they visit my house or not (*laughs*).

(RP11, 16.08.2016)

The first focus group was conducted in the tea fields, local farmers were cheerful in this dialog:

Dung: Do you often meet tourists?

FG3: When picking tealeaves here, we also saw tourists many times. They took photographs of the tea hills and also talked to us.

Dung: Do you feel comfortable when the tourists come to the area?

FG3: Yes, very comfortable (*replies quickly*). Tourists, our people (*domestic in her meaning*) or foreign are the same, often there were funny things (*laughs*), so we were happy.

Dung: How are the tourists?

FG3: They are funny and friendly, they do not have any vulgar or ungainly attitude. Foreign tourists wanted interpretation, they asked how to pick, how tea is processed, how to drink.

FG1: They like taking pictures with the tea pickers, they stand in the middle in shots (*excited*).

Dung: Do you expect more or fewer tourists to visit your local tea area?

FG1: Definitely more.

FG3 (*added*): The more the better (*smile*).

FG5: I also hope that more tourists will come to the locality.

FG1: If so, our tea area will be better known. Our local economy can be developed...

(*Focus group 1, 08.08.2016*)

The encounters with tourists have given positive experiences for local people – which also helped understand why the respondents showed eagerness when talking about them (Getz, 1994). However, Saufi et al. (2014) found that while some respondents perceived that tourists were beneficial to the local communities, others did not feel comfortable with the appearance of tourists. This study reveals that a majority of local residents of Thai Nguyen felt happy when asked about their perceptions or encounters with tourists, deriving from their hospitality and from the benefits that host people think tourists will definitely bring to their communities, as shown by the questionnaire survey too (98 %).

In focus group 3, local people were also cheerful when talking about tourists. The wife of a CBT local man said local dishes are rural and traditional foods here, prepared with what they have in the locality, chicken or vegetables from the garden or fish from their house pond. She has cooked for many, including groups of families. She told the story of one family, whose children complimented that among

many places in Vietnam, this was the best restaurant that they had eaten in, laughing happily. A local man expressed:

Visitors may never come back but the feeling left for them when they return home is that Thai Nguyen has good people. That is the pleasure in my heart. With our nature, I hope we can build a beautiful image in their eyes; whether they are from the South or the North or abroad they will remember, introduce our region to others. I feel happy that somewhere people remember us.

(RP1, CBT local man, 05.08.2016)

In addition, the positive attitudes about CBT also come from their own knowledge or thoughts about tourism.

CBT does not require luxury, people like to live and experience the reality. So that tourists can learn about local ethnic customs and local habits.

(RP8, CBT local man, 01.09.2016)

Dung: Why did you participate in CBT?

RP5: At first, I did not understand well. Later during training, I heard that we would not lose anything. We just needed to prepare to welcome guests, we did not need to spend a lot to buy new things.

(RP5, CBT local man, 06.08.2016)

These understandings actually help lessen the hesitation of some local people who before thought tourism is something difficult to implement.

The willingness to support CBT derives also from the hope that tourism helps reduce labouring jobs. It means that when they strive to earn a living, tourism could lessen the pressure to earn. It raises their expectation for a better future and that the potential of tea areas could be further developed.

All local people want to follow CBT to earn more income, our children can inherit later the work, so their lives could be less hard. Because tourism is a way of doing business, not manual labour, like what we do.

(RP3, CBT local man, 08.08.2016)

I just like to do something that brings more income to raise my children better.

(FG3, focus group 1, 08.08.2016)

If CBT develops, I will send my children to more English classes *(excited)*.

(FG19, focus group 3, 23.09.2016)

We look forward to developing tourism for the long term, from generation to generation.

(FG10, focus group 2, 11.09.2016)

This addresses the expectation of less backbreaking work but it is somewhat of an illusion since tourists come because they are producing tea.

Our people in the locality really hope to develop tourism. The advantage of our locality is that every house plants tea. We hope that the relevant agencies will facilitate the establishment of tourism, allow people to develop tea by bringing high economic efficiency, improving our people's lives.

(FG13, focus group 2, 11.09.2016)

If they stop labouring there will be no more tea hills. However, if there are enough tourists, some members of the family can grow the tea while others welcome tourists.

I also sought ideas about CBT development from management's perspectives.

When there was a CBT project, we fully supported it as one of the contents associated with new rural building and development. This creates the movement of the entire people united to build rural development.

(RP19, commune leader, 19.08.2016)

The awareness of local people has been raised and social issues have been reduced (for example about the environment):

In the past people sprayed tea with prohibited drugs. Nowadays no household does that, people only use permitted microorganisms and herbal medicine. Packages of pesticide are now stored correctly, not haphazardly as before. People are more conscientious.

(RP19, commune leader, 19.08.2016)

On the other hand, even though I had not found any through my encounters with local people, some thought that not all people supported CBT:

The support of the people here for CBT in general is not complete, in my opinion it is about 60-70%.

(RP8, CBT local man, 01.09.2016)

Some people have negative thoughts. They said participating in tourism has no effect, nothing gained economically, it is because of their perceptions.

(RP13, non-CBT local man, 06.09.2016)

However, the head of a hamlet argued:

If people are not willing, it is because they have not gotten familiar, if people are used to and get with the programme, they will like it very much...

(RP6, hamlet leader & CBT local man, 24.08.2016)

A local CBT man commented:

Actually when dealing with tourists I have a feeling that we should do so sooner and more aggressively, because of their experiences in self- picking tea, processing tea, and bringing their own products as gifts for grandparents, friends, which is very valuable. In addition, local people can understand more fully benefits of tourism in the locality. I really want to get the local development plan as wide as possible.

(RP4, 09.08.2016)

McGehee et al. (2002) found that support for more tourism is strongly and positively attached with support for planning. Residents claimed that ‘My community should plan and manage the growth of tourism’ (McGehee et al., 2002); or ‘the importance of long-term planning for tourism’ (Madrigal, 1995). This suggests that the willingness to support and participate is the positive foundation for the implementation of tourism development planning or policies (Choi & Murray, 2010).

My study agrees with the findings of Cole (2006) and Timothy (1999) that most host people are eager to support and participate in tourism development. However, even with their willingness to support and/or participate, the facts have shown that there are limitations to their actual participation, which should be carefully identified and addressed. The question raised was whether willingness of local people to support will lead to their willingness to participate.

5.3.3. Barriers to Participation of Local Communities

Human nature is to dream and to achieve. The previous part reflected local hope for a better future if tourism can blossom in the locality. However, the question remains about how, or in what way local people’s desire could be achieved? In

addition, willingness to support and positive attitude and perceptions about CBT development cannot predict whether local people can participate. It is essential to understand how local people can participate and be engaged. How well does CBT actually help local people or indeed facilitate the engagement of the entire community?

This study argues that understanding the barriers for local communities is key in enabling communities to participate in local tourism and reach their goals. This is supported by Marre and Weber (2007) and Sharma (2004) who state that so long as barriers exist, the involvement of local people can hardly be achieved. I also argue that the local people themselves have the capability to identify barriers they are facing better than others from outside their community, which again puts the limelight on the importance of local people in CBT.

Members in the community may have multiple and different interests and actions (Mulrennan, Mark, & Scott, 2012), so the community cannot be assumed to be a homogeneous entity (see Chapter 2, section 2.3.1.1). While some community members may want to join in tourism, others might not be interested, or even critique such engagement. Even if a community project is formed through collaboration with host people at the beginning, it does not mean that all community members would be interested in the project. Some local people have other jobs, responsibilities and interests, which might cause tension between what is hoped for in a project and what is actually possible (Nakamura, 2015).

Although it may be very desirable and we would love to have access to tourists, here is not like the urban, because there is no familiarity, no precedent. So many local people think that having tourists takes time while they still have a lot of work to do.

(RP8, CBT local man, 01.09.2016)

The lack of information reaching the local communities was identified as one of the major barriers. Even though there is a large number of households in three communes: Tan Cuong, Phuc Triu and Quyet Thangs, relatively few of them were involved in training sessions and not all communities knew about CBT. A local man said he had never heard of CBT and no one invited his family to join in such a project.

I think that only a few local people here know about CBT; how the locality has organized CBT I also do not know because we were not informed.

(RP14, non-CBT local man, 14.10.2016)

Another local woman said, she only heard about but did not understand what CBT is. She supposed that only those involved in CBT can know more about CBT.

Their busy daily lives was perceived as a significant barrier by another:

People here have continuous work, no time off, rain or sun. People are really busy in caring for tea. There are no tea pickers, children now all go to school, while there is always a lot of work at home.

(RP8, CBT local man, 01.09.2016)

People need first to earn a living, so people rush to earn money, to buy food and rice daily, so local people have not paid much attention to tourism.

(RP12, non-CBT local woman, 22.08.2016)

During my field trip, when I stopped to talk with some local women, I often asked whether they heard about CBT in Tan Cuong. One local woman responded: *“Sometimes we hear but because we are all so busy, in the evening to cook rice, clean up, care for pigs. We have no time to pay attention”*. Another local woman shook her head and said: *“Not yet. During the days I just know about picking tea”*.

When talking about the CBT period, some respondents answered positively that they went to the trainings but local people also had to work, because if they did not work, they would not have any earnings for that day:

I admit that enthusiastic people like me and Phung are few. Not because our house is free. I am curious, I like to learn, I like to study. The training is for us but many people did not go because they would rather work (*laughs*).

(RP12, non-CBT local woman, 22.08.2016)

Each training session we only received 10-20 thousand VND per person, it was only enough for gasoline to go to the training, some people quit after several sessions. But I participated in all (*smile*).

(RP11, non-CBT local man, 16.08.2016)

In addition, local people observed few economic benefits. CBT activities have not actually generated income and benefits.

The local people here have a lot of work everyday, so rightly say that they do not have enough time. They have to see the economic benefits.

(RP8, CBT local man, 01.09.2016)

It is understandable that local people need to pay most attention on earning a living, so CBT must be implemented properly to keep earning some money, and then people might participate more.

As the proverb says “the way to a man's heart is through his stomach”
(laughs).

(RP2, CBT local man, 07.08.2016)

CBT households identified this problem. They expressed their worry concerning CBT:

In general, people in the commune are very pragmatic because they know and are interested if they gain benefits from participation.

(RP8, CBT local man, 01.09.2016)

For me and my wife, it is an honour to do tourism even with income or not. But to be honest, if people obtain no profit in the long-term, they will feel disappointed.

(RP1, CBT local man, 05.08.2016)

Meanwhile, CBT requires a certain level of initial investment, but without seeing benefits, are people willing to invest? The fact is, no one wants to put money and effort in something without value. A local woman confirmed:

I really would like to do CBT but I still do not feel confident with my house, I feel I still need to repair.

(RP12, non-CBT local woman, 22.08.2016)

The results, however, revealed that financial support provided by the government is not what local people mostly expect and consider important to implement tourism. They hesitated just because they have not observed any specific benefits that CBT could generate.

Funding from the government does not really matter. If we are really dedicated in developing, we can do it by ourselves.

(RP1, CBT local man, 05.08.2016)

The problem was also reflected by a woman staff, who accompanied the local people during the CBT project:

Now it is difficult because it is necessary to have some capital to invest, people are also hesitant because no one dares to give up a pile of money without a clear benefit.

(RP28, Department officer, 05.09.2016)

A local manager added:

I believe when people feel the honour of the locality and benefits, they will all be proud, not opposed.

(RP6, hamlet leader & CBT local man, 24.08.2016)

Several people, nonetheless, seemed to understand it further, like a local woman in Quyet Thang commune. She also thought that the difficulties of CBT were because the local people did not see real benefits in advance; it is normal and easy to understand. However, as CBT is relatively new, they should not expect much from it:

Many people do not see the depth, they only see the immediate benefits. When they plant a tree, they always think whether people will buy it. But my view is different. We have to do, do a lot, we ourselves need to see that our place is beautiful, so people from other places will come. People here mostly have to see the money immediately then they will do (*laughs*).

(RP12, non-CBT local woman, 22.08.2016)

A lack of confidence in their ability, knowledge and skills to participate in tourism are also barriers that held local people back. One respondent said, “*we are just able to communicate normally and not skilfully like others*” (interview, 22.08.2016). This is also confirmed by quantitative data as 86 % of respondents who participated in the questionnaire survey ranked their lack of professional knowledge and professional skills as the highest barriers faced in CBT participation.

In addition, the fact is few tourists have visited the locality yet. Mostly, they just stop to see the tea hills, take pictures or buy some tea products.

People have not had the opportunity to practice. If people have the opportunity to receive customers, initially only a few houses, but

gradually the whole village, with the opportunity to meet customers, I believe local people will try together.

(FG14, focus group 3, 23.09.2016)

The questionnaire survey reveals that 19.05% of local people have never met any tourists, 67.62 % said they met tourists monthly and about 11.4 % met tourists more often.

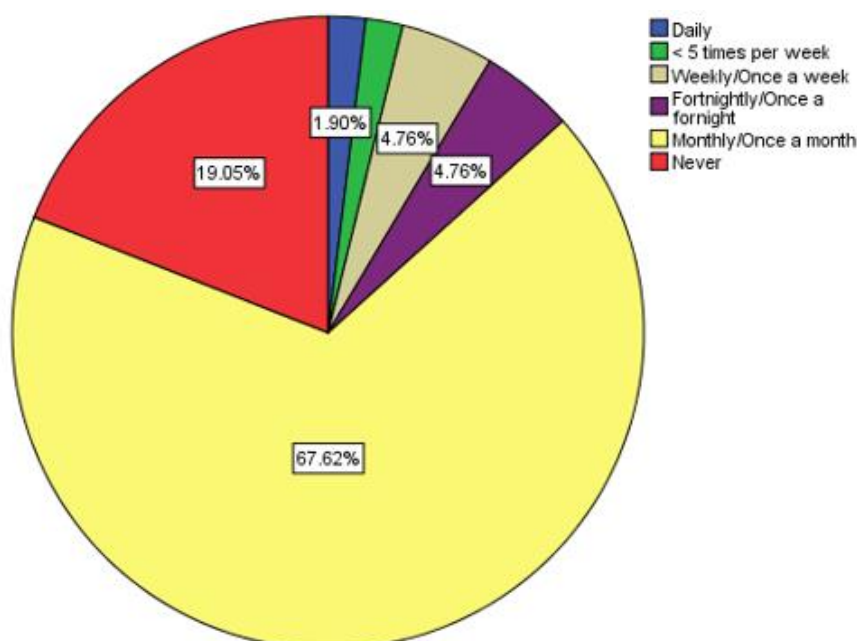


Figure 45: How often the local people meet tourists

Source: Survey questionnaire

I asked a non-CBT local man, whether he personally wanted more or fewer tourists. It is a difficult question to answer, because no one does not want, he asserted. The people themselves really want, he emphasized.

Dung: Some people said the job of making tea is very busy, if any visitors come they will take time, so do you feel comfortable with tourists, want to welcome tourists?

RP14: Most sadly no one came. If you ask whether we like or not, we are only sadder if no one comes.

(RP14, non-CBT local man, 07.09.2016)

Tan Cuong, Thai Nguyen is reputed for its tea, but promotion is lacking. Toan's CBT household has a pretty rural house with large tea gardens, beautiful

flower gardens, many natural plants, a fish pond, and a large tea yard. His house is also easy to access. Both husband and wife are comfortable, funny people but they have not actually welcomed any CBT tourists yet.

As long as tourists want to experience CBT, we are happy to accommodate. But until now there have been no groups of guests (*laugh*).

(RP2, CBT local man, 07.08.2016)

Another local CBT man expressed:

The first two years we are embarrassed because tourist numbers are too sparse. Sometimes a week has guests, but it takes 2 weeks, then a month to have more guests.

(RP5, 06.08.2016)

Even though few tourists visited the area, especially CBT tourists, some of the local people still showed sympathy, understanding and support for CBT:

I fully support CBT in spite of few visitors (*laughs*). I understand that to achieve the goal of CBT will be very difficult initially.

(RP2, CBT local man, 07.08.2016)

We want to do CBT so that's why we want to participate in CBT training classes. During the time for training classes, we would rather work at home instead. Why? Because it is significant for the village, for the family. We support CBT completely because if we do not support it, we will not make a date with you (*laughs*) and we would not go to CBT training class either.

(RP7, CBT local man, 05.09.2016)

Some local people remained suspicious though:

There are strong voices in the development of tourism of the region, which is what we really wish, but now it's nothing so the people still question, how and if really tourism can be developed in this area.

(FG19, focus group 3, 23.09.2016)

Saufi et al. (2014) observed that residents saw tourism as focused on developing plans and programmes, but rarely actually being implemented. In this study, residents could not see progress in tourism development and this created barriers for them, as they thought about the time and effort required to develop tourism in the locality. This reveals the need to examine the process and role of CBT projects (see Chapter 6, section 6.3.1).

Another factor specified as a barrier for the participation of local people in CBT was because local knowledge is different:

Not talking about the level of education but about the level of understanding of each person; everyone may have different opinions. Many people do not understand while managers lack attention. Thus, it is difficult for local people to talk about CBT.

(RP6, hamlet leader & CBT local man, 24.08.2016)

When I talked about the reasons why many local households have not participated in CBT yet, the leader of the City's Cultural Department, who was in charge of the CBT project explained:

We should respect the opinions of the local people, especially in the countryside. When developing tourism, families with sufficient conditions will participate first, but there may be families who have not been able to participate, for many reasons, such as their economic situation or family circumstances so they have not done it yet, or there are families who do not want to come in because they do not have any labour or because their thoughts are not yet clear about tourism.

(RP16, Thai Nguyen city's manager, 05.08.2016)

A manager of the commune added:

Actually, it must be said that some still have limitations in participating. Those who have access desire development for the family, the village. Now because of CBT in conjunction with the new rural construction program, people are aware to strive for the family and village.

(RP19, commune leader, 19.08.2016)

Language constraint was another barrier specified in the study. Some households shared that several times foreign tourists visited there; the Vietnamese drivers also could not speak English, so language difference made it difficult for them to sell tea products. Local people shared their worry, as they perceived that if they could not introduce their products, how could tourists understand and buy.

I learned English but *(laugh)*, frankly I'm really bad *(laugh)*. Some English sentences that we learned *(hesitated)*, I say when tourists come. They can understand a little bit but when they speak I cannot understand anything.

(RP5, CBT local man, 06.08.2016)

Some local people learned English during training, but since there have been few tourists, they said they forgot all:

Even when we have learned, but meet no tourists to practice, we do not have a chance to review, how can we remember?

(RP3, CBT local man, 08.08.2016)

If there is no interpreter, they cannot communicate with foreign tourists. Sometimes foreign visitors communicated by just writing how much tea they wanted, asking how much they must pay. A non-CBT local man, confirmed:

When foreign tourists asked, we only could wave, point to invite them to sit or drink tea, use body language only. When there is no translator, they ask and we cannot understand.

(RP9, 09.08.2016)

However, according to some local people, it is not a big problem for them as they think they could learn quickly if they had more encounters with foreign tourists.

Foreign language is a shortcoming, but in my opinion, now foreigners here are fewer than in other areas. Here if we have about 30-50 foreigners coming every month, all people will try to learn (*emphasis*). I insist that we just have not had experience, or engagement. When there is a need to communicate in English, we can do it because it then becomes a survival instinct (*laughs*).

(FG18, focus group 3, 23.09.2016)

The language constraint has become a motive to encourage their children to learn too:

If CBT develops, then I will send my children to English classes.

(FG19, focus group 3, 23.09.2016)

The importance of foreign language has been recognized in the countryside. Toan has three children. His 16-year-old son has been learning English at school but he is very hesitant to speak English.

I told my children that they must try. At some time, I will bring everyone in my house to Sapa [a CBT place] to meet the children who are very young, only at grade 1 of primary school, they can speak English very well. My children are now able to study English, but if they do not try to learn, then we will be extremely disadvantaged.

(RP2, CBT local man, 07.08.2016)

Other than the barriers that the local communities specified as above, the study reveals that very few tourism agencies collaborated with local CBT houses and participated in creating tours to the area. There is only one CBT house in the

area with CBT visitors because they had some relations with tourism agencies in Hanoi. Ponting (2009) supposes that the limitations in knowledge and skills of the local people in tourism was one reason that they found it difficult to collaborate with tourism agencies. The local people in this study showed their embarrassment in seeking coordination and communication with the tourism agencies because they did not have any connection or support, and their daily job only relates to tea cultivation and processing.

My family are just farmers, we make tea for a living, no one knows travel. Thinking about CBT, we are really excited, we really desire it truthfully but cannot do it.

(FG19, focus group 3, 23.09.2016)

Some local people were trained and had opportunities to visit some CBT places during project time but it does not mean local people themselves can invite tourists to the area. To get economic benefits from tourism, they felt embarrassed too. A local man also thought that CBT was mainly to help his family promote the products.

The tea tree has been a poverty alleviation plant. Today no one suffers from hunger anymore. Tourism for the local people is very good, but people are still struggling in *how to make it good*, as we have no plans to develop it.

(FG18, focus group 3, 23.09.2016)

This barrier reveals that local people hope to get support from the government for the planning and implementation (rather than financially):

Because individuals cannot do that, they must have support from the government.

(FG19, focus group 3, 23.09.2016)

This finding is consistent with those of Aref and Redzuan (2009) and Saufi et al. (2014). By identifying and recognizing what local people perceived as barriers for their participation in CBT development, government intervention was expected to facilitate local engagement in tourism.

Determining the barriers facing the local people from their own perceptions gave them a chance to share and express their thoughts about their and the locality's conditions. The interviews, focus groups and participant observations enabled me to observe and listen carefully. Getting engaged in a close relationship with the local

people, seeking local voices and understanding them ‘in their shoes’ to find how they could be helped and supported in tourism development was what I strove for during the field trip. I really appreciate that they attempted to reflect on their situations:

I am happy that the local people can speak clearly our true voices, without hiding anything.

(FG7, focus group 2, 11.09.2016)

By showing their barriers, a CBT local man, overall, revealed his optimism for the locality:

If there are guests, we will welcome them, even though we have anxiety. But the psychological preparation will encourage us to welcome tourists better (*laughs*). Real practice will also give us more experience (*laughs*).

(RP2, 07.08.2016)

5.4. Conclusion

Findings reveal that rural landscape, tea culture and traditional ways of local life in Tan Cuong have been recognized by both tea tourists, those who have high interest in tea and tea culture, and non-tea tourists who are keen on the natural environment, and traditional local life. Local characteristics were revealed to be drivers of attractiveness and competitiveness in the face of globalization, ensuring distinctiveness.

This study demonstrates that when tourism is for the preservation and protection of local identities, especially rural tourism, its sustainable development includes the meanings of local landscape, people and culture, the roots of tourism development. These assets are valuable to local people too. Local people need to realize that they should be who they are, bring what uniquely they can, to tourism development for great experiences. Tourists then can find their visit memorable - a feeling about the place that stays with them for a long time. Local people tend to not believe or even suspect that they can bring their own characteristics to tourism. Therefore, the dialogue between tourism and local development can be more effective if decision-makers, actors in tourism, and the hosting community develop policies and attitudes resulting from an understanding of the significance of local characteristics as the roots of tourism development.

The majority of local people expressed their willingness to support and/or participate in CBT, because most importantly it comes and develops from what they have, their traditional tea culture, which they desire to preserve. It is what they look for to sustain their culture, and seek to further local economic development. This evidence strongly suggests that CBT can be strengthened and promoted in Thai Nguyen, as local people are those who will continue to protect and develop their homeland. No one should have a stronger interest in local development. This establishes a baseline to develop further and more effective tourism, and to understand how to make Tan Cuong a sustainable tourism destination from the grassroots as the goal of CBT implementation.

CHAPTER 6:

POWER, CHALLENGES AND DEVELOPMENT

6.1. Introduction

‘Globalization has introduced a new space and framework for acting: politics is no longer subject to the same boundaries as before, and is no longer tied solely to state actors and institutions, the result being that additional players, new roles, new resources, unfamiliar rules and new contradictions and conflicts appear on the scene. In the old game, each playing piece made one move only. This is no longer true of the new nameless game for power and domination.’

Beck (2005, pp. 3-4)

This chapter examines the power of the key stakeholders involved in CBT implementation. In Thai Nguyen, they include the government, the NGOs, and the local people. Government and NGOs are thought to be directive and supportive, while local people living in rural areas are labelled as powerless. This chapter starts with the question whether government or NGOs are the only ones who have power in hand. And is this so that local people do not have power? This chapter reveals that the burdens of leadership and challenges of NGOs and government are real; often local people are thought to have no power, but in fact, they have great power. Conflicts of power exist in Thai Nguyen, between governmental levels and between the authorities and the local communities. Power, therefore, needs to be recognized in all its complexities.

This chapter considers why power is claimed to be even more important today for policy implementers and local communities themselves to achieve sustainable tourism development (Cheong & Miller, 2000; Gaventa & Pettit, 2012). Power is a web rather than vested in specific persons or institutions, which means it could be found everywhere. It is, therefore, important to focus on how power relates to practical change (see Chapter 2, section 2.4.2). Many projects for development have not achieved success. Gaventa and Pettit (2012) argue that for many, power was the missing link. If power does help explain the gap between theory and practice, then understanding power is necessary for any real change to occur (Gaventa, 2006; Gaventa & Pettit, 2012).

This chapter shows that local people have power to decide and make local activities possible. Attention to power is important when strengthening peoples’

participation in decisions that affect their lives. Based on some of Foucault's notions of power, my study argues that the development and implementation of sustainable CBT development require new ways of thinking, which incorporate political processes and local power. Acknowledging power from grassroots as resistance and renegotiation allows for their potential contributions for further and thriving local tourism in developing countries. It also encourages the formation of strategic pathways in tourism planning and development.

The study reveals the significance of collaborative power when looking inside the leadership, community participation, external support, and effecting change. Local communities' knowledge and experience should be recognized. Managers and NGOs also have power. It is, therefore, not about a top-down or a bottom-up approach but about how to bridge the two to create co-operation. The chapter then unpacks the pivotal role of collaboration between all key stakeholders as a collective power in CBT development in Thai Nguyen province, Vietnam.

This chapter starts by examining the powerful role of government and its challenges in the political system in Vietnam. It continues by discussing the power and significant contributions of the Canadian NGO who brought CBT to Tan Cuong. Challenges for NGOs do exist to attain significant achievement in developing countries where they have put in efforts and investments. The chapter goes on to identify the challenges facing individuals as well as the local community in tourism development in Tan Cuong. It reveals the power of local people through local knowledge, to be valued, recognized and incorporated to involve local communities effectively in tourism. The last part uncovers the power of collaboration in achieving CBT success and sustainable development.

6.2. The Power of Government

This section illustrates the powerful influence of government on tourism development in Vietnam. It continues to unpack the reality that challenges exist for different governmental levels involved in CBT implementation, recognizing that leadership can be burdensome in any country.

6.2.1. The Role of Government in Tourism Development (in Developing Countries)

Development policy, including tourism policy, is often seen as a product of political influence (Yasarata, Altinay, Burns, & Okumus, 2010). To understand tourism development policy, planning and implementation, it is necessary to understand the society's political system and power structure.

6.2.1.1. The Important role of Government

Many studies (e.g. Fan, Wall, & Mitchell, 2008; Gu & Ryan, 2009; Yang et al., 2014) about the role of government have called for further inquiry into the political environment and its powerful influence on tourism development in developing countries. Yang (2008) supposed government intervention is possibly most visible there, because it has often controlled almost all tourism policies and planning. Political power, therefore, is demonstrated when it creates policies that have significant impacts on the quality of local life (Swain, 2012), and redefine or reallocate which local resources will be used (Mbaiwa, 2005b). Hence, understanding political practices helps identify the prominence given to tourism planning and implementation (Yasarata et al., 2010).

Because governments have the highest legal right, they decide when, how, and with whom they interact in tourism development (Smith, 2001) or which management levels are involved (Yang et al., 2014). Therefore, political structures establish pre-conditions for participation in tourism (Yasarata et al., 2010). Yang et al. (2014) claim that “government is also a patron of change, a protector of cultural and natural environments, and a legitimizer of business practices by bodies external to a given community to a greater degree than in western countries” (p. 1152). All reveal the powerful role of government in developing countries.

In those countries, the role of government has evolved from focusing on economic development to broader attention to political, economic and socio-cultural impacts, power relationships, and environmental concerns (Kerr, Barron, & Wood, 2001). More than thirty years ago, government got involved to compensate for the lack of a strong and tourism-experienced private sector and to achieve long-term objectives (Jenkins & Henry, 1982). Today, the private sector has entered many developing countries, especially in Asia. An increasingly cooperative relationship has grown between government and the private sector for economic growth purposes (Yang, 2007). In addition, governments serve as

regulators in the tourism market, coordinators between involved internal and/or external stakeholders (Yang, 2007). Many development policies have been influenced by outside commercial forces when the organizations bring in capital to develop local tourism (Feng, 2008), like the CBT project in Thai Nguyen province, a significant co-operation between Thai Nguyen city's government and Victoria, Canada (see Chapter 4, section 4.4.1).

Vietnam, like other developing countries, has a top-down political system (Chapter 4, section 4.2.2), which plays a major role in overall development. Hence, this study examines the relationship between political power and development in Vietnam. It also identifies how the management role is seen by the local communities themselves to understand the relationship or cooperation between managerial authorities and local communities.

The role of government has been recognised as the most important in local tourism development by a majority of local communities in Tan Cuong:

To achieve a successful tourism model, there must be government in place, they have the most important role.

(RP11, non-CBT local man, 16.08.2016)

To grow, our tea area must have top-down attention, if the local people do it themselves, maybe we can never achieve tourism development.

(RP6, hamlet leader & CBT local man, 24.08.2016)

This can be attributed to a host of reasons. For one, according to local people, the government has power in terms of organizing local tourism development through policy-making and financial or other support vehicles, and providing guidance:

Support policies, funding, training methods, language training or behavioural training could only be from top-down.

(RP3, CBT local man, 08.08.2016)

Our people like doing tourism but people do not know how to do it. We must have the guidance of the upper levels and competent authorities.

(FG7, focus group 2, 11.09.2016)

When tourism had already been implemented, the locals perceived that the poor infrastructure could inhibit more tourists from visiting the locality. Local people referred to it as an obstacle. The current road is just large enough for a car,

or design zones are needed that allow parking for 45 to 75 seat buses. Only local authorities can make that possible, as recognized by local people, because this seems to be outside of their control.

This must have local government support, because if not, local people never can do it.

(RP11, non-CBT local man, 16.08.2016)

Another reason is that the government has a recognized voice, which local people will pay more attention to, and it is how a policy can be implemented in practice:

Tourism development *must be* from the top-down to get people from the bottom-up. Without a top-down orientation, people do not know how to implement or navigate from the bottom up.

(RP3, CBT local man, 08.08.2016)

Second, for local people, government has the right to tell people and analyze for people how this model could benefit local communities. Government can identify that this is the work of the collective, of the village, can ask what they require, what local people can do and how they can help. Government also has power to legally impose measures to handle works. So people need to pay attention when they understand that policies are conducted by the government. Local people specified that under such direction, when they see the benefits, they participate with enthusiasm:

Dung: When tourism is implemented in your locality, how can local people participate?

FG4: We must have guidelines, plans to follow.

FG1: I do not have experience in travel so I do not know how to do it. This must come from the top, then I know the right direction.

Nhan: I think if there is guidance and help from above, sure we can do, if that development is the right direction then we are willing to join.

(Focus group 1, 08.08.2016)

Voices of government and leaders at all levels are perceived to be better than what local people say to each other, so people will also respect and accept more. It is difficult for local people just to talk to each other about changes. During one Tea Festival, some managers of Thai Nguyen province came to a local CBT man's house, they appreciated his model, and advised him to renovate the surrounding gardens. He desired to regroup his tea gardens, which lie very interlaced between

the other gardens. However, it was difficult for him to talk to others about that matter. So, according to him, leaders are the only ones who have the power to intervene if required. He said:

Each house has its own model, own products, so if there is a voice from the top-down, people will cooperate. We need help from the government. The program from the top down is easy. I'm not qualified to do that myself.

(RP4, local CBT man, 09.08.2016)

A non-CBT local woman said the biggest concern in her place is about environmental issues. Although the commune has deployed CBT for a long time, until now, environmental issues have made CBT seem far from their expectations. She explained that as people have to keep on working for their livelihood, when the income from raising cattle, aside from tea, increases, then people push hard to raise cattle, which affects negatively the environment and the atmosphere. Such concern led to the expectation that competent authorities pay more attention to guide and support them, without which, one cannot stop doing what brings benefits. Because if local people told others that they have to do CBT, or that safe hygiene is required, then people may not listen or agree; “they even scold” said a local woman. It will be different if the government tells them what to do. This, therefore, depends on the leaders’ responsibility to preach on environmental issues:

We have income from tea, besides we have income from raising livestock. If say I stop livestock, I cannot do it, because the yearly income from livestock is much. But to do tourism, first the environment must be clean. To have a clean environment, we all must have direction for people to change, and initial support for people on how to do that.

(FG7, focus group 2, 11.09.2016)

Third, managers are perceived to have a significant role in influencing the minds of others and to make change possible. Vietnam has various levels of government (see Chapter 4, section 4.2.2). Local government has been positioned as very important in tourism development, identifying, connecting, persuading and mobilising local people together. When I asked about which type of support will be the best for local people, a local man responded:

Only local community leaders can stand up to mobilize people, together with the direction of city government then, to support local people to do.

(RP9, non-CBT local man, 09.08.2016)

A non-CBT local man, but also a leader of the Ornamental Plants and Bonsai Association in Quyet Thang commune, one of the three localities involved in CBT shared his story. Recognizing his locality had a large number of bonsai trees, he asked the State for the establishment of the first ornamental plants and bonsai village in Thai Nguyen province. Once it was accepted, they (the commune) had the village gate and brand name for the village. His role in the commune gave him a voice. If a member tried without a voice, no one would listen or it would be tough to be accepted. Because he is the president, when he spoke, more people listened.

Fourth, the pursuit of tourism in the locality depends on the priorities of the government (Yasarata et al., 2010). That is important for understanding whether further related tourism policies will continue or not. After the CBT project in Thai Nguyen province was completed and Canada supporters left, without further actions, the locality was in a quandary:

I think CBT has significant meaning for the locality but if the government will decide to continue or not we do not know. Probably, we are the people who want this but maybe the government does not give CBT further direction.

(FG19, focus group 3, 23.09.2016)

The local people are aware of difficulties and somehow they thought positively about CBT, however, to continue CBT, they needed to have a clear view of whether government officials would continue CBT implementation:

It is important whether the authorities are enthusiastic, whether they have the next idea for us.

(RP1, CBT local man, 05.08.2016)

The leaders at upper levels should be clear whether CBT can be implemented and put into practice and how much time is required to do so. If they do not make clear their planning it will never be possible.

(RP22, commune leader, 23.08.2016)

The CBT expert once again confirms the power of management in directing local tourism development in Vietnam and in Thai Nguyen province in particular:

If not well directed, tourism can cause problems. The government has to ensure CBT can develop in the right way.

(RP26, CBT expert, 27.09.2016)

In addition, when examining the barriers facing local community participation in CBT in the previous chapter, it appeared that the local people have not yet understood clearly about CBT, how they should act or what they should do. Lack of professional knowledge or experiences of tourism, and its unequal level among local people had a large influence and were barriers for them to take part in tourism. In order to enhance CBT development and activities here, local communities need government's and organisations' help to transfer the model into real practice: knowledge, skills, funds, and further support such as consultation on dealing with local issues. They expect continued support of the government:

We participated in CBT training for a long time, we have not touched it for a while, we already forgot it. We are looking forward to interest from government and management to carry out the project.

(FG7, focus group 2, 11.09.2016)

6.2.1.2. Government Efforts

I now look at the roles of leaders to understand how they performed in CBT implementation. Tea production development has been a concern of Thai Nguyen provincial and city authorities. During my field trip, I could see the efforts of government, particularly of those in charge of local CBT activities during the CBT project time (2012 – 2014) in Tan Cuong commune. It reveals the existence of positive and responsible leadership in the locality.

The Head of the Cultural and Information Department, which is under Thai Nguyen city's People's Committee and in charge of the CBT project, was directly involved and provided guidance on related CBT work. In his department, tourism is just one part of the work. Thanks to his willingness⁵⁷, I had a chance to understand about the proposals that his department had prepared as well as why and how they chose Tan Cuong, Thai Nguyen for the CBT project with the city of Victoria, Canada. It helped me understand also the efforts, dedication and enthusiasm that the Head himself and his staff invested in the CBT project, recognized by local people. He read several beautiful poems that described tea areas and local people here with his great enthusiasm. He said he just really hopes people go to the tea area

⁵⁷ His clear response and his readiness to share and talk, enabled me to dig for more information.

to understand the spirit of the people, who have done hard work to make tea products.

One staff in his department shared that they also hope to have further investment in this area, so local people can benefit. With the organization of the first International Tea festival, the local people benefited from investment in roads and lighting systems (Chapter 4, section 4.3.2.2). For recognition of Tan Cuong traditional tea village as a destination, they proposed to build an entrance gate. They expected that once the tourism development area had been delineated, the welcome gate would make the area impressive and separate. It means that after the joint project ended, the governmental officials who were in charge of CBT still thought about making the area a tourist destination. This essentially needs good communication.

Reid (2003) specified that managers have a critical role in community development. Leadership is integral to the implementation of tourism development too. CBT especially requires a facilitative leadership focused on the process of development rather than on the product (George et al., 2009) and in guiding local people. The CBT expert explained:

We tried to build fun for people to learn. When learning English, the local people said it was difficult. We only taught 5 sentences per class, but people always remembered to use them. We ate with the people, lived with the people, and played with the people, while learning we held their hands then everyone did well. So positive impact occurred when it was properly oriented.

(RP26, CBT expert, 27.09.2016)

Local authorities also supported CBT implementation in the locality with positive attitudes towards tourism when Thai Nguyen was modelling a new kind of tourism:

Upon receiving direction for the project, the commune leaders were very excited, realizing that this was the premise for local economic development so we were very supportive.

(RP19, commune leader, 19.08.2016)

A local leader said their work is related to socio-economic development of the locality using tea. They have to direct lower level organizations, local committees, and hamlets to coordinate the implementation of the policies, to

accomplish the task of the country (Congress, 2015). This task is to develop the local economy and to improve the lives of the people. The goal of building new rural areas (Chapter 4, section 4.3.3) also encouraged them to be concerned about the CBT project that was put in operation in their locality, even if they considered it was new to them:

Through such awareness, we are also determined to facilitate and guide people to actively participate in this project. We encourage people because they do not understand yet. For us, it is still new and a mystery.

(RP19, commune leader, 19.08.2016)

An event during the second focus group organized in the cultural house of Khuon 2's hamlet reveals how positive leadership could look like. When all 18 people stayed (see Chapter 3, section 3.4.1.2), a leader, at that time, stood up demonstrating his understanding of the situation:

The advantage we have already said is geographic; people have had this tradition of making tea for ages, our products have also been certified. The difficulty is that there is no association, and understanding is uneven.

(RP6, hamlet leader & CBT local man, 24.08.2016)

He confirmed his ability to lead because he grasped not only favourable aspects but also the problems of the locality and he was ready to share and talk publicly about them:

If we do not have a common goal then we cannot do it. Everyone must have the sense that we can do. We have to look at ourselves and see the difficulties to overcome.

(RP6, hamlet leader & CBT local man, 11.09.2016)

The study shows how a strong sense of positive leadership may inform responses to tourism. Understanding of the management role had more of an impact than economic gain for the locality, because it raised the issue of community consensus (discussed in section 6.2.1.1). Understanding CBT is new even to elected leaders of hamlets and communes. After specifying the advantages and disadvantages for the localities, the hamlet leader took advantage of that event to motivate people and indicated how they can do it together. He continued:

If we are a community, there must be collaboration. Once the community is called, everyone must join together, we need a common spirit. Difficulties are inevitable, but we have to try, motivate each other so that we can solve the difficulties together.

(RP6, hamlet leader & CBT local man, 11.09.2016)

CBT needs people, especially leaders that have positive influence on others, to keep people working together, because a lack of management's concern may inhibit CBT to reach desired objectives. Local authorities often interact more closely with citizens than do central government at city and provincial levels. Through another talk with a commune leader, I understood that he made an effort to motivate local people to grasp the difficulties and challenges of CBT, as there is a need to prepare for those:

I have gone to all the big meetings related to my tea. In particular, I say to local people that we must understand that it is still difficult but if the opportunity comes, those who are prepared will succeed. We have to create trust, create something beforehand, and build our brand in tourism.

(RP19, commune leader, 12.08.2016)

In interviews, commune leaders realized that now it is difficult to continue CBT, but at some point they hope this area will succeed as a tourist spot.

I still encourage the people that now we lean on tea products, but in the long run tea can only be a by-product, with travel the main product.

(RP19, commune leader, 19.08.2016)

Tourism is actually perceived to be for the local people, but it is also for the government. As leaders and managers of local units, they perceive that if their locality develops and obtains a good reputation, they have been successful. But if it does not develop, the people remain poor, no one knows about them, then it is unsuccessful.

When having tourism here, the awareness of local managers has been raised to new heights: we accept it, will update it, and have to behave to make tourism grow definitely. As tourism develops, then surely the local management will have to pay more attention, have a bigger and broader perspective and policy.

(RP19, commune leader, 19.08.2016)

Each commune has a Fatherland Front Committee, with the task of propagandizing and mobilizing people to implement the policy of the State, unite to build a new countryside or urban civilization, to have clean, beautiful, and green landscape, so guests will want to visit. Although there are still difficulties to put into practice the whole program, managers of these agencies seemed to keep positive about CBT implementation. When I asked about assessment of the current phase of CBT, one leader said:

It must be confirmed that it is feasible. We want to protect and develop, so we have to try to diffuse that this is a feasible project.

(RP23, commune leader, 05.09.2016)

He understood that there are not many customers, but it will basically satisfy those who have a real need to find out about tea culture.

Once we have upgraded the road, we will be successful. If we do not try to propagandize for CBT, it will be a disadvantage for the local people.

(RP23, commune leader, 05.09.2016)

The communes have completed the program of building new rural areas, they are now continuing through propaganda and mobilization to build advanced rural areas from 2016 to 2020 (Tung, 2016). Commune authorities look forward to CBT, as they expected to create favourable conditions for protection of the output of tea since CBT is a model of community development. It is within the capacity, responsibility and enthusiasm of those directly managing the implementation of CBT, and who work directly with the local people. They have recognized that CBT can provide significant benefits and a sense of collective social identity. Good management is needed so the objectives of the project can become achievable.

6.2.2. Challenges of Government

Challenges also exist for managers involved in CBT implementation. Political obstacles can affect both the formulation and implementation of CBT and sustainable tourism development. This study argues that how effective a programme is depends on the ability to recognize management's challenges and other related issues, to see how they can affect CBT development and local livelihoods, and to find solutions. Managers also faced conflicts of interest, and international issues that they had to learn to adjust to.

6.2.2.1. *Few staff and much work*

Few management officers (from city or local authorities) are in charge specifically of tourism, they are involved in different kinds of work at the same time. Thai Nguyen city's Cultural and Information Department was in charge of the CBT project implementation. Unlike the Provincial Department of Culture, Sport and Tourism, they have no professional tourism department.

A woman official of the Department developed a plan, and prepared the documents under the guidance of the Head. She was present in any and all related programs, including organizing workshops, guidance, and art team building and participated in most related activities with local people. She shared her difficulties during the CBT project implementation:

We do not have only one task but many in different areas. Meanwhile, I have children that are sometimes sick. Building the art team every day lasted until 10 or 11 pm in Tan Cuong, Phuc Triu during the rainy season. It was really tough. Not only for us but for the people too. During the day they had to pick tea, they were tired but ready to practice late even when there was no support. We did not get anything, even for our team leader.

(RP28, Department officer, 05.09.2016)

She explained that foreigners work very clearly on each item, for example, how much money to support this training course, how much for food, drink, conference funding. The project gave her a chance to travel to workshops in Da Nang, Bien Hoa, or Can Tho, and she accompanied some households to Dien Bien, Sapa and Mai Chau to learn their CBT model. She said:

It is true that we went to some places to gain some experience and came back to see how we could guide the local people. But really we were still determined even without that. We did because of enthusiasm and responsibility.

(RP28, Department officer, 05.09.2016)

Her stories reminded me of Nakamura's study (2015), in which one of the female employees stated:

I have often neglected my housework responsibilities due to the amount of work I put into the project and I don't think my husband really likes it. We sometimes have to work after regular business hours or on weekends, even without pay. Still I'm expected to do housework. I am lucky because my family has supported me and

understood the significance of our project, but other [female] staff members are not always so lucky. In general, Japan is a male-centric society and it's really hard for women to devote themselves to a big thing outside of the home. We don't get raises either, regardless of the number of years we have worked for the project (Nakamura's translation, p. 177).

In the interviews, hamlet and commune management officers also shared the difficulties about their work. One person, who had worked for 14 years as leader of Hong Thai 2's hamlet (since 2002), said his work required a lot of time outside, visiting each household in the commune. As he could not often be home, the tea plantation was maintained by his wife.

Even though I am the head of this hamlet, I get paid little but have a lot of no name work.

(RP24, hamlet leader, 20.09.2016)

The level of support - in terms of wages and incentives for managers in hamlets or communes - was poor, despite their many different tasks; it reflects their tough life. So they may lack interest and concern for other activities, particularly for further tourism implementation. When I asked whether they could self-organize and continue the CBT project, the manager of Tan Cuong commune replied:

The communal authority has very few people, but much work, it is difficult even just to deal with the daily administrative work. In order to continue to develop, there must be a great deal of support from the higher levels of government, in terms of programs and projects.

(RP19, commune leader, 12.08.2016)

Local governments do have funds and budgets, but local governments have to use those limited funds on different communal tasks. They also do not have the expertise for CBT.

In general, the local people are still embarrassed, they do not understand well about tourism, people only know to work for their daily life.

(RP14, non-CBT local man, 07.09.2016)

The cost of hiring an expert seems beyond the state budget since it is equal per day to local officials' monthly salary, therefore, only a foreign project can afford it; it is very difficult not only for local authorities but also for city managers. One local non-CBT man shared his opinions about the managers' job:

While the government officials may think that their salary is only like that, they do not want to be more busy (*laughs*). I understand that governments also have their difficulties.

(RP8, CBT local man, 01.09.2016)

These findings raised profound questions about how these issues can affect the commitment of managers at different levels for implementing tourism. The managers might possess a powerful role, even in tourism, but they are busy and face different issues at different levels. These should be carefully considered when developing countries become interested in tourism development.

6.2.2.2. Changing staff

The findings reveal that change of leadership in charge of CBT is another important issue. In the city, after the provincial election, there was another leader. The vice-president of the provincial people's committee who held the highest position in CBT retired in 2015, influencing further implementation of CBT.

The previous leader might have thought that the long-term trend is that he will invest in this and that, but the new leader may not think the same. The ideas of the second one may be different. So it also affected the work of our department.

(RP28, Department officer, 05.09.2016)

Even managers at the city department are enthusiastic, and want to develop CBT, so they hope more investment could be received. However, the new leaders, in charge of cultural matters, may not want to support CBT, which, according to an official, is important for local people to know and understand. Leaders may follow their own views based on their power. When change occurs, the new leaders may give priority to their own idea(l)s, ignoring previous policies. Yasarata et al. (2010) claim that this issue has created doubt with regard to how policies and plans in tourism can be developed and implemented in developing countries that have such a political culture.

Changes happened also at the local level. The project was under the People's Committee from the city to the commune, in which the local unions participated. In each place, there was one vice-president of the commune in charge of culture which included CBT, but they have since moved to other positions in both Hong Thai 2 and Khuon 2 hamlet, two major areas of CBT. Those leaders had been recognized

to have deep insights, but now that culture matters have been moved to other people, the initiative seems to have evaporated.

6.2.2.3. Limited knowledge and perceptions

Little professional understanding of tourism and sustainability and limited knowledge of foreign languages were among major barriers even for managers. This can cause difficulty in claiming that tourism plans, policies and their implementation will achieve some desirable outcomes (Yasarata et al., 2010). They can only try, a commune's manager reflected:

The experts and the city supported CBT implementation at the initial level. Our commune authorities can only integrate CBT into the propaganda campaign for the national program of new rural building [see Chapter 4, section 4.3.3], we try to maintain CBT, not to lose it. We wait for some chances from government to continue to build the road, upgrade life, then we can again promote it.

(RP23, commune leader, 05.09.2016)

An interview with the CBT expert reveals that perception of managers is important. Local leaders are sometimes not clear or their perceptions about CBT are limited. One local leader declared that whenever guests come, local people wear traditional clothes, but when they leave, they take them off. The expert critiqued the statement as a joke but added that such a thought on the part of local leaders is not suitable:

If we did that, if we created a 'fake' product, we would have fooled customers. It will not bring the real charm, lightness of Eastern culture. I am vehemently opposed to the construction of such products.

(RP26, CBT expert, 27.09.2016)

Through the talk, I understood that she was expressing the need for a proper attitude toward tourism development. I agree with her that CBT is a tourism product that reflects actual local daily life, culture and rural experiences, which many tourists seek (Huang et al., 2016). It should introduce authentic cultural traits to tourists.

In addition, if managers work just inside their responsibility, e.g. if a local cadre of the commune had to invite some households to attend an event, she could just do her duty by extending the invitation. If the cadre does not communicate, assign, analyze, nor continue to encourage the people, she would fail her

responsibility. Distance would then definitely increase between the cadre and local people.

Even if we are not educated on this issue, I must think more openly, expand and always improve my self-awareness, but if that awareness is limited even for cadres, how can it be with the local people? This is also a barrier when thoughts, perceptions are not clear. It makes people proceed very cautiously.

(RP19, commune leader, 19.08.2016)

Local authorities are not always enthusiastic about CBT. The project was directed from the city, through the commune to coordinate with the communal authorities and local organizations. Communal authorities may question and be unsure whether the project can be implemented in their locality, whether they are effective or they might not want to bother more. Not everyone is an enthusiastic advocate, as a local manager explained:

The communal government did not play an effective role then: if they were more enthusiastic, they would be more active, they would lead more efficiently. If people only work to the limit of their responsibility, they will be less effective.

(RP19, commune leader, 12.08.2016)

Key officers may be busy with other work, so they only have a small amount of time or willingness to invest in CBT. As a local man said:

Whatever it is, like in the family too, for example if a father is active, his family will be different.

(RP8, CBT local man, 01.09.2016)

6.2.2.4. Dealing with local issues

Each local community may face its own limitations. One local issue affecting CBT in Tan Cuong that could only be addressed by the government is the province's landfill, located about 10 km from the CBT area. This matter has been referred to by many local people. In summer, it is less offensive because sunshine and wind spread the smell to other places. In winter when there is no wind, it is very unpleasant. This, according to local people, can be very influential.

Tourists come here to enjoy the rural atmosphere. We strive to develop CBT but we are much embarrassed when the air is affected by the dump.

(RP4, local CBT man, 09.08.2016)

Certainly, tourism will be greatly affected by the rubbish smell.

(FG14, focus group 3, 23.09.2016)

Even if few guests come during winter and experience this, the negative information may be spread.

(RP4, local CBT man, 09.08.2016)

The landfill was in the previous province's plans. To move a landfill which serves a whole province or take measures to eliminate its externalities is very difficult and expensive, it is thus unlikely that it will be relocated. This remains a challenge for the government if it seeks to continue to develop CBT.

CBT tourism cannot occur without advertising or infrastructure. Funding for tourism development, however, was still very limited. Some managers showed concern and dedication for the CBT project but it was not just in their hands. An official of the Department shared her thoughts when at the beginning of the year they had to make a budget plan for the whole year. In that plan, tourism had not been an item for investment.

A woman official (*interview, September 05, 2016*) told that at the time of the CBT project, thanks to the advice of experts, they built up an art team over several months. But there were no more tourists⁵⁸ in Thai Nguyen when the CBT project ended two years later. Now if there was to be a program, the team would have to be mobilized and many rehearsals run again. It required much effort, including finding the money to buy traditional equipment that is no longer used. It is also a waste as she remarked: how can they really continue with only one or two performances in a year, yet she and the manager have to find a solution.

Maybe I and the Department manager are so anxious, so devoted, we tried to support CBT very much, but without funding it is really difficult. I think one must face reality, investing must occur to enable tourism in the future.

(RP28, Department officer, 05.09.2016)

Meanwhile, discussing about the CBT situation, the other manager added:

The state must offer something more positive and be more active to make CBT become a reality.

⁵⁸ This is unlike in Mai Chau Hoa Binh (another CBT area) which often have guests daily: it means they can perform and maintain the team, and it also contributes to improving the lives of people.

(RP25, manager of Thai Nguyen Tourism Promotion Center, 22.09.2016)

Managers at commune levels also indicated their difficulties in continuing CBT without direction from the levels above:

Now when the project stopped, the local people and even the commune became confused, not knowing how to continue.

(RP19, commune leader, 19.08.2016)

I questioned managers at commune levels if now they could continue to organize CBT. They responded that it would be so difficult because they lacked funding. In order to support local people, activities like training have to be funded. But it is unaffordable for them:

For localities, communes, the local economy is very difficult. Our managers at the commune level could really be only a bridge to help the local people do, or connect them with the agencies, that provide funding, which we really do not have.

(RP19, commune leader, 19.08.2016)

One commune manager reflected that without specific direction from the upper levels, it is out of the control of the local authorities.

6.2.2.5. Expectations - Conflict of interest, power, and resistance

Implementing CBT for specialty tea areas is supported by both government and local communities. Tourism opens up local development possibilities and provides opportunities to preserve and develop local culture. The findings, however, reveal that conflicts existed in communities still relatively new to such kind of tourism. Conflict is defined as “a struggle over claims to resources, power and status, beliefs, and other preferences and desires” (Coser, 1968, p. 232). The dispute is about matters of power between the stakeholders involved and their capacity to exercise it (Yang et al., 2014; see Chapter 2, section 2.4).

There exist two conflicts of power in Thai Nguyen: within and between governmental levels and between the authorities and the local communities. Recognizing the tensions allows deciding where to strike a balance. Government, in a top-down system, will consist of different management levels. Significantly, conflicts actually exist within the same level of government and between levels (Yang et al., 2008). The findings reveal complexity in CBT implementation at different managerial levels (province, city, commune, hamlets). It matters because

it determines who could have more power to issue tourism policies to support or not CBT development in Thai Nguyen.

Subordinates remain dependent and subject to superiors' decisions in the Vietnam political system. The Department of Culture and Information is the administrative unit under Thai Nguyen city's People's Committee, which was in charge of the CBT project. They understand that now local people are much better aware of CBT. These people understand that government, the boss, also has to pay attention, provide investment, for example, to finance items to attract tourists so tourism in the area can develop. However, this Department can only offer suggestions and recommendations to higher levels, they may not act without approval from upper management levels, they cannot decide on their own. Their power to act is limited:

We are a state management office, acting as an advisory body. Whatever we do must be documented and submitted to the leaders for approval. If they consent to our department's plan then we can implement it. We cannot decide on our own.

(RP28, Department officer, 05.09.2016)

A need to understand complex political processes has been revealed, attributed to the hierarchy of political power structures. In the relationship with the local community, the local authorities have power, while local people are the powerless. However, when comparing local administration with higher authorities at city, province or national level, the local authorities are the powerless party; the higher authority holds power. Therefore, although the local administration desires to support tourism development, the higher administration prevails over them, which influences the positions or decisions of both locals and the local administration (Yang et al., 2014). Managers are perceived as holding the power, but such power is actually restricted by legislation and management level. The question then is about who will need to have more responsibility for tourism development, from central government to lower levels in developing countries (see Chapter 7, section 7.4.1).

The research also identified the issue of community leadership and an ability to work with other government levels and institutions in enabling further tourism development. The leader of the Department of Culture and Information explained:

Actually, first, CBT requires volunteering and the willingness of the community to participate; it must come from the local people themselves. We have been trying to enlighten them so that they gradually volunteer to join. Now it is completely up to the people to take charge, then the local government, the commune authorities, have to help them to work together in following a CBT model.

(RP16, Thai Nguyen city's manager, 05.08.2016)

The responsibility is laid onto local people (who have much else to worry about), but will the government really help the self-motivated people?

Since my visit, Thai Nguyen Provincial People's Committee decided to recognize a local tourism destination for Tan Cuong specialty tea areas in 2017. It was the biggest joy for people as this met their expectations to build a unique tourist destination. This event demonstrated the efforts of Thai Nguyen's government in developing Tan Cuong as a tourist destination.

It can be said that over the last two years, after the project was terminated, we have not deployed much because we are proposing Tan Cuong first to be a tourist destination, which is important.

(RP16, Thai Nguyen city's manager, 05.08.2016)

There should also be communication between managers at different levels, otherwise how could CBT be developed by the local people themselves? This is confirmed by Mendoza-Ramos and Prideaux (2017). It should be emphasized that the unification of the views of the leadership in terms of the direction of tourism development is also very important.

Conflicts did exist too between managers and local people. In a top-down governance with strong power, it, however, should be recognized that those at the bottom of the hierarchy can resist local authorities and higher level management (Cheong & Miller, 2000; Yang et al., 2014, see also Chapter 2, section 2.4.1). At some point, the locals' expectation of government and the government's expectation of local communities were in conflict.

When governments in developing countries have such control over people, they want to do everything, and then get spread too thin. The people they are working for, never develop and feel a sense of responsibility or ownership of the projects. Liu and Wall (2006) and Tosun (2000) indicated that the lack of equitable access to decision-making together with decisions manipulated and dominated by

political power have impacted the participation of local communities. Sofield (2003) confirms that “policies and regulations are made for the communities rather than by them” (p. 7). This means that local people tend to rely on the guidance and support of local government (see section 6.4.1.1). When community empowerment is perceived as important to achieve sustainable tourism, in the Vietnamese context of top-down government, it inevitably raises difficult issues and tensions (Yang et al., 2014).

However, according to some local people, local authorities have so many other jobs, that management at the commune level simply lacks concern for CBT implementation. In addition, the dependence on upper management levels of local authorities could make citizens suspect that local authorities were not confident that the locality could do CBT; they seemed to encourage people only if they thought people were able to do it. It was not compulsory, nor too encouraging. A local man expressed:

CBT is implemented in my locality but I think the communal leaders themselves may not be sure whether CBT can really be implemented there or not.

(RP6, CBT local man, 24.08.2016)

If local government members themselves were not sure that CBT might be successful, local people would feel unsupported. Another local man claimed:

I wonder whether they [the leaders] are enthusiastic with CBT implementation, or they only carry out their responsibilities.

(RP3, CBT local man, 08.08.2016)

Some of the local people were disappointed, suspicious or distrustful of local government (from commune to city) who spoke positively but could not demonstrate specific actions. One of them shared:

Managers always say that CBT is very good but since then we have not seen their further actions and instructions. It is important that they have the next step for us. If not, CBT will get nowhere.

(RP3, CBT local man, 08.08.2016)

The challenges for government are real when they receive attention as people in power: they are expected to engage themselves in tourism implementation, respond to demands, be willing to compromise, and have sensible ideas. Local people are not always passive when economic and social changes occur in their

locality. They may not accept their predicament, but be proactive and resistant, as demonstrated when they constantly negotiate and contest the direction of development in the pursuit of their rights and interests (see Chapter 2, section 2.4.1).

On the other hand, the government also expected the local people to be more active, to find ways to connect with each other, with tourism companies and to develop their unique attractions.

Since there are many models of CBT and many different ways of doing it, people in the tea area have to learn how to motivate themselves to participate in the most harmonious, but most democratic way, to create their own attractions and maintain their particular product.

(RP16, Thai Nguyen city's manager, 05.08.2016)

Another point is conflict in understanding between managers and local communities as some local members thought that when projects came in, managers benefited financially rather than local communities. However, managers shared their difficulties in further implementation because of limited funding and multiple tasks that they need to pursue.

The people themselves want to know how much money they may get when they attend a training session or participate in this program or welcome tourists. They still think that if I spend today, I have to collect today, but they should think of it as a long-term investment. For us [management in charge of CBT], even though we will not get any incentives from this CBT related work for a few years, still we have to do it.

(RP28, Department officer, 05.09.2016)

That official expected the local people could understand that maybe on this day the people coming to the village do not buy anything, but they may talk to many others, which is a form of advertisement; people would not lose money and their destination would be advertised at no cost. Authorities can direct local people, instruct them to do but they have to think and do for themselves:

But sometimes people are not aware. It is also difficult for us. We have tried to bring benefits for the people but they might not have realized that.

(RP28, Department officer, 05.09.2016)

Ketema (2015) argues that if concerned stakeholders lack coordinated team work, it can result in the discouragement of using significant resources for tourism and

even may increase conflict of interest among key players. The conflicts, however, should be identified to find appropriate solutions (see Chapter 7, section 7.4). This city manager understood that conflicts are inevitable in CBT implementation:

Dung: Assuming that during the process of contact with the people, some households might be very negative about this model, then how do you handle it?

RP16: Well, I think it is normal, because I also need people who are opposed, who do not agree, because anything has its opposite side, right? From that, we find new solutions to the problem.

(RP16, Thai Nguyen city's manager, 05.08.2016)

Many local communities said they had not been informed about the CBT project. Only a few households participated in CBT training during the project, raising conflicts of interest between local people due to a feeling of isolation for some. The lists of households were prepared by the Commune People's Committee based on the conditions of households who could qualify for CBT. Later when some of their neighbors asked if they would be able to participate, the city tried to open a broader training class in the tea cultural space and in a local tea factory. At first, a very large number of people attended the training sessions, up to 120. However, for certain classes, e.g. English training or raising awareness about resources, assets, development of the community, Victoria wanted to invest in depth, which meant only households who directly participated in CBT could join. They allocated numbers to each commune, so each had few representatives.

So they [local people] also have many questions, wondering why they could not participate in those activities. As always, in a development project some households are more interested to invest for more development.

(RP28 Department officer, 05.09.2016)

It is expected that if there had been coordination for investment it could have included more, rather than just a few households as was the case.

6.2.2.6. Challenges of globalization and developing a sustainable development concept

With the spread of globalization and tourism, sustainable development has also become a critical global concern because an increasing number of international tourists explore local areas in developing countries, causing more impacts.

Vietnam's government promotes sustainable tourism development and directs CBT implementation. Different challenges, however, facing the government are identified. First, as countries in the world are pursuing sustainable development, they are required to take a more critical approach to the phenomenon.

Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi declared at the World Economic Forum's Annual Meeting 2018 in Davos, Switzerland (in Ross, 2018) "everyone is talking about an interconnected world, but we will have to accept the fact that globalization is slowly losing its lustre" because "many societies and countries are becoming more and more focused on themselves" and failed to work together on their environmental pledges. Everybody talks about sustainable development and other global issues but these require demonstrated solidarity. Modi expressed that "the solution to this worrisome situation against globalization is not isolation. In a world that is full of fault lines and rifts, we need to build a shared future" (in Ross, 2018). To achieve sustainable tourism development, to save the environment or to fight climate change, he supposed that governments have to plan broad campaigns and give themselves effective objectives (Ross, 2018).

Bramwell and Lane (2011) argue that governance guided by sustainable tourism objectives is likely to face major obstacles such as diverse and varied interests and priorities. The issues around mobilising interest and action in response to sustainability problems therefore may also vary between global and local scales (Hall, 2011). The challenge remains as to how the Vietnamese government takes into account what happens at the global level and determines how its tourism governance at the national scale can interact with regional and local tourism practices within the country. In Thai Nguyen, the CBT project ended when the NGO left. The question now is how the Vietnam government can be involved in supporting CBT to continue, so the area can welcome foreign tourists.

Now the government plays a critical role. CBT must be mainly in the long-term plan of the government, coordinated with the local government and people who are directly involved.

(RP28, Department officer, 05.09.2016)

6.3. The Power of NGOs and Tourism Projects

Thai Nguyen's government chose CBT amongst future activities and opportunities for the development of the tea area (see Chapter 4, section 4.4.1). This

section unveils what changes the CBT project supported by the Canadian NGO has brought to the communities in Thai Nguyen, and especially how the changes were viewed by community members. What do they mean practically and how do they benefit the local people, culture and landscape? The study recognizes the power and significant contributions of NGOs and their tourism projects to local communities, but also challenges NGOs to face their difficulties to attain significant achievement.

6.3.1. The Significance of Tourism Projects and NGOs

Many projects in the world have come to localities recently (Nakamura, 2015). I wanted to discover whether the CBT project here started from the motto “*thinking globally, acting locally*”. Was it really about the local communities gaining benefits? Was it giving the local communities opportunities to have experiences that they never thought they could have? Could the CBT development model in Tan Cuong be a positive example/model or perspective for sustainable tourism and community development? According to the manager, during the 3 years this project existed, the Standing Committee of the Party Committee was very interested. An evaluation of the results of the implementation of this project was recorded with some positive outcomes.

In 2013 and 2014, NGO members came to Thai Nguyen and gave several training courses, seminars and workshops. Training included professional knowledge of tourism as well as awareness and preservation of local culture. The project offered local people chances to learn, a stronger sense of their tea cultural identity and a shared interest. It helped improve local knowledge of commodity production, so they could become tea entrepreneurs. To understand management perspectives, I worked closely with the officials who were involved in the CBT project. A manager expressed:

When implementing this project, people were given both the tourism model and the new rural model; all new rural policies were geared towards farmers. It means they fully support, rather than constrain or affect the production of people. This model gives people more visitors, so they sell more products: they are excited, so they are very supportive.

(RP16, Thai Nguyen city's manager, 05.08.2016)

He supposed that CBT brought a lot of meaning to the locality:

When we implemented this project, local people were very surprised at first, they did not yet understand what tourism is. People just thought it is sightseeing.

(RP16, Thai Nguyen city's manager, 05.08.2016)

It brought a new awareness about (tea) tourism development. People would not only know about making tea, but became aware of a new key to economic development, linking tea cultivation to tourism. Through this event and festivals, tea trees and traditions have been honoured so people became prouder and prayed for abundant good quality tea products the following year.

To do CBT in the tea area, people's awareness was very limited. However, after being trained, and after exchanges and discussion, people discovered how tourism is linked to economic development, so they were very interested.

(RP16, Thai Nguyen city's manager, 05.08.2016)

The manager considered CBT as the opportunity for local people to promote their own potential and manage themselves, from the production process to the product creation and reception of tourists.

It is not about selling a few kilos of tea. They have improved product design, communication and welcome of tourists. Whereas they only knew about tea making, now they are aware of environmental hygiene, the preparation of the house to welcome guests. Now it helps improve their quality of life.

(RP28, Department officer, 05.09.2016)

That manager added that the CBT project also brought departments and advising committees to engage in new undertakings, investing in the tea area to become a tourist destination. A woman staff in his department explained:

I think that, for example, we coordinated with the City's Economic Office, organizing many training sessions for technical skills, planting, processing and propagation.

(RP28, Department officer, 05.09.2016)

Farmers may not have time or a chance to keep updates of new techniques in farming or in processing crops. Such training is, therefore, among the factors that contributed to the promotion and development of that region. In the past, traditionally, productivity and quality were lower. Now the packaging, design, and printing have changed to facilitate distribution of the products by making them

more appealing to potential domestic and international visitors. The official, in fact, added:

In the past Dinh tea price was 3 million VND per kilogram but it was only packaged in a hand-sewn gold bag; they just printed a paper note with the name Dinh tea. After the project came in, they were advised about design, and packaging to make a difference, separating the high-grade tea, with different design patterns.

(RP28, Department officer, 05.09.2016)

This motivates customers to buy beautiful tea packages as gifts. The manager in Tan Cuong commune also confirmed:

Before people just packaged using nylon. Now they use boxes, vacuum, labels and have a branded product so its value has increased. Dinh Tea comes in a very beautiful box. Local people are now more aware about developing their products.

(RP19, commune leader, 19.08.2016)

No respondent denied the positive impacts of the project. According to Nakamura (2015), organisers of participatory or community projects may find it easy to evaluate their own work because the impact on the community or participants could be immediately and directly observed. The local people confirmed the benefits that they gained through the project. Those included the opportunities to participate in professional tourism and basic English classes to help them greet or sell tea to tourists. They had very friendly exchanges with CBT experts. Problems were discussed openly, local people mentioned the CBT project had many sessions. The organizers guided and taught thoughtfully and enthusiastically. The tourism project brought new concepts and ideas into local people's lives.

Many local people wanted to take classes, because what they wanted to learn could help them in their daily life, skills that would improve their well-being. They were provided the skills they need for tourism, a new form of economic production and a new future for their communities. In CBT projects in Botswana, Malawi and Namibia, Snyman (2012) also found that the private sector had an important role in providing education, training and skills transfer. Local people in Tan Cuong excitedly talked about what they gained through the CBT project:

We attended tourism training class for a certain time. In addition to serving for tourism, it is also very effective for the ordinary life of my family (*excited*). For example, one CBT class instructed us how to cook dishes, how to repair and clean our house reasonably.

(RP13, non-CBT local man, 06.09.2016)

A woman added about her CBT training with excited feelings:

Everyone there was also very enthusiastic to learn (*laughs*). English class always had up to 20-30 people. I had not gone to school for a long time, but when I went to classes I was able to say simple English sentences. Going to class was so much fun for us (*laughs*).

(FG15, Focus group 3, 23.09.2016)

A typical tea household in Hong Thai 2 hamlet, after going to training courses, knew that first of all, they needed to prepare for visitors: organise a place to park vehicles, or have a trail to walk, visit and take photos in tea gardens. They actively invested in tea gardens without any financial support. They learned about CBT concepts and sustainable tourism development:

Through CBT training, we know that the goal is towards sustainable development. We thus know that CBT aims to be a kind of tourism to help develop sustainability.

(RP3, CBT local man, 08.08.2016)

A local woman smiled when I asked why she always proactively raised her hand first in classes:

I have to be brave to be correct so when going out I will be more confident. If we only sit on the benches, then we will not go out with confidence (*laughs*).

(RP12, non-CBT local woman, 22.08.2016)

When an event was organized by the city, which attracted foreign guests, many people used to run away because of shame. She boldly moved to say hello, invited them for a drink and to sit down, showing the location of toilets. She was excited to tell me about her stories. As he could not attend the English class because of a car test, Binh shared his regret:

We did not have a chance to learn English in the past, so now we could learn English for free, but I could not go. I really regretted.

(RP7, CBT local man, 05.09.2016)

He had noticed that English was getting popular. Daily care for tea plantation requires plant protection chemicals, which are labelled in English. They use them based on their experience even though they cannot understand English. They are aware that English training classes are meaningful for their daily lives as well. When I held focus group 1 in the tea field. I talked with local women about English.

Dung: Now if I tell you to learn English, are you willing?

FG1: Yes, definitely we are. Can you teach us?

FG3: We work in day time only. If you can teach us at night we will come to learn.

Dung: But you are so busy, would you hesitate?

FG1 and FG3: No, we are fine. We like studying English very much.

(Focus group 1, 08.08.2016)

In addition, through opportunities provided by the CBT project, some of them could visit some CBT models in Vietnam such as Sapa and Ban Lac, Hoa Binh. Many foreign visitors went to those places to experience CBT there. Those opportunities enhanced local people's knowledge and helped to open their mind:

I was feeling more motivated when there were very ordinary peasants who spoke English very well (*emphasis*). *During lunch, the host communicated with foreigners in English that made us feel like we are very limited.* While they are like us, have manual jobs, cultivate things.

(RP2, CBT local man, 07.08.2016)

When they returned, they told the others. It seemed to motivate the local people significantly:

The project that came to us is very good, our local people's minds are open. Some people could visit many places, they told us about small children who spoke English fluently, we have silver hair but do not know anything (*laughs*), poor us (*laughs*), because we did not have the opportunity.

(RP11, non-CBT local man, 20.09.2016)

In Sapa, CBT has developed strongly. Beds are made from bamboo, or straw, with a warm blanket, the curtain even had no hem. Characteristics of the lives of the ethnic people there are on show. This is why it is believed there is no need for

much monetary investment in CBT⁵⁹, yet skills need to be gained. The place needs to be clean and to offer a minimum of services (e.g. a toilet). They seem simple but for farming families, it is often more than they can afford.

Sapa is in the mountains so we had to walk almost 2 hours to get to the place, I thought walking that far would discourage anyone from coming. When we reached the place there were many foreigners staying; some for one month, some for a few days. Therefore, when I returned, I thought that we should not hesitate anymore. What travelers will accept is the daily experience of farmers.

(RP2, CBT local man, 07.08.2016)

The project also helped to develop a stronger sense of their tea cultural identity and somehow empowered them since they understood that in CBT they would be the ones who welcomed tourists. That made them aware that they needed to be prepared.

I joined CBT classes from the first days. I also went to Sapa. At first I was interested, excited. It was very atmospheric, feeling that people will come and travel right now to our place.

(RP12, non-CBT local woman, 22.08.2016)

After joining in CBT training, local people thought of what and how their families could prepare for tourists. They were more confident as the facilities were mostly based on what was available. So a local woman, though very busy with her own bonsai business, attended all the classes.

Initially though, mobilizing people to attend training was arduous. After a while, rumors led them to sign up.

Through a lot of training sessions, there were only 50 people invited but then hundreds of people came, people listened attentively to imagine what they could do.

(RP16, Thai Nguyen city's manager, 05.08.2016)

The CBT expert said to me:

At first people seemed less interested but more and more came. I think it's because we brought real knowledge to them. We were hands-on so they like it. CBT brings joy both material and spiritual to the people, so the people are fond of going to training classes.

⁵⁹ After the visit to Sapa, local people shared that they now understood CBT experiences as something possible. It is not like luxury tourism when tourists require VIP rooms.

(RP26, CBT expert, 27.09.2016)

She then explained what they did to support the local people to implement CBT:

We went to each household who wanted to implement CBT and gave them suggestions. We guided them in how to adjust, change to meet the needs of guests.

(RP26, CBT expert, 27.09.2016)

An official sent me pictures of the local people in training courses. She shared her impression on their participation.

Actually, the implementation of the project was like a fresh breeze, it brought local people new perception and perspective. Can you imagine that until 10, 11 o'clock at night they still sat and listened intently? I could see that they were really excited.

(RP28, Department officer, 05.09.2016)

People have more or less recognized what they gained through the CBT project. Now many people still ask when the project continues to develop, I think that it is a mark of success.

(RP28, Department officer, 17.10.2016)

The significance of CBT projects which aim at helping local communities cannot be denied. Helping and supporting local people is a powerful and beautiful impulse. Aside from those significant benefits, it has led local people to share a set of interests – to develop a tourism product based on their traditional tea cultivation.

6.3.2. Challenges for NGOs

As discussed above, NGOs are considered important stakeholders in CBT implementation in developing countries whose role as facilitators is valuable and essential. Some challenging questions, however, were posed both with regards to the NGO's method of approaching only a certain number of households and with respect to the effectiveness and sustainability of the project after its completion. By examining the implementation of the CBT project and the reflexions of government and local people, the role and *sustainability* of tourism projects are critically discussed.

First, even though a large number of households live in three communes: Tan Cuong, Phuc Triu and Quyet Thangs, relatively few of them were involved in training sessions and not all communities knew about CBT. The lack of information

reaching the local communities was identified as a barrier (Chapter 5, section 5.3.3). The concern is whether the concept of CBT and the project were really understood by community members. Social exclusion should be considered a challenge of the CBT project in Thai Nguyen and also in other places.

How the locality has organized CBT I also do not know because we were not informed.

(RP14, non-CBT local man, 14.10.2016)

We have not received full attention, support and information from the higher levels, so the information is limited, and some conditions are not prepared fully yet. Actually, CBT here is like “leaving a work unfinished”.

(RP4, local CBT man, 09.08.2016)

In most Third World countries, people often lack access to information about tourism (Aref & Redzuan, 2009) and do not receive sufficient support from government or other organizations as was the case here. This indicates that communication was inefficient.

But why a lack of communication? Some is due to uneven access to information or a lack of opportunities to approach the implementers. In some societies, a particular group of people may be ignored, depending on methods and techniques adopted (Nakamura, 2015). It is thus important to examine who really are the active participants in community projects, and which community members benefit (Nakamura, 2015). Should the project benefit all parties? If a CBT project is for the local communities, the notion of a homogeneous community desire should be critically examined (see Chapter 2, section 2.3.1.1).

When there are multiple interests and different approaches in the community, what will be required to improve the project? Does the tourism project actually give power to some communities or some of their members? The project will reach more people if a wider range of community members are involved. Multiple voices, including those of non-participants should also be heard, otherwise the limitations and challenges of participatory projects will not be discovered (Nakamura, 2015; Chapter 2, section 2.3.2).

In addition, the long-term implementation after completion of the project and some significant aspects of the project are revealed by critiques from local people.

A CBT local man proffered:

When the project came, local people here were very excited. Some CBT households at first prepared well. But now I feel like they were doing something for the record, they just took pictures to report to the other party [Canada]. It looks like “a flash in the pan”.

(RP1, 05.08.2016)

Other respondents added:

There were many projects but they were done lightly and that’s it. Canada provided some funds. The government organized; at the end it was covered in the press as if the project was a successful investment. Then the contract ended. After there was nothing.

(RP3, CBT local man, 08.08.2016)

At first, everyone was excited, but then it faded away because CBT was not put into practice, and people got no support later.

(RP12, non-CBT local woman, 22.08.2016)

When I further questioned about CBT efficiency, the same woman continued:

Actually, the government was already concerned and promoted it. However, it has not been implemented because the need for money in the immediate future caused people to rush to earn money and food daily.

(RP12, 22.08.2016)

When I first came to a local man’s house to ask for an interview, he was difficult to approach. He, the typical farmer in the region, was often interviewed by journalists and television. In Festival time, with the beautiful tea hills, tea competitions were often conducted there. However, a tourism project seemed not to bring a clear change to his family, which CBT should have. He questioned the efficiency of the project. The project finished in 2015 but tourists still pass-by on the way to Nui Coc Lake; they only see tea production facilities and beautiful tea hills; they watch and take pictures but do not buy products or stay overnight.

When the project began, the communes found talented people, for example, singing and dancing to form the entertainment team. However, when the old, middle-aged and young people started to be enthusiastically involved, the project seemed to melt, local people went back to their houses and their daily work, no funding was available.

(RP3, CBT local man, 08.08.2016)

During CBT time, a team of artists formed in Khuon 1 hamlet, Phuc Triu commune to practice cultural performances of the San Diu ethnic group, but the team could not be maintained because there were no funds and no further activities. The local people still felt regret when they recalled it.

This type of tourism is not sustainable, just exaggerated. There was no maintenance. The end of this phase is hushed.

(RP6, hamlet leader & CBT local man, 24.08.2016)

Without practice, we forget it all. Now it has been a long time, nothing remains. All people here know very little about tourism, we just know how to make tea *(laughs)*.

(RP1, CBT local man, 05.08.2016)

An officer said the CBT project organizers from Canada (NGOs) just provided material support and training, not direct investment in infrastructure. In August 2015, the Vietnam Urban Association and the Canadians visited the area and ended the project. Since then, there has been no more support. However, this point has not been explained clearly to the local people, who have therefore questioned the usefulness of the project.

It has been around for a long time but the connection has not yet been updated. Now CBT is mostly spontaneous. Some programs we have heard about but have not seen done yet.

(RP4, local CBT man, 09.08.2016)

Another local man even questioned the feasibility of the project:

Generally, it has not been feasible (because there are no guests yet). Everybody can talk. When it comes to the fact that it is necessary to have this, leave this, put the other, these are the real issues. Otherwise it is just idle talk, it seems to me that it is not reasonable.

(RP6, hamlet leader & CBT local man, 24.08.2016)

Many studies revealed that achievement of CBT projects is actually limited (e.g. Abrams et al., 2009; Butcher, 2007; Mbaiwa, 2005a). According to Robards et al (2011), creating a mechanism of reasonable and sustainable relationships between the NGOs and the local community should be seen as a challenge, especially if their presence is short. NGOs should indicate right at the beginning how long their project will last so local people are not caught off guard when it suddenly ends.

Changes brought by the project have not met the desire of local people. CBT implementation in any locality should be transparent in terms of how it helps the local people, and what kind of investment will happen. CBT projects should be implemented to encourage not only investment in skills and tourism professional knowledge for the local people that NGOs provide, but also to recognize what is actually needed (e.g. in terms of the whole community, infrastructure or other conditions for CBT success). The project organizers and the managers have not provided answers.

Actually, the CBT model was not implemented here, it was just started, but now it feels like it is not really extinguished, but people feel very indifferent.

(RP8, CBT local man, 01.09.2016)

One local man showed his discouragement:

Our work is busy, excitement has faded away. Now really I do not want to do anymore.

(RP1, CBT local man, 05.08.2016)

Some questions are now raised about whether changes brought by the project reflect the interests of outside project organizers or of the local government. Another question is what the community desires. Are the changes actually even necessary? If so, necessary for what and for whom? Because even now other training sessions have been opened every year relating to CBT, but they have been received with scepticism and little concern by local people:

Every year, a CBT class has been opened but this year, only one person in Tan Cuong and a few people in Quyet Thang went.

(RP4, local CBT man, 09.08.2016)

A local manager explained:

Tan Cuong local people farm, they just focus on providing for their families, taking good care of tea, growing rice well. After the early training round, they felt that they could not practice everyday while nothing supported people economically.

(RP18, commune ex-leader, 11.08.2016)

Local people have the right to say what they think about the CBT project, because it was implemented in their locality, and it more or less affected their perceptions and thoughts about local tourism development. Failing to see anything

on the other side makes a dialog impossible. Certain forms of help from NGOs, if not carefully planned, can result in a negative response, especially if the locals have faced an earlier negative experience. The project should also pay attention to the voices of community members who did/could not participate in the project to unveil what they think (Mulrennan et al., 2012).

The success or failure of a specific project has seldom been revealed (Cahill, 2007; Harrison, 2010; Nakamura, 2015). There is limited evidence of consultation with the communities to understand why or even whether the project failed or succeeded (Harrison, 2010; Kontogeorgopoulos, 2005; Wearing, McDonald, & Ponting, 2005). Few attempts have been made to evaluate the impacts over the long term. This challenges NGOs to carefully examine the results they achieve after their presence and support in the community. Because project implementers tend to evaluate positively the outcomes, these should ideally be assessed by a third party.

It would be significant that the project clearly specifies its agenda and its purpose to the local people, that sponsors indicate what exactly they want to bring to the communities through the tourism project. Implementers' responsibility after the completion of a CBT project should also be clear. Do they have any obligations to the community after the project is stopped? Do they need to take responsibility to ensure the efficacy of ongoing CBT in the community? Knowing what roles NGOs and local government should play at the end of the project will lessen questions and suspicions from the local communities.

It will be beneficial if tourism project implementers have clearer answers to be well understood, rather than leave questions after the project has been completed so the local people know who can help and how they can help. Tourism project implementers should also reengage the local people more in the project not only during the project but also when it ends. This tourism project is recognized as beneficial but it needs to be accountable in terms of progress at both local and management levels. So with their excitement, local people will feel invigorated by their participation in CBT.

Transparency and empowerment are the main points. The gap between capability and expectations of project organizers, local government and local communities should also be clear, as one respondent commented:

We do not know if the CBT project has ended or not, and whether it will continue at our local community.

(RP15, non-CBT local man, 04.10.2016)

Furthermore, who actually becomes empowered: individuals, the community, or categories of people such as women, the poor or the socially excluded (Cleaver, 2011)? If there is any doubt whether the project was serving the needs and interests of local people, how can it be developed from the grassroots? The recent literature on participatory and community projects still lacks a thorough analysis of the above issues (Nakamura, 2015).

6.4. Power of Local Communities

Local people have an important role in sustainable tourism development, specifically in CBT. However, too often those living in rural areas are considered incompetent or problematic. The first part of this section, therefore, identifies the challenges facing the individuals as well as the community in tourism development in Tan Cuong. The section then reveals the power of local people through their local knowledge, which should be valued, recognized and incorporated fully, and the need to use those resources to involve local communities effectively in tourism. The focus then shifts to their inner strengths to address the shortcomings and challenges faced in achieving sustainable tourism. Such strengths can also be used to negotiate power between local communities themselves and other key stakeholders in tourism development.

6.4.1. Challenges for Local Communities

Local people embody the presence, strength, and power of CBT. In Thai Nguyen, their energy, and determination are needed to sustain their tea culture, which is the main emphasis in their implementation of CBT. However, different challenges for individuals and the communities were observed.

6.4.1.1. Challenges for individuals/local people

An important recognized issue was that local people majorly depended on and expected the support of the government.

CBT is for the local people, but they hesitate to put any investment as they consider whether they will gain economic benefits, or whether

the government will give them something. People also think that the government has to help bring in guests.

(RP19, commune leader, 19.08.2016)

This manager supposed that if Tan Cuong has good accommodation and other CBT services prepared by friendly and enthusiastic host people, visitors will keep bringing their families to Thai Nguyen, or introduce it to others, without government help.

The expectation of government support is easy to understand in the top-down governmental system in Vietnam (see Chapter 4, section 4.2.2). Local people have developed a habit of looking to the government for directives and support. Local people had huge self-doubt in their ability and power, resulting in a lack of their own control and initiatives, whereas CBT objectives prioritize local self determination. It is hard to ensure that CBT implementation will be successful, but it is important to recognize that the active attitude of local people, who directly implement CBT is extremely important.

The challenge raised is how local people themselves can think about what they can contribute and how they can recognize that they add value to CBT through different forms of participation. This also challenges belief by people in general and local people themselves that local people lack knowledge and are incapable; that all they need are specific directions. Such challenge is necessary to transform the way local people themselves see their role in local tourism development. When local people are better focused on the positive, and believe that they can do something for CBT, they prepare and equip themselves to participate. If not embracing opportunities, local people may fail to utilize their innate talents and knowledge; they will fail to believe in themselves and their communities. Therefore, changing their attitude is significant.

I also observed that whether local people heard or not about sustainable development, they hesitated and felt embarrassed when asked about the meaning of sustainable development and the significance of CBT in sustainable tourism development:

I have not heard about sustainable development so I do not understand.

(FG4, focus group 1, 08.08.2016)

I heard many times about sustainable development, it seems a very desirable concept but I do not understand at all how to have sustainable tourism, I think I just understand economic sustainability.

(RP9, non-CBT local man, 09.08.2016)

Their work continues day-by-day and somehow they had not paid attention, as it might not link to their daily life much.

Dung: Have you heard about sustainable development?

RP2: Yes, I heard about it.

Dung: How do you know about sustainable development?

RP2 (*silent for a while*): I just heard this, but I have not thought about it much...

(RP2, CBT local man, 07.08.2016)

Individuals contribute to general development. While the concepts of sustainable development and sustainable tourism development are increasingly promoted, the lack of understanding of those concepts by many local people indicates that a challenge exists since they might not yet have realized their role and importance in advancing sustainable development goals.

6.4.1.2. Challenges for the community

CBT and sustainable tourism development are to bring benefits for local people and support community development. A community with people who work together towards a general community purpose is seen as a desirable ideal. In CBT in Thai Nguyen, it is evident that people who participate in CBT and who do not, households who have and others who do not have sufficient conditions can feel differences with the others. CBT there now is based just on a few salient households.

A program that focuses on only a few households leads other households to feel isolated. It can be a critique. Alternatively, they will think that only those chosen households can do it; their households just know how to make tea and cannot do tourism.

(FG16, focus group 3, 23.09.2016)

I felt that if CBT development focused on a few individuals only, naturally, the households next to them will not be interested.

(FG14, focus group 3, 23.09.2016)

One non-CBT local man also shared that while CBT calls for community participation and attempts to secure unity, if the same salient households

participated, other local people would feel less important, excluded, and lose a sense and feel of community. The politics of difference that Young (1990) calls for should also be addressed in CBT to enable community action.

Another challenge facing the local communities is that many young people have left traditional tea work to find jobs in other areas so the continuation of tea cultivation has become a great worry. It raises concern about tea tourism development and whether tea culture will be sustainable through future generations. Because it is hard work from planting to finished products, and since it cannot ensure the selling price and number of customers (see Chapter 5, section 5.3.2), some people, especially the young generation, have left to find jobs elsewhere. For a local man, this work is still considered rural work only.

In the past two to three years, young adults have gone to work for Sam Sung factory; we have no more people to do local farm work. They work in a cool place, have a stable salary, clean hands and feet, and do not have to worry about rain and wind.

(RP3, CBT local man, 08.08.2016)

I asked the owner of a big tea store in Tan Cuong whether his children also do tea work, he sincerely replied:

No. They grow up and go to state agencies. Frankly, tea brings more than the state's salary (office job), but it is rural work, so hard that they all go out.

(RP9, non-CBT local man, 09.08.2016)

A local woman shared with me that her daughter was getting married far away from home. Luckily, she has a hard-working son, who after getting back from school, participated in tea work with his parents. Many times when weeding together, the son told her that he would learn to reduce his mother's burden. She was moved to tears.

The hard nature of tea work led some adults to accept that their children work outside. A local man, for example, told me that his grandfather had lived in Thai Nguyen since 1928. He grew big tea hills. His siblings also lived together in the village. However, gradually they all left. He now does not want his children to stay and do farm work. He motivated them to strive to study. Now the village has no youth:

Houses around here only have two adults together, no labour.
People still think that going elsewhere is better than staying.

(RP9, non-CBT local man, 09.08.2016)

So now, the local residents also face the challenge of finding labour for tea work:

Now I need to keep tea pickers, but they do not need to work here to tell you the truth. Although my house at the end of the year still gives them more money, I also buy gifts for them for the holiday.

(FG1, Focus group 1, 08.08.2016)

6.4.2. Local Power

Although challenging, local communities' participation is pivotal for tourism development, since they are the most important factor in developing CBT. Their role is recognized by both managers and officials who deployed the CBT project in Thai Nguyen. With their passion, drive and commitment for their communities, local people have the power to change their communities, especially at a time when many different barriers and challenges face them and their communities. Their talents, skills and ideas are needed.

6.4.2.1. The role of community participation in tourism development

Local people's support in tourism development of their own localities has a decisive role. Where attitudes and perceptions about tourism are negative, local people will never want to develop tourism products (see Chapter 2, section 2.3.2.1; Chapter 5, section 5.3.2 for local attitudes in Thai Nguyen).

The tourism model comes from the community. So if the local people do not support it then surely the model of tourism development in the locality will not be successful.

(RP26, CBT expert, 27.09.2016)

In the end, local people are still a decisive factor, because if we try to say and do, without local support, we cannot do it, we also cannot act in their place.

(RP19, commune leader, 12.08.2016)

As tourism planners and facilitators, government officials also confirmed the important role of local people, without whom managers can never further develop tourism in the locality:

People are the most important factor to develop the project that we deployed. They are the first and foremost to decide if this project is successful or not. In all things, we only act as planners.

(RP28, Department officer, 17.10.2016)

The role of local people was recognized as important by the local people themselves:

I suppose that local people must be the root of all development, we ourselves must be the highlight in our local tourism.

(RP5, CBT local man, 06.08.2016)

Local people welcome guests, make tourists feel safe, and welcome. The role of the people is important also for the products they make, to ensure their quality and cultural authenticity, and be true to what they promote. The local people together with their tea culture, and quality tea products would then become a highlight in the mind of tourists to the region. Many respondents specified that local people will decide whether or not the development plan will be accepted. As the local people said:

Even if the Party and the State provide more investment, if people do not support and participate, this CBT program cannot be added in our locality.

(RP13, non-CBT local man, 06.09.2016)

Managers from the central government down to the local level can only organize and help people, but how to complete the decisive work is still in the hands of the people.

(RP12, non-CBT local woman, 22.08.2016)

6.4.2.2. Local power: What can they do?

During the field trip, many stories shared by respondents demonstrated the vigorous power of local people, having made many difficult things possible. The leader of the Culture and Information Department recalled about the International Tea Festival organized in the locality for the first time in 2011. He was worried because he knew for sure that the state budget for the festival was very small. His problem was how to make it become the largest cultural festival of the city.

It was good luck that at that time the local people helped us with all their heart.

(RP16, Thai Nguyen city's manager, 05.08.2016)

Local people provided additional funds, and prepared all folk activities, so the Festival was a successful event. The province then organized one every two years.

A Tan Cuong commune's manager mentioned that in November 2015, they wanted to prepare a ceremony for the community certification as a new rural area, but the commune had financial difficulties. He and the other managers were the new leaders after the election in 2013. This was a great event, an honour, a title after a whole process of striving that not all communes have achieved. However, they were embarrassed because of the limited budget. Therefore, they discussed whether they should organize a ceremony with local people. They told him to do it big, and they were willing to support it. He happily recalled:

The economic contributions were not much but the spiritual support was great. People brought money, tea. The total value was no more than 100 million VND (US\$ 4,390) but at a difficult time, 1 million (US\$ 44) is of great value. We held the ceremony very successfully.

(RP19, commune leader, 19.08.2016)

Annually local authorities together with local people prepare a Spring Tea Festival before the Lunar New Year⁶⁰ to honour tea trees and local farmers. They gathered comments and ideas from local people in terms of size, content, form, control, and also the contribution of local people to see what was reasonable, and should they do it again this year?

They created a great motivation for us that we should not give up, we have to maintain the local festival, we have to do better and bigger, if there is difficulty they will join hands with us to make it happen.

(RP19, commune leader, 12.08.2016)

Local people again supported the local authorities spiritually and materially. Local work brought pride for people, encouraging and motivating them. As a result, local authorities felt supported so they could organize successful events for the localities.

⁶⁰ The biggest holiday in Vietnam.

Another story is when the commune wanted to enlarge the road. Thanks to the propaganda, both Tan Cuong and Phuc Triu communes have now mobilized people to donate land to enlarge the road in many places.

Tan Cuong now has many new roads thanks to the high consciousness and volunteering of local people.

(RP19, commune leader, 19.08.2016)

So a manager concluded:

If tourism is developed in a commune, local people have the number one role (*spoke slowly and stressfully*). We must be clear on that. Remember that “without local people’s support, it is impossible but with people’s support, a thousand-time difficult work can be done”.

(RP18, commune ex-leader, 11.08.2016)

This is confirmed by another communal manager:

Whether something is successful or not is due to the people. When people are united, it is easy to do, but once they are imposed upon it can never be easy to do anything.

(RP19, commune leader, 19.08.2016)

Pearce et al (1996) claim that power and influence should be dominant considerations in community tourism development. When local communities participate, it demonstrates their ability to exercise power, or at least, some influence over the outcomes of the development (George et al., 2009).

6.4.3. Local Knowledge

How knowledgeable people are is often measured by how long they attended formal education. Other ways of knowing are rarely considered, especially when people are different. Findings reveal that local power is actually created from local knowledge - the communities’ resources (capabilities, creativity and invention) – which is important to understand their strengths and potentials to contribute to local tourism development and deal with difficulties in achieving sustainable tourism.

6.4.3.1. Recognizing local knowledge in tourism development

Most local people, including both men and women I interviewed, indicated that their highest education level is high school. The survey also indicates that the

majority of respondents have secondary school attainment, accounting for 58.2 %, followed by those who completed high school (32.79%) and those who finished primary school (5.74%). Very few respondents (less than 1%) are college, university or higher level graduates.

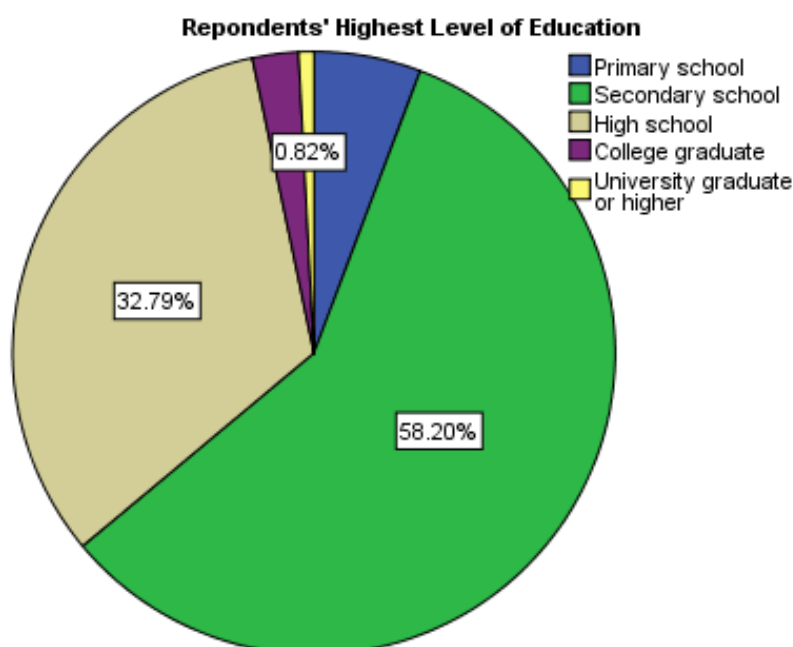


Figure 46: Respondents' highest level of education

Source: Survey questionnaire

However, levels of education do not reflect the way local people experience their lives. Through dialogues and shared stories, my study found that the community knew the issues and was capable of thinking about solutions, including identifying sources of support needed. In addition, as Saufi et al. (2014) claim, future research should address the concerns expressed by Dahles (2002) on how to provide local people opportunities to benefit from tourism development. My study is an effort to erase negative labels and to use the resources of the communities. The focus then shifts to their inner strengths to address shortcomings and challenges in achieving sustainable tourism. This was ably expressed by the CBT expert:

There is a common perception that rural local people are poorly educated, but their education level is different from their level of knowledge and ability to protect themselves locally. Now if we move to the countryside, certainly we cannot live as well as the local people. People know many things that we don't. Learning from life, learning from the very nature of the disaster that caused the

experience of life, are among many very valuable sources of knowledge.

(RP26, CBT expert, 27.09.2016)

The local people in Thai Nguyen might not know about tourism and that particular form of entrepreneurship but they have been entrepreneurs: they sell their tea. Hence, their knowledge and experiences in the locality are valuable. The CBT expert continued:

Therefore, listening to the people and filtering their ideas for development is still a core factor for CBT as well as for local socio-economic development. Because they are the owners there, more than anyone else, they understand deeply themselves and the locality.

Learning from school is just one source. Life itself is a great disciplinarian teacher contributing to personal knowledge:

Maybe they do not have the overall knowledge that we gained from formal education. But natural knowledge teaches them so much that many times we should acknowledge that we can learn much from them.

(RP26, CBT expert, 27.09.2016)

This study also addresses the fact whereby “more studies are needed to develop a model to better understand how to involve local communities effectively in tourism” (Tosun, 2006, p. 503); and “how an appropriate and sustainable form of community planning should be implemented” (Salazar, 2012, p. 11). My study argues that local knowledge should be valued, recognized and incorporated fully in order to involve local communities effectively in tourism:

If we want to help people in a way that does no harm to them and their capabilities in their communities, then the best place to start is with what is strong within them, and within their communities.

(Russell, 2016, TEDxExeter)

Focusing only on what local people are lacking can actually create four unintended harms as Russell specified: First, it defines people not by their capabilities and potential contribution but by their deficiencies and their problems. Second, the power to take action and to respond at the grassroots level retreats in the face of technocracy, professionalism and expertise. Local people have some knowledge in this area but experts can make it seem only they, coming from a developed country, can readily understand and hence transmit. Third, entire

communities start to believe that the only way that anything is going to change is when some outside experts, with the right programmes, and the right money, come to rescue them. Can we switch focus on what's strong, not what's wrong? Or else, all efforts will result in low achievement all in the name of *helping* local people.

The local rural farmers have an essential role in directly engaging with the tourists who are keen to gain rural experiences. Even if one respondent remarked:

We have not really had a chance to learn deeply, we only rely on tradition and passion.

(RP4, local CBT man, 09.08.2016)

By recognizing local knowledge, my research reveals that local communities are experts, given their practices and experiences of local issues, in traditional tea cultivation with their attachment over generations. It shows that they have unique voices to add to the conversations about CBT implementation in developing countries.

6.4.3.2. The tea experts

Local people are tea experts when they share their unique experiences in processing tea. Their experiences mean they just use the hand to feel whether the pan is cool or hot enough, or look at the fire to know whether the tea is dry enough or not because tea needs a high enough temperature to become fragrant. Or when a local woman invited me for a cup of tea, I asked what makes a great cup of tea. She explained when pouring tea: it is fragrant, and the taste is sweet and 'fatty'. The best tea is made from the top bud, the shorter it is picked, the better, sweeter taste it will have. Looking at tealeaves, local people can distinguish different kinds of tea: mid-land tea, hybrid tea, or tea from other regions such as Dai Tu, Tuyen Quang, or Phu Tho.

Tea processing has changed through the past 40 years, with local innovations in technology:

Approximately 40 years ago tea was made in cauldron woks, used in my grandparents and parents' time. Usually every afternoon, they worked from 5.30 to 10 pm to get little more than 1kg of tea. After 10 years, they could make about 2kg dry tea in 3-4 hours with their innovative tea machine. After, a bigger flat pan enabled one or two people to do tea at the same time. Through time, we have gradually developed technology ourselves.

(RP5, CBT local man, 06.08.2016)

Making tea with gas has high fuel costs, so few households can afford to. Most still process tea by burning firewood. A local man told that each house in the village still continues to improve the machines, each has its own creative capacity, the machines therefore may be different.

In difficult situations, our head works, labours lead us to be creative, we work and improve every day so that we reduce stages and expenses (*laughs*).

(RP2, participant observation, 23.09.2016)

Local people are precise when serving a cup of tea. A CBT local man explained carefully how to make a good cup of tea. The important order is "First: water, second: tea, third: way of preparing tea pot, fourth: pot"⁶¹. Tea is very sensitive during processing but also when making a pot of tea. When he poured the tea, the tea water was clear, with a great smell, no broken bran: the tea was clean, fragrant. Their respect in carefully making tea, together with a profound knowledge of tea are what tourists look for, as well as their ability to manufacture products from tea, and knowing how to prepare local food, from local ingredients⁶².

If only tealeaves are fried, the taste is very bitter, puckery and hard to swallow, but when fried with meat, it enhances the taste which is only slightly bitter. Potato soup is also cooked with tealeaves. All these recipes are thus linked to tea.

(RP4, local CBT man, 09.08.2016)

During the interview with a non-CBT local man, he ran away to pick up green veggies in his garden for me to see and to feel the sweet and light aroma. This vegetable was often combined with tea to create delicious, characteristic dishes.

I also recognized the proactive efforts of local people in introducing their products to a wider audience. Tea could be of the same type, like Moc Cau or Tom tea, however, each house creates different tastes due to their care and tea processing techniques. A local woman (62 years old), while she was sifting dried tealeaves,

⁶¹ According to him, the best water to make a pot of tea is from the mountain, but it must be filtered by limestone, unspoiled, and untouched. The right water, right tea brand and the correct way of making tea will create a great cup of tea.

⁶² Some food prepared by local people are steamed chicken with tealeaves, tealeaves with sticky rice, spiced fish with tea-leaves, and salad with tea buds.

told me she started tea work when she was 8 years old. Her household's tea products have now reached many customers in other provinces of Vietnam. It is real Tan Cuong tea so her family receives many orders. She expressed that only delicious and fragrant tea keeps guests coming. Her son has also travelled to many other provinces and dynamically improves the quality of their tea and creates new products. His facility brought tea products to serve 600 people once. He also showed me many pictures of welcoming guests, in different fairs, festivals and events. He received much positive feedback.

6.4.3.3. The skills of local residents: Self-awareness and self-learning through life experiences

Local people are not just rural farmers. They develop self-awareness and self-learning through life experiences and from acquiring skills. Sharing their experiences about bettering their lives, made me understand that the raw ingredient is their passion for their tea tradition. A CBT local man and his wife talked about their difficulties in tea caring, just like the straw put in the garden, which is no longer of high quality. Before the soil was fertile but now they have to bring up the soil from below. Local people have had to deal with weather changes. Even with fertile soil, tea trees sometimes do not grow well. According to the wife, they need life-long learning:

As for technology, we always have to learn and innovate, even though our job has generations of tradition. Last year we did well but we are not sure this year. It requires extra effort and experience. Weather changes are unpredictable. That is why we must constantly learn.

(RP29, CBT local woman, 05.08.2016)

A local man, who was never invited to CBT training, joined in many CBT tours. He shared his enjoyment and admiration of the localities' cultures and cultural identity. From the journeys, he concluded that since he had a tea cooperative, he could also develop a tour from the capital Hanoi to Thai Nguyen and then to the Nui Coc lake nearby. Some students in Hanoi also joined the tour. They wanted to sightsee and learn more about Thai Nguyen tea.

Another local man, who did not join the CBT project, became very proactive; now he has developed his household into a model of CBT. His driving passion is

traditional tea development. He introduced tea products to many regions, even brought his own raw ingredients and pans to process tea directly there. He noticed that in many places, people invested in cafes to enjoy coffee, since coffee and tea are somewhat similar he wondered how tea culture could be promoted:

By going to many places, meeting many people, and sharing ideas, I learned a lot. Since then I have an idea for the development of tea tourism. Why not introduce our locality to friends. At present, I only work at a small scale, when conditions change, I will definitely develop further.

(RP4, local CBT man, 09.08.2016)

He thus built a pergola to sit for tea with brothers or for business at his house.



Figure 47: A pergola to enjoy tea or have meals at a CBT house

(10.08.2016)

One time when sitting on a boat and enjoying drinking tea or coffee, he decided to make an artificial tea boat in which he planted tea trees, especially one ancient mid-land tea tree⁶³. He brought it to a research Institute in Phu Tho province to obtain its scientific name. He carved it into the stone under the tea tree. He explained that he had to use the right technology to keep it alive. He really hoped to be able to

⁶³ One of the first trees planted in Thai Nguyen in 1921.

introduce friends and delegations to the origin of tea trees when they come to Thai Nguyen.



Figure 48: Model of a tea boat self designed by a CBT local man
(10.08.2016)



Figure 49: Ancient mid-land tea tree planted in a local man's house
(10.08.2016)

He shared that the income from tea is not high. Expanding his model requires more financing so he will have to expand gradually. He explained ideas for programs that local people can organize for tourists such as cultural arts, local song and dance performances, and traditional games so tourists will want to stay overnight. He expressed that:

In general, my economic condition is not there yet, I want to develop a small model gradually. It is a passion. I will continue to develop.

(RP4, local CBT man, 09.08.2016)



Figure 50: Tea campus at a CBT house

(10.08.2016)

Since 2015, his family has organized tests with brothers and friends. It was really interesting and rewarding, he said:

I tested with my friends in advance to make sure it is comfortable, sharing is easier. So family members and friends will "go through" the test (*laughs*), to find out whether it is reasonable, second whether the food is suitable, and third to calculate the cost of the experience. Then I know whether it will work or not. So I have things to adjust. Then I welcome the next delegation of visitors.

(RP4, local CBT man, 09.08.2016)

His family organized programs for children from Hanoi to pick tea, process tea using a traditional iron pan, have lunch made of dishes all related to green tea

in Thai Nguyen; in the afternoon they went to Nui Coc Lake. His house has now held over 10 tea experience tours. He accepts that most are family-oriented and experimental. It has not affected the income of the family yet; he did it by passion, knowledge and relationships. Like others, people in these rural areas have constantly striven for better lives.

Their passion and dedication have led some local people to give advice, passing on local tea techniques in many other places. People have different knowledge, which can be tapped to further empower local people to improve their lives. Even though there have not been many tourists, the local people using their own knowledge, built their house beautifully:



Figure 51: Outside the house of a CBT local household

(10.08.2016)



Figure 52: Tea field landscape of country villages

(10.08.2016)



Figure 53: CBT board at a CBT local household

(10.08.2016)

The significance of the many stories shared is that they are citizens at the centre of their communities, using their capabilities, along with those of their neighbors to

make changes possible. They have a dream of improving their lives and their locality by developing their traditional tea production. As a local man shared:

Recalling traditional tea history is meaningful, but history does not make us rich; rich is when we have a dream to be rich. I am still developing tea products. Our traditional tea history is to remember and strive.

(RP14, non-CBT local man, 14.10.2016)

Humble when talking about his skills in tea making, a local CBT man believes that the knowledge he gained through life experiences is invaluable and cannot be calculated in monetary terms:

It comes from the so-called passion. When people are really passionate and devoted to something, they will find it very valuable.

(RP4, 09.08.2016)

A manager added:

When sharing ideas and learning, people promote their local knowledge; so people who are involved in that community will put them into a common activity.

(RP16, Thai Nguyen city's manager, 05.08.2016)

6.4.3.4. The ability to recognise local issues

Getting local knowledge is understanding and respecting how different interpretations of the local issues are negotiated and contested by different people in such communities (Valentine, 2014). Recognizing local voices from both CBT and non-CBT participants is also to cope with critique and challenges to some projects. Many participatory approaches neglect local power relations and inequalities, and tend to work with dominant voices as the community voice (Ansell, Robson, Hajdu, & van Blerk, 2012; Cameron & Gibson, 2005). Paying attention to local issues recognized by local people leads to know how they can be helped:

I understand that to do business, the local people are the ones who know what to do; but the important thing is that they do not know how to convince outsiders. We should learn from the local people to help them.

(RP26, CBT expert, 27.09.2016)

To actively contribute, participate in programs and festivals, local people expected updated information and support.

I and many other households dare to think, dare to do, if we have updated information, with proper support, we think we can develop for the community.

(RP4, local CBT man, 09.08.2016)

Local desire is that government will provide timely policy support for CBT. The people do not seek to rely on the government, but they expect proper motivation and support. As CBT is just starting to build, such incentives would be positive. Later, when CBT has taken root, it will continue to grow and become stronger.

Naturally if not updated, we also still do, but the development will be slower. For example, over five years, we only need three years or two years with support... It is encouraging. However, without that, we still do with our enthusiasm and experience.

(RP4, local CBT man, 09.08.2016)

Local people constantly look for a brighter future, they must be the roots of what they await. They have sufficient capabilities to deal with local challenges and can make the change they seek. As the role of local communities has not been defined clearly, it needs to be reevaluated (Sakata & Prideaux, 2013).

Local people are the most important subject. No one can replace them.

(RP27, leader of Thai Nguyen's province Tourism Association, 16.09.2016)

Russell (2016) in his Tedtalk stated:

“The solutions to the most intractable problems that we face start from the grassroots, from inside out, and they start with the belief that there is no two – tiered society where one group of people with all of the problems, are rescued by the other group with all of the solutions. There is no them and us, there is us”.

Local people also identified that the lack of infrastructure for tourism needed to be remedied. Tan Cuong commune is easily reached via the well-constructed main road so it can organize Tea Festivals. In Phuc Triu, a majority of local people reflected on the inconvenient infrastructure, the 2.5m wide but degraded state of the roads⁶⁴. 40-seat buses could not turn around. When transportation is inconvenient, not only tourism, but investors, business people, traders will also ignore the locality. Local lives are now entirely dependent on small traders.

⁶⁴ I had also observed and experienced it.

Ancient Phan Nhan, Nguyen Thi Nam tea fields were in Phuc Triu commune. The local people believe that tea trees originated there. So they hoped that when Phuc Triu has a decent road, everything will be much better.

Every house grows tea, but a good road to facilitate our locality's tourism is the issue that needs attention.

(FG8, focus group 2, 11.09.2016)

In Saufi et al. (2014), the lack of infrastructure for tourism led people to think that tourism development was not taken seriously by the government. Therefore, they questioned how it could be a secured sector for future investment. Local people in Thai Nguyen can hardly believe that tourism is possible in their locality.

While literature has insisted on the importance of local people involvement, participation and empowerment in sustainable tourism development, little emphasis has been given on how to (actually) achieve those. My study argues that empowering local people means using their knowledge and ability to know what work needs to be done with them. Local people should not be ignorant or complacent. They themselves, thanks to their knowledge, can continue to work together, to build powerful community agency, for continued sustainable development based on their traditional tea culture. The question now is how their role could be promoted and improved.

6.5. Collaboration – The Collective Power

Ellis and Sheridan (2014) claim that each stakeholder plays a unique role. Effective collaboration is, therefore, seen as ideal in tourism development as it would combine their different talents to produce creative ideas for the implementation and development of CBT. Collaboration drives growth, because working together helps to accomplish more (Ferguson, 2018). My study argues that collaboration can be seen as having meaningful 'power', as it is the combination of individuals' powers.

The politics of tourism is a struggle for power underpinned by the question of who benefits (Yasarata et al., 2010). By examining the particular context of Tan Cuong and identifying the challenges in the political system, of NGOs projects and the power structure of society as a whole, my study acknowledges that power needs to be recognized in all its complexities. Reed (1997) supposes that research should

focus on explaining the impacts of power relations on CBT rather than identifying mechanisms to disperse power.

Based on part of Foucault's work, power is everywhere (see Chapter 2, section 2.4.2). Local communities have knowledge that provides them power. Managers and NGOs also have power. It is not about a top-down or a bottom-up approach but about how to bridge them to create co-operation. Power, therefore, would be best brought out through cooperation. Collaboration should come from management in partnership with the local people, for mutual interest and mutual respect. Collaboration needs to include other stakeholders too, such as NGOs. Kusler (1991) argued that a strong 'people element' is needed in ecotourism because failure to involve even a single group may result in destruction of the resources. Foucault's work provides an opportunity to rethink assumptions about power (only in government or that rural people are powerless), to challenge these models, and understand how collaboration can work.

Collaboration is about working together: when the power of each stakeholder is combined, it creates collective power that assembles resources, energy, talents and goals, to achieve the greater success that stakeholders plan together. Energy, understanding and creativity can be magnified when many minds collaborate towards a common end (Ferguson, 2018). Only then will one observe more inclusive tourism development (see Chapter 7, section 7.5) and social change.

This section addresses what collaboration means in CBT development in Thai Nguyen province, Vietnam. It was already recognized locally that cooperation can create enormous power:

No matter what program is developed, the strength of the whole population is the champion. If local people act as individuals, that program may still happen but of course it cannot progress as much as when people band together.

(RP4, local CBT man, 09.08.2016)

Local communities should be involved to deal with local issues because they live on the land (see Chapter 2, section 2.3.2). If local power can be mobilized and the crucial role of management in tourism development recognized, this study argues that such active participation/collaboration will help achieve the desired objective. This was confirmed by all stakeholders involved in the study.

Canada only provided professional support. So at the present time, should the next step be taken by the government to organize for the people or should the people be more active in helping the community develop? Should it be the task of managers or of local communities? The CBT expert answered:

I believe it should be all together, it's faster.

(RP26, CBT expert, 27.09.2016)

This was also confirmed by many respondents, including government officials and local people:

Doing something requires hard work, then when we have it, we need to think about how to maintain and develop it more. If there is close coordination between the government and the people, it can succeed.

(RP28, Department officer, 05.09.2016)

This certainly requires both parties.

(RP1, CBT local man, 05.08.2016)

To do tourism requires a whole hand because one finger cannot do anything, which means government, local authorities and the local people.

(RP3, CBT local man, 08.08.2016)

Collaboration is desired and expected by local people, who have continued to teach themselves about tea plantation through life experiences. Tourism, however, is still somewhat new to them and they hope that sectors at all levels can join hands to help them and the locality in tourism:

We have been to many places to deliver, trade or join in exhibits to promote our Tan Cuong tea. We have learnt and gained many tea experiences. It is, however, true for our local people that CBT is a long step, which requires the combination of the state and the people. Our people alone cannot do it.

(FG19, focus group 3, 23.09.2016)

When each stakeholder partners with others, burdens lessen since they all carry part of the work (Ferguson, 2018). A CBT local man expressed:

Even if our local people try to do, it can only be a very small part, we need the government at all levels to work together with us.

(RP5, 06.08.2016)

Collaboration is positively identified to generate success:

I have gone to many places where they still face difficulties but they can develop tourism well. I believe that if the government pays attention to develop tourism and motivates the local people, we definitely can do tourism.

(RP6, hamlet leader & CBT local man, 24.08.2016)

Stakeholders' collaboration will result in effective planning and implementation of sustainable tourism (Burns & Novelli, 2008; Ketema, 2015). But who would play a major role and what are specific roles in this collaboration? Mowforth and Munt (2009) argue that "in the field of tourism, those who speak of sustainable development almost always include participation of the destination communities as one essential element or principle of that sustainability" (p. 114) (see Chapter 2, section 2.3.2). Furthermore, sustainable tourism usually requires effective governance, that adjusts to specific contexts and circumstances, so as to implement appropriate institutions, decision-making rules and practices (Bramwell & Lane, 2011).

IMPACT Leadership 21's Annual Power of Collaboration Global Summit at the United Nations (POC) was organized for the 5th year in March, 2018 with the theme "Leveraging Partnership for Sustainable Development (Impact Leadership 21, 2018). The Summit inspired global leaders to collectively pursue endeavours that embody the best of human values. Onward to 2030, the Global Summit aims to bring together all major players and stakeholders, funders and doers, to collectively accelerate achievement of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) (Impact Leadership 21, 2018). Collaboration and collective power have been put on the global agenda and should be applied in tourism development.

Nakamura (2015) advances that "concepts such as partnership, participation, collaboration, empowerment and power transfer have become popular and even normalised" (p. 166). Cawley and Gillmor (2008) however specify that collaboration can refer to complex situations. It could be difficult to achieve co-ordinated actions even within small geographical areas with low population densities (Cawley & Gillmor, 2008) because it would involve many scattered stakeholders. Recognizing the significance of collaboration in tourism development requires understanding how to actually enable collaboration. This will be discussed

in the next Chapter.

6.6. Conclusion

This chapter focused on discovering how power exists but is also resisted and challenged. Tourism policy and planning are the product of political influence that depends on the particular context. The power structure of society as a whole should also be considered. The powers of important stakeholders in CBT implementation in Tan Cuong (government, NGO, local people, and community) were examined to see where changes can happen. It questioned how power can be incorporated into more effective mechanisms for local tourism development from a deepened understanding of the problem in order to shape more appropriate solutions.

The direct participation of government illustrates its important role in managing tourism in Vietnam as in other developing countries. Government members' voices are perceived to be better than what the local people say to each other, even when relating to environmental matters. Findings, however, reveal that challenges exist also for power holders: too much work, few officers (from city or local authorities) in charge specifically of tourism, changes in leadership, and low salary. In addition, dependency on hierarchy means local government looks to higher levels for direction so conflicts exist between management levels themselves, revealing complex political processes.

Tourism opens development possibilities, and provides opportunities for the local people who wish to preserve and develop their culture, but conflicts erupt between managers and local communities generating from differing expectations and failure to recognise the importance of transparency. This dominance of top-down power (including by NGOs) was challenged in the local CBT implementation.

Alice Walker observed "the most common way people give up their power is by thinking they don't have any" (quoted in Martin, 2004, p. 173). For the local people in Tan Cuong, rural nature has actually contributed to their value – they (had to) learn(ed) from their experiences. This study challenges the conventional wisdom (even from local people themselves) that local people lack knowledge and are incapable. Their knowledge should be recognized, mobilized and integrated in further tourism development, if real change is to occur, empowering them to voice what needs to be done or what kind of support is sought.

Stakeholders should accept that they face different challenges and possess different degrees of power to fix them. They have choices in responding: blaming others or different factors, feeding the sense of insecurity and retreating to a greater level of conflict; or acknowledging the problem. Effective solutions then start with the understanding that each has a point of view, which is the root of conflicts. Individuals can benefit from knowing their experiences are not isolated, so they can feel more confident reaching out to others.

The issues raised highlight the realities of CBT implementation in Thai Nguyen. To avoid unrealistic expectations, a more practical CBT development model which addresses stakeholder conflicts effectively should be considered, one fostering more collaboration (Ellis & Sheridan, 2014), in the pursuit of *inclusive tourism development*, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7:

MAKING TOURISM INCLUSIVE

7.1. Introduction

CBT is a way to strengthen the legal rights and responsibilities of the community over their land, and to influence local tourism development. This chapter demonstrates how CBT and sustainable tourism development can be redefined in ways understood and constructed from the grassroots in Vietnam. Empowerment is to increase the opportunity for local people to control their own lives. Democracy is the foundation for community empowerment, and government officials play an important role in enabling democracy, starting from their perceptions and behaviours.

In turn, local people should be encouraged to foster democracy, because this is how they can have their voices heard. Local people should also listen to each other, learn how others think and share with each other to forge bonds that create impetus in local tourism development. People who work together towards a community purpose is seen as a desirable goal (George et al., 2009). However, the ideal notion of community has been challenged in CBT in Thai Nguyen.

True community empowerment comes from a community that is open to all and where each can feel a ‘sense of community’. Local people can become more confident in discussions that will lessen the distance between who can practice CBT and who are new to CBT. This expands knowledge and skills that exist in the community and develops an expectation of community empowerment, participation, and control. It helps local people identify what they care enough to act upon and empowers them to take actions on those issues. It enables them to fully engage in the community’s work, and achieve success. Such an approach can serve to ultimately protect and affirm the central position of local people in CBT development.

In today’s fast-changing world, however, community participation and empowerment are not enough. This study claims the importance of more inclusive tourism, for collective responsibility in upholding the central role of the local people to achieve sustainable tourism development. Countries need direct key stakeholders to commit to addressing, promoting and developing a culture of inclusion. The

process involves the engagement of government, local communities, NGOs, and other stakeholders to align with what the community desires, and with sustainable development goals. As the role of local communities and more inclusive tourism grow, it is expected that Vietnam can strongly engage in the delivery of sustainable development goals.

This chapter starts by redefining CBT and sustainable tourism in the Vietnam context, which reveals prospects for their implementation and development, transforming challenges and engaging with opportunities to move them forward in Vietnam. Learning and improving is a vital part of getting ahead. The ultimate objective of this study is to produce insights anchored in data that will inform and guide policies, provide instruments for advocacy and undertake initiatives – in order to improve the role of local people, by enhancing their capabilities and improving their opportunities. The last part of this chapter proposes solutions for better CBT implementation and to further reinforce the power and significance that it has brought to the communities.

7.2. Redefining the Concept of CBT and Sustainable Tourism Development in the Vietnam Context

As examined in the theory chapter, and although facing debates and criticism, sustainable development is an ideal but significant and desirable concept for all nations. Sustainable tourism development has also been widely accepted as a desirable objective (see Chapter 2, section 2.2.3). Those concepts have provided individual countries some sort of guidance to further their concern about the well-being of their citizens. However, each and every culture given their specific context still need to examine, define and implement appropriately these ideals. A great deal has also been written in recent years about CBT (see Chapter 2, section 2.3.1.2). CBT, however, has challenges to contribute to sustainable development and local benefits in developing countries. This section extends that scholarship by considering CBT and sustainable tourism development as understood and constructed from a local perspective in Vietnam.

7.2.1. Redefining the Concept of CBT in the Vietnam Context

A clearer understanding of what CBT means deserves more attention as CBT and the concept of community should be well defined, understood and interpreted.

It provides insights and lessons to guide government and local communities to propose how to introduce and establish them from the beginning as fundamentals of tourism planning.

As reviewed in Chapter 2, CBT is tourism managed and owned by the communities, for the communities. The concept of CBT emphasizes both that control over the planning of tourism resides in the hands of community members and that benefits are concentrated locally (Kontogeorgopoulos, Churyen, & Duangsaeng, 2014). In Thai Nguyen, the community characteristic is questioned by local people as only one to two households have officially welcomed CBT tourists while other households felt set aside. In Vietnam, the concept of CBT has been reclaimed by the local people themselves.

This study has discovered that what is needed in local tourism planning is a much better understanding of local communities themselves from a motivational and psychological perspective, i.e. what the term community means to them. If community remains undefined, the notion of CBT would remain vague because of the ambiguity regarding what constitutes a community (Beeton, 2006). CBT is about community, for more people rather than just one or several households. Only then can tourism be community-based and community-oriented.

CBT should be introduced so that a sense of community is emphasized – the feeling that all or most local people belong to the community once CBT is implemented. The matter concerned a CBT man. He said some local people may have sympathy, however, others may not. He questioned why just very few houses do CBT as a sense of community would be difficult to achieve.

It should be recognized that the whole community is, in fact, affected by tourism, and that is why one should pay better attention to (whole) communities in tourism. During both the field trip and the process of writing this thesis, I recognized that tourism had affected every local individual physically, socially, emotionally. So in that domain, there was little difference between the two groups. Local people were hopeful that many of them would gain financial benefits at the end. Even non-CBT households who have not engaged in tourism also expressed their willingness to support and/or participate, especially if in the future they see benefits from tourism. It seems that in other studies, differences exist between those who earn

money from CBT and those who do not. It is, however, not the case in Thai Nguyen because at this stage, just one household earned some extra money from CBT. I maintained the difference between the two groups in order to discover what CBT meant within the communities since this matter might have been significant.

Mgonja, Sirima, Backman, and Backman (2015) found that a lack of appropriate knowledge and skills was a major challenge to developing successful CBT projects. However, beyond that is the community sense of performing together. It becomes more important in a rural area like Tan Cuong where local people are mainly farmers and have already engaged towards each other in tea farming. CBT hence should enable them to share experiences, knowledge and practices. They can reflect on their traditions, and on the challenges and energy required to perform such traditions in CBT. They can then build on local expertise and extend their influence, cultivating their skills to make an impact in CBT.

Community spirit starts from the individual household. It seems gender equity exists in the research areas. Both husband and wife contributed to their tea plantation and business. Both of them were open in talking with people from outside their village. This creates a positive foundation for households to come together and openly talk to each other about local tourism development.

A ‘sense of community’ is needed for expression of citizenship, in a rural community like Tan Cuong. “Openness to all” (Pedlar, 2006, p. 428), particularly when the local community starts joining in tourism, is significant for the development of not just a community, but a healthy community (George et al., 2009). Engaged in this dialogical approach to planning and development, local people learn from each other because to some, concepts such as sustainable development or CBT are new (see Chapter 5, section 5.3.3). It encourages members of the community to make decisions and select priorities together, creating an inclusive and sustainable community relationship. One respondent claimed:

As a solo, CBT can still operate, but of course, it will not be significant.

(FG16, focus group 3, 23.09.2016)

Only one household cannot do CBT.

(RP12, non-CBT local woman, 22.08.2016)

The only CBT house to welcome many CBT tourists shared that few tourists stay overnight at the house, mostly foreigners. The package is now just experiencing traditional tea production; guests pick tealeaves, go bicycling, have lunch and join in tea processing, which only provides less than a day of experience. If tourists stay for the next day the sequence will be repeated, which he thought signalled a lack of expertise. Therefore, it is not attractive enough for foreigners to stay longer. A local man thinks the village must have 5-6 households with more diversified services, a sequence that lasts 2-3 days, even longer so there is something for tourists to stay longer. Then the local people themselves will benefit more. He reconfirmed that:

When there are few guests, just a few CBT households are needed.
When there are more visitors, then the whole village must participate to make it possible.

(FG14, focus group 3, 23.09.2016)

This is also confirmed by a non-CBT local woman:

Together local people can make the tour last longer, be more interesting. CBT is feasible when we ourselves improve to increase the income, the people have to stand out, they must be able to call on talents in dancing, singing.

(RP12, 22.08.2016)

Individuals need to be committed to building a prosperous shared community future. CBT should rely not on a few individuals but on the collective power of the community. People are responsible for their own work, but CBT once implemented means the community is encouraged to link and work together, smarter, considering how each person's strengths can be invested to implement tourism. The definition of CBT, therefore, should be extended as the participation of a united community.

CBT needs the community to unite and link together.

(RP12, non-CBT local woman, 22.08.2016)

A CBT local man expressed the importance of including all members of the community in local tourism development:

Frankly, everyone wants to earn. If guests only come to my house, and benefit my family, if there is nothing for all the people to benefit from, will tourists really come if they don't feel totally comfortable?

If the interests of the whole region have been taken into account, then people will respond and be more cheerful.

(RP1, 05.08.2016)

Inadequate participation results in inequitable benefit sharing (Yang et al., 2014). This might be linked to lack of information and social heterogeneity of local communities.

Building a bridge of relationships between the people involved should be put in the centre of community development efforts in CBT implementation, as in Thai Nguyen. It would reduce tensions (see Chapter 6, section 6.4.1.2). Protecting community integrity and building solidarity is arduous (George et al., 2009). However, when local people understand the community spirit and have connections in welcoming visitors, village culture and experiencing local rural people's lives could be, through tourists – local people encounters, more fulfilling.

To define the CBT concept, the conflation of community and tourism needs to be examined. CBT in Tan Cuong is understood as tourism that takes place in rural communities. I agree with George et al. (2009) who claim that we must move from seeing tourism as the subject and community as the object of development to a view that sees the community as the subject and tourism as only one of many vehicles for its development. In this approach, tourism develops from the inside out, which underlines the importance of understanding 'community'. This focus gives ownership of the plan to the community and rivets attention on the community rather than on outside ownership, or on just a small group inside the community (George et al., 2009; Graci, 2013). This focus will drive a community to give satisfaction to both locals and visitors, building community spirit and dialogue to be applied too, to other community issues that arise from time to time.

CBT is claimed to help form meaningful connections between people in a community, so members can feel a sense of belonging, so the concept of CBT will be better fulfilled, which is essential to secure its future. In addition, CBT driving change from the inside out or bottom up should be the fastest way to action sustainable tourism development.

7.2.2. Redefining the Concept of Sustainable Tourism Development in the Vietnam Context

As discussed previously in chapter 2, one can hardly be persuaded that universal development guidelines apply to all tourism development contexts. This study looks to what extent Vietnam and Thai Nguyen can align their activities in tourism development, especially through CBT implementation, with the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (see Chapter 2, section 2.2.3). Defining sustainable tourism development in the Vietnam context is important since a significant gap has been created between the idealism of sustainable tourism development and its reality in different countries. In Thai Nguyen, when asked about sustainable tourism development, local people refer to the capacity to continue and last for a long time.

Sustainable development means that the development must be continued and lasting rather than developing for one to two years. We do not welcome guests only this month or this year.

(RP12, non-CBT local woman, 22.08.2016)

Local characteristics, landscape, culture and people are the roots of tourism development (see Chapter 5), to be broadly acknowledged and protected in sustainable tourism development.

When we defend sustainably here, tourists come to the tea area because of our local culture, thus the culture must be preserved to keep the guests coming. People buy tea products, whose value is created from sweat and tears of local farmers. This also reflects the role of local people in their tea culture and tea products. That is the value.

(RP16, Thai Nguyen city's manager, 05.08.2016)

Hence, local people expressed that sustainability is keeping the way local people live and work:

Sustainable development means our people need to maintain our roots, our characteristics and culture; if we change, sustainable development cannot be achieved.

(RP2, CBT local man, 07.08.2016)

Because of those characteristics, local people feel that they can practice, and with CBT, achieve sustainability.

CBT is the way that remains natural, it is the only way that our people can go. We cannot do and we do not qualify if we want to develop modern tourism. So I think with CBT we can develop in a sustainable way.

(FG14, focus group 3, 23.09.2016)

Sustainability is also defined as finding ways to support effective agriculture, so local people can benefit over a longer term. This requires great attention to the process of producing tea according to safety standards, ensuring clean irrigation water and other hygienic farming practices. Promoting sustainability in this way is consistent with Goal 12 – responsible consumption and production:

When it comes to sustainable development, we must first talk about sustainable agriculture, so it is sustainability of tea trees, i.e. tea trees planted with progressive techniques.

(RP14, non-CBT local man, 07.09.2016)

Sustainability is the ability to keep the prestige and the quality of the CBT product, so that CBT can keep attracting tourists and be introduced to others, since positive feedback of guests will bring more tourists to the area.

I think we have to have depth in understanding sustainability. It is when we need to keep the quality of CBT and even try to do better. If guests come and they are not satisfied, then tourism can not be sustainable.

(FG11, focus group 2, 11.09.2016)

Sustainable tourism development is also perceived to promote the lifestyle of local people to constantly grow and improve.

Sustainable tourism development is when the spiritual life and economic condition of local people are raised step by step and not held back.

(RP23, commune leader, 05.09.2016)

Local people show great support for the concept of sustainable tourism development:

Sustainability is also what our local people just want.

(FG1, Focus group 1, 08.08.2016)

Their role in striving for sustainable development is significantly recognized:

Whether we can keep the cultural identity and quality of tea products. Sustainability is therefore in the hands of our people.

(FG11, focus group 2, 11.09.2016)

Sustainability is perceived to protect the tea culture and the value in passing on knowledge to the next generation even if it is perceived to require much effort.

Through travel, the culture is now admired by others, the more others come to learn, the pride local people have in their culture is enhanced. Then local people see this as a value to protect, and to preserve for their descendants.

(RP26, CBT expert, 27.09.2016)

Sustainability should be part of any discussion of a more inclusive tourism, in which the conventional top-down political approach is challenged (see chapter 6, section 6.2.1.1):

How do people get involved in this work? It is now going from the top down, not from the root, so it is not sustainable, it is forced.

(RP25, manager of Thai Nguyen Tourism Promotion Center, 22.09.2016)

Inclusiveness also means connection and mobilization of local people to work together:

Sustainability means the local people themselves must understand, unite, work together.

(RP15, non-CBT local man, 04.10.2016)

From the elderly to the children all must understand and participate in tourism to help it develop sustainably.

(RP25, manager of Thai Nguyen Tourism Promotion Center, 22.09.2016)

In this context, the next generation keeps and promotes the culture so their culture survives. They are also the ones who can help tourism thrive:

Young people must also be aware of their role in the sustainable development of tourism, at least they have to strive to learn foreign languages.

(RP23, commune leader, 05.09.2016)

As in the case study by Sakata et al. (2013), tourism is still in its early stages and the number of tourists is very low. This study builds on the suggestion that a small scale bottom-up approach would bring greater efficiency compared to the conventional top-down approach that NGOs intentionally or unintentionally imposed. Understanding the bottom-up approach, which local people still have difficulty grasping, and which would enable them to embrace and sustain their culture, is becoming more appreciated in community-based projects.

Locals are the owners of the attractions so that if they maintain, preserve and develop them, it must be done sustainably. They cannot rely on outside guardians. Therefore, since CBT activity is from the ground up, sustainability will be high by

increasing community participation. The natural environment and their culture are their valuable assets, which local communities will then maintain and preserve.

If community empowerment is to be enhanced, this study argues that the sense of belonging, of community (see Chapter 7, section 7.2.1), of collaboration between stakeholders (see Chapter 6, section 6.5) should be well-defined since it is the basis for future sustainable success. Inclusiveness is perceived to require the support of government for the long-term together with collaboration of different stakeholders:

In order to be sustainable, there must be a long-term strategy. The leadership of the communes as well as of the city, will really want to join hands with the people to obtain it.

(RP5, CBT local man, 06.08.2016)

Sustainable tourism development is a long process. To be sustainable, it requires a political system in the long run.

(RP18, commune ex-leader, 11.08.2016)

Sustainability must be of concern, real concern, long-term interest, not just for a moment, in which case it will be just fragmentary and unsustainable.

(RP13, non-CBT local man, 06.09.2016)

The United Nations' 17 sustainable development goals aim to set out the building blocks for the creation of inclusive prosperity. Making tourism inclusive is also considered a critical way towards sustainable tourism development (Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018). The previous section (7.2.1) claims that the CBT concept embraces a sense of belonging and community, as well as connections, which help achieve a sustainable community, in accordance with goal 11. The findings reveal that sustainable tourism development must also embrace governance for a sustainable community.

I argue that collective responsibility is pivotal if local farmers are to feel empowered in their local sustainable tourism development. It means they feel cared for, supported, to incorporate all they want from their experiences for their development. Local people should be heard. It is not about governmental managers telling local people what to do. The conventional approach is top-down, but has been specified as adding much less value than it used to. It constrains innovation and stifles creativity (Andrew, 2017), especially in CBT implementation. To

achieve sustainable development, government officials play a critical role. They lead to empower, and to link the work of one team with the rest of the community.

The notion of sustainable tourism development, in the Vietnam context, needs to be expanded to embrace local characteristics, governance and sustainable community unity. One of inclusive tourism's most important aspects that must be recognised is the critical role that local people and local managers will play, alongside the national government, in mobilising collaborative action to tackle critical impediments in tourism.

7.3. Prospects for CBT Implementation and Sustainable Tourism Development

Although CBT is not easily successful since it is still new to the locality studied, it is seen as the ideal way to address preserving tea culture, improving local lives, and helping the locality proceed to sustainable tourism development. Development, even though it has become a necessity in an increasingly competitive world, has always been a challenge (see Chapter 6, section 6.2.2.6). However, Tan Cuong has many opportunities for CBT implementation as this section specifically determines. Difficulties are inevitable, challenges should be embraced and obstacles should be overcome during its development process so that CBT in Thai Nguyen will progress.

The life cycle of the product always has four stages, now CBT in Thai Nguyen is at the first phase, which is the stage of formation, so it is new.

(RP26, CBT expert, 27.09.2016)

Local people still have expectations. A local CBT man told me that the Canadian experts indicated tourism development initially would be high, will then trend down to the ground and then gradually go up again. Maybe it takes 5-7 years for tourism to develop.

A model must first be built. According to the CBT expert's experiences from CBT projects in Sapa and other regions, two or three years are not enough to build a complete model. So when the project ran out of money and experts left, people felt abandoned, helpless, not knowing what to do next because it had not yet been modelled. A development project for people in remote areas must last five years or

even ten years, she specified. The Sapa project has been operating for 14 years. It means funding projects should be continued.

Since CBT started, when tourists came, people would run into their kitchen, embarrassed. Now they actively call me to help as this season has few tourists. It means that people are no longer passive, they have become active, but they must have the support of stakeholders such as the local government. Once local people are active, the government and other agencies will gradually step back.

(RP26, CBT expert, 27.09.2016)

Some people are optimistic, have passion for the development of their locality:

Now I do not dare say anything because there are no guests, it is so hard for local people to understand. However, when it is done well, I am scared that everybody will want to welcome tourists to his or her house (*laughs*). Really!

(RP8, CBT local man, 01.09.2016)

Some leaders continue to care. It opens up discussion about the prospect for CBT development in Tan Cuong, as a Tan Cuong manager evaluated:

Perhaps it is a start. Previously we (managers) did not know anything about CBT, just found it on the television or in newspapers. Now people have got a sense of what it is and what to do. The efficacy is not very high but it is a prerequisite for continuing to invest in other projects. Then I think maybe one day Tan Cuong will become a full fledged CBT area.

(RP19, commune leader, 19.08.2016)

The first step is capacity building, i.e. building human resources; the next step for CBT in Tan Cuong is product development, to attract and keep visitors:

In the next step, with the proper attention of the stakeholders, I expect CBT in Thai Nguyen will have more visitors so that households can move into the development stage.

(RP26, CBT expert, 27.09.2016)

The biggest prospect for the development of CBT and achieving sustainable development comes from the willingness of local communities (see Chapter 5, section 5.3.2), and of different stakeholders who have shown interest. This creates an opportunity between these stakeholders to collaborate. When asked about what the governmental levels expect about the CBT project, a city manager responded:

We are thinking that Thai Nguyen city will develop a long-term tourism development plan and strategy since Thai Nguyen is

identified as the center of the Viet Bac area, the gateway to the capital of Hanoi, thus promoting the potential of tourism, based on the traditions of the region.

(RP16, Thai Nguyen city's manager, 05.08.2016)

Thai Nguyen Provincial People's Committee did officially recognize Tan Cuong specialty tea area as the local tourist destination in January 2017. More tourists should know about the area and local people will have opportunities to welcome CBT tourists.

The CBT project in 2012 - 2015 was to help build a model, now according to one city manager, they can start the call for investment. The city has submitted to the Prime Minister to expand its area to 15-20 ha by 2025, to preserve the nature of the Tan Cuong tea area, and promote its culture. Several tourism companies in Thai Nguyen city are also concerned with the continuous implementation of CBT in Tan Cuong. A leader of the Tourism Association of Thai Nguyen province, who also owns a leading company in hotel and tourism there, expressed his expectation:

I look forward that CBT will be continued and successful to develop tea products and tourism potential of the province. As guests come to Thai Nguyen and stay for a few days, activities and experiences need to be developed.

(RP27, leader of Thai Nguyen's province Tourism Association, 16.09.2016)

If previously people were busy just to earn their living from tea, economic conditions have changed positively and hence local people are more willing to turn to tourism. An ex-manager of Tan Cuong commune explained:

Several years ago, the families were only concerned to cultivate tea in order to have enough rice to eat, clothes to wear. They did not have time to welcome tourists. Nowadays, the local economic condition and lifestyles have improved so local people are more open to think of doing tourism.

(RP18, commune ex-leader, 11.08.2016)

More local people, now aware of its importance, encourage their children to learn English, facilitating the development of tourism because if foreign tourists visit the area, their children can communicate, demonstrating their eagerness to learn something new.

Another positive prospect comes from dedicated young people. During my field trip, I met local farmers in their 20s and 30s who showed enthusiasm and

passion for tea products and tea tourism development in their locality. They were proactive and boldly learned, invested, changed model for their household business (see Chapter 6, section 6.4.3.3). They hoped to get rich from their traditional products, in their own homeland, and that their effort can trigger more development from local tea trees.

Ngoc and Linh, young women, own a company named Tam Thai Vietnam International Co., Ltd – aimed to develop tea products. About the company's name, they explained: Tam means 'heart' and Thai is short for Thai Nguyen; it means the heart and mind of Thai Nguyen. Their logo, 3Ts, represents Tam, Thai, and tea. They desire to bring a Thai Nguyen and Vietnamese brand into the world. They started their business without much capital but with wisdom and energy, love and enthusiasm for Thai Nguyen tea. They have gradually built their products which many tourists who visit the area buy.

Several local households in the area were also open minded, willing to help them cultivate and modify their tea hills. For example, they tried new safe fertilizers.

Of course, our strength is very small. But when we can show local people our model is reasonable, effective, and protects the value of our tea, everyone will follow.

(Linh, Vice-director, 11.08.2016)

Sustaining Vietnam's tea culture requires the participation and dedication of young generations because they bring energy, optimism and initiatives. It also underlines that sustainable development can be promoted to help the next generation meet current challenges.

Vietnam tourism has developed amazingly. The World Tourism Organization ranked Vietnam first in Asia in terms of tourism growth and sixth in 2017 among the top 10 fastest growing tourist destinations in the world (CNN Travel, 2017; Viet, 2017). Reported results are based on numbers of international visitors. In the first half of 2017, the General Statistics Office reported that Viet Nam received 6,206,336 international arrivals, representing an increase of 30.2% compared to the same period in 2016 (Thanh, 2017). This positive growth brings opportunities for more international tourists to Vietnam and Thai Nguyen.

CBT based on rural and cultural tourism in Thai Nguyen has much potential

since Chris Trott, Head of Sustainability at Foster and Partners in Singapore stated, *“People are happiest when they’re most connected to nature”*. In addition, tea is a healthcare drink. People are encouraged to drink tea and to avoid high-sugar beverages (Chan, 2011). More and more people are now concerned about this healthy product. Thai Nguyen can also take advantage of the effect from the Tea Festivals to promote and develop tourism, which is supported by the government, promoting the image of the country, people and society in Vietnam. This also helps to upgrade the Thai Nguyen tea brand, which in turn attracts more visitors.

The ultimate goal of the festival is to obtain for tea makers a more fulfilling and better life, to make tea trees actually become the key in the province’s economic development (Ma, 2015, p. 29).

Lastly, Thai Nguyen has many other famous tea plantation areas that have contributed to create the reputation of Thai Nguyen tea. CBT in Tan Cuong opens the potential ability for CBT to be implemented in those areas:

Now CBT has just been implemented in one area, not in the whole commune; we expect that gradually this will create movement for other hamlets in the commune and other localities in Thai Nguyen to do CBT.

(RP19, commune leader, 19.08.2016)

7.4. Solutions for Developing Inclusive CBT in Tan Cuong

It is important to take a critical look at CBT implementation in Tan Cuong and to understand whether CBT and sustainable tourism can be achieved or are only inspirational (Ellis & Sheridan, 2014). The findings reflect the expectation of not only local communities but also of different stakeholders. So what are the specific and practical solutions for CBT to continue successfully?

We support CBT, but now if it could be really implemented is more important.

(RP11, non-CBT local man, 16.08.2016)

This section is inspired by the decidedly optimistic world view of Bill Gates. It is a hope and trust that the world is getting better and can be improved further.

If you think the world is getting better, you want to spread the progress to more people and places... It doesn't mean you ignore the serious problems we face. It just means you believe they can be solved.

Bill Gates (2017)

Having a critical look at the project in his study, Nakamura (2015) observed:

I recognise that, as an outsider, I am privileged to know some criticisms (and complaints) that may not be directly exchanged among the community members, and that I am accepting some risk by describing the controversies (p. 175).

However,

Extraction of data and imposition of initiatives must give way to a sharing of research products and benefits and the mutual determination of development goals. Research and development must be with, and bring real benefits to, participants and ought to facilitate empowerment in ways that enable participants to develop solutions in their own lives (Kesby, 2007, p. 2814).

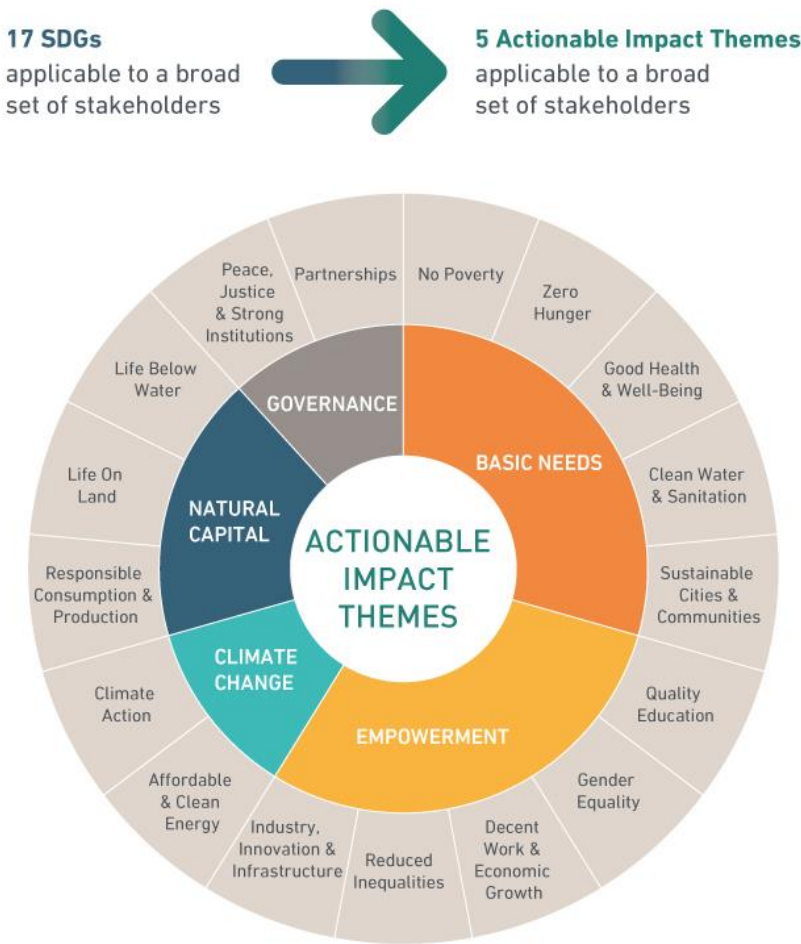
CBT for cultural development and economic benefits will have a better chance to benefit local communities if it is well planned and monitored. The solutions are proposed in recognition of the challenges and prospects of its sustainable development in Thai Nguyen and in developing countries.

Communities are often considered responsible for the outcomes (positive or negative) of sustainable tourism development (see Chapter 2, section 2.3.2). However, for sustainability goals to be reached, everyone needs to participate: governments, the private sector, NGOs, civil society and local people. The role of other stakeholders to establish collaboration and make tourism inclusive appears to be important. When key stakeholders consider realities and perhaps really think about them, they could take on these challenges, and solve them in the pursuit of CBT success.

7.4.1. Actions of Government

The challenge when working for the implementation of sustainability goals goes beyond community involvement. The Vietnam national government should identify how to support these goals more effectively. The study proposes that one

important aspect is to recognize the critical role government will play in mobilizing collaborative action to create prosperity. Saufi et al. (2014) found that government stimulus is still a major motivator for participation in tourism rather than individual initiative in the host community. In Thai Nguyen, government initiative should introduce sustainable development and CBT more widely without stifling or reducing local initiatives.



Source: MSCI ESG Research

Figure 54: MSCI 17 SDGs to five actionable themes

Source: MSCI ESG Research (MSCI, 2017)

MSCI ESG Research, an independent provider of research-driven insights into the drivers of performance and tools for institutional investors, sought to support alignment with the United Nations’ SDGs. They grouped the 17 goals into five actionable impact themes: Basic Needs, Empowerment, Climate Change, Natural Capital and Governance, and developed detailed solutions for each theme

(MSCI, 2017). The actionable themes related to Government and Empowerment can be applied to Thai Nguyen in terms of addressing how government incentives can support local initiatives.

The ability of countries to deliver sustainable development for their citizens is failing in multiple ways (ACCAGlobal, 2017). In a highly competitive global market, leadership is required to have long-term vision, positioning, partnership arrangements and innovative products. To change a destination's image or to increase its attractiveness does not happen overnight. Cultural tourism requires 20-25 years to receive the full benefits of sustained interventions, as the examples of Glasgow and Barcelona indicate (OECD, 2009). An adequate long-term strategy with collaborations through a whole series of steps, needs to be taken to develop successful synergy.

The Vietnam Government needs to raise both governmental officials' and local people's awareness of the sustainable development goals and the 2030 Agenda. A campaign could be established to invite all interested parties in sharing their vision to achieve inclusive tourism in Vietnam and in specific destinations. Partnerships and collaborations with peers, governments or civil society organizations can help translate sustainable development goals into actions and provide them with the support to contribute to the local society's well being. It sounds idealistic, but sustainability, at this time, is an idea, so a specific plan to tackle challenges, engage with emerging risks and discover new opportunities for creating value can be discussed.

However, it is true that regardless of the level of success in NGOs projects, "community members will have a daily life there, even after the researchers have left" (Nakamura, 2015, p. 179). Engagement with the SDGs is an opportunity for localities to further assume social responsibility and accountability for their activities, even as they pursue their daily work. For CBT to thrive, more stakeholders must join the project. Continuing policies, leadership, and support of city government and local managers are essential. The question now is how can managers get it done? A project that puts the community in the centre will be more effective. In turn, how can the local people be made to feel that CBT is possible in their communities?

When the project ended, local people seemed to think that the local government should have had more responsibilities:

People [NGOs] gave us [the locals] a fishing rod, so we can ourselves go fishing. Then they let the government in our province continue to develop. They [Victoria] have invested in the gray matter, in ways and methods to do CBT. The provincial and local authorities must now continue to act.

(RP3, CBT local man, 08.08.2016)

Really if we need to self-promote, approach foreigners ourselves, we do not know any channels to do so. The government at all levels needs to be really enthusiastic about the community, so we have the opportunity to welcome tourists.

(FG14, focus group 3, 23.09.2016)

The Tan Cuong commune manager agreed:

The Victoria Group only supported them in professional aspects, the next responsibility belongs first to the higher level leaders (provincial, city, functional departments) to provide guiding policy.

(RP18, commune ex-leader, 11.08.2016)

In addition, raising people's awareness of the necessity to produce safe tea products must be addressed. CBT contributes to improving the quality of local products, maintaining and promoting the brand of Tan Cuong Thai Nguyen tea domestically and internationally. The government should also issue national, regional and local policies to support and encourage local people to develop agro-ecological tourism models.

7.4.2. The Central Role of Local People in Local CBT Development

Challenges and difficulties offer valuable lessons, and experiences build strength and knowledge. The community can either overcome obstacles and grow in the process or no tourism activities can be continued. Local people have the power today to choose their future. They should be educated to believe that they have power, and capability. They are not to be exploited but are working for their improved living, so they need to be active, responsible, and upgrade their skills. When people can access the market and explore more ideas by themselves, cooperate with their own knowledge of the local cultural assets, CBT will likely be more successful. Local communities must have a voice in tourism planning, management and decision making of tourism policies in their locality. They should

participate not only in co-creation of visitor experiences but also in the marketing of those experiences. These help boost the attractiveness of regions because local communities are really part of the tourist product, and they would also increase community participation as it recognizes the role of local communities in local tourism development. Local people should be encouraged to believe in themselves:

I think local people also very much want to do that; in spirit they are very supportive but practical conditions are difficult so many think CBT is not for them.

(RP5, CBT local man, 06.08.2016)

Local people should also be encouraged to have a long-term mindset when implementing CBT:

Farmers still think if they welcome tourists today, they consider how much they could earn. However, tourism is not always like that.

(RP19, commune leader, 19.08.2016)

The results of small actions compound quickly. I am convinced that local people can do CBT if they work for local tourism development besides what they do for their basic livelihood. Sticking with their future, not just for a week, for a month, but for years, they will forge that future of successful local tourism development, agreed one respondent:

We want to have CBT developed in the locality, but we have to continue to work together and it may take months or years to achieve what we want.

(RP4, local CBT man, 09.08.2016)

7.5. Making Tourism Inclusive – A Framework to Implement Solutions

The response to realities in tourism development makes all the difference. The solution is understanding and accepting change. The Indian Prime Minister Modi addressed that the solution to the current globalization trend is not isolation; it is necessary to build a shared future (Ross, 2018). My study claims the importance to address and promote the concept of more inclusive tourism, which has been recently brought into tourism research (Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018) as an ideal that aspires to equal access and promotes full inclusion for all through stakeholder collaborations (Nyanjom, Boxall, & Slaven, 2018).

In today's unstable and fast-changing world, community participation is not enough. Countries need to put more effort into making sure that key stakeholders show a commitment to developing a culture of inclusion. It involves the engagement with/of government, local communities, NGOs, and other stakeholders, process that moves in combination with identifying what the community desires and aligning with sustainable development goals. Development can be inclusive only if all groups of people contribute to creating opportunities, participate in decision-making, and share the benefits of development (UNDP, 2016).

Despite the limitations imposed by factors such as lack of community participation and of an appropriate legal system, as identified by Tosun (2000) and others, there exists a growing number of successful examples of CBT in developing countries. They include destinations in Nicaragua (Zapata, Hall, Lindo, & Vanderschaeghe, 2011), Namibia (Novelli & Gebhardt, 2007) and Papua New Guinea (Sakata & Prideaux, 2013). These studies indicate that CBT successes result from meaningful and effective collaboration of different stakeholders. Rocharungsat (2008) confirmed that in some Asian countries, success occurs thanks to strong partnerships with external support organisations that assisted with financial and human resource improvement.

Power (re)distribution, as critically discussed in Chapter 6, would be encouraged by a model of cooperation. Local communities, managers, NGOs and other key stakeholders have power, each in their own way. Collaboration is extremely important in CBT development (see Chapter 6, section 6.5), even though it is acknowledged that its practical implementation is not easy. It is, therefore, increasingly meaningful to look at how collaboration could be created. First it should come from the work of management in partnership with the local people as they are the two major actors in local CBT development, and then combining collaboratively with other stakeholders such as NGOs and tourism agencies. Such collaboration is based on mutual interest and mutual respect and it is also necessary to understand how that works. The solutions proposed in this section focus on combining the collective power held by the different stakeholders.

7.5.1. Collaboration between Governmental Managers and Local Communities

This study takes a closer look at collaboration between the insiders, including government and local communities since they were referred to the most. However, one challenge for the government is that the hierarchical management mode is no longer suited to sustainable tourism development, specifically in CBT (see chapter 6, section 6.2.2). Hall (2011) suggests that sustainable tourism governance will be improved by considering the potential reasons for “policy failure” and how failures may be reduced. This requires “policy learning” based on previous and new experiences. This study argues that in order to create awareness as well as to persuade local people to participate, democracy and empowerment should be enhanced.

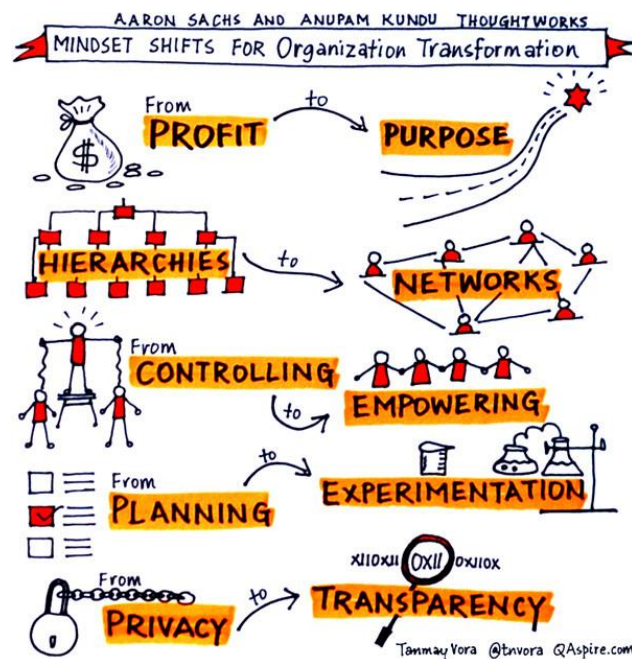


Figure 55: Model adopted from Tanmay (2015)

The model adopted from Tanmay (2015) represents the mindset shifts necessary for organizational transformation. It suggests that hierarchies in management should be shifted to network relationships, from managers controlling to empowering employees, and from privacy to transparency. Such approaches are recommended to enable organizations to cope with challenges of management in the current global situation (Andrew, 2017). I consider such a transformation applies also for communities in which hierarchical relationships exist between managers and local people, as in Thai Nguyen.

However, in practice, much sustainable tourism policy learning has only been technical in nature (Hall, 2011) with little progress among policy-makers in adopting governance change. The profound shifts in the policy paradigm and goals also depend on conceptual learning (Bramwell & Lane, 2011). It means that political staff need to understand that political power is changing at great speed (Ross, 2018). Will the managers in a hierarchical management system as in Vietnam be willing to change and adapt?

As it is difficult to achieve inclusive and active forms of participation among tourist destination communities, CBT as a whole has also been criticized because of its inability to overcome the global, national, and local power inequities that limit community benefits and constrain community control over tourism in their own domain (Blackstock, 2005; Butcher, 2012). To collaborate well is to recognize how to utilize local power. Transparency, democracy and community empowerment, therefore, should be better cultivated in the relationship between managers and local communities. Since the statement below is true, a mechanism to better implement CBT can be adopted gradually:

From when people do not understand to when people support, people decide and invest themselves in tourism, it is a long process.

(RP19, commune leader, 19.08.2016)

7.5.1.1. Transparency and accountability

Transparency and accountability are fundamental to obtain community participation and empowerment. Much misunderstanding and conflicts of expectations between managers and local communities or between the local people themselves (see Chapter 6, section 6.2.2.5) should be carefully limited especially when a tourism project is brought into a locality (see Chapter 6, section 6.3.2). In addition, as some members of the community may prefer to focus on economic opportunities other than tourism, empowerment to become involved in CBT may be limited (Mendoza-Ramos & Prideaux, 2014). To collaborate needs increasing awareness of local people through transparency and accountability about the latest government's plans:

It is important to create awareness in people so that they can be attracted and persuaded to participate. That is the most important thing, the most basic to be able to do CBT.

(RP13, non-CBT local man, 06.09.2016)

In most places, for tourism planning to happen, a majority of people need to support it, because it requires the allocation of resources, which, in turn requires mobilization and “a game of addition rather than subtraction” (Former US President Barack Obama, 2015). CBT is based on communities themselves who must welcome strangers as guests in their locality (Chapter 2, section 2.3.2). Transparency is making clear how CBT gets into the community: transparency is needed during the progress of the project and afterwards to avoid misunderstandings and conflicts. It should then attract a more positive attitude, support and participation of local people. Governmental managers can make the whole process as clear as possible, as one local manager expressed:

How we make it transparent for people to understand that CBT may not bring money right away is important. We need to build up the movement and gradually when it develops then local people can get economic returns. When managers communicate well, people understand.

(RP18, commune ex-leader, 11.08.2016)

Trust, transparency and accountability are matters that governments need to address. However, the findings reveal that direct communication between local managers and local people was still limited (see Chapter 6, section 6.2.2.5).

The local people themselves questioned their ability to understand and participate in local tourism development.

I just heard a bit about it but I do not understand (*laughs*). Only those who go to CBT training have better conditions and knowledge about CBT.

(FG4, focus group 1, 08.08.2016)

A lack of information related to tourism issues and tourism projects will not only restrict the local people’s understanding and knowledge of tourism, but also discourage their empowerment (Cole, 2006). Managers need to understand that this barrier actually exists, so they can recognize what local people perceived are priorities in CBT. Complex issues of participation and inclusion remain central to the creation of equitable, sustainable, and integrated rural tourism (George et al., 2009).

Coming from our ideas and enthusiasm, we really want the local and provincial authorities to transmit information to us and to introduce guests to the locality.

(RP4, local CBT man, 09.08.2016)

People really like it, but a large number do not understand about CBT. It is desirable to be able to train and help people to have more access to CBT concepts.

(FG13, focus group 2, 11.09.2016)

7.5.1.2. Democracy and empowerment

Conflicts exist between government officials and local people (see Chapter 6, section 6.2.2.5), so when CBT is implemented in the locality, the government officials should expect that problems will be identified early so they can be solved. The study suggests that managers also should be able to evaluate what works and what does not work and make adjustments. They need to be honest and constantly re-evaluate and re-assess what they are doing, and be open to new information and criticism.

The province has conducted an annual CBT training program, however, few local people participated. They commented that the trainings did not take into account reality as they were mostly about issues of restaurants and hotels, none of which exist in these villages. Locals have had increasing awareness of hygiene and food safety (such as putting green tea leaves on a canvas). However, many have not, so tourists hesitated about this matter. Such issue should be paid attention to in training. Local people have the rights and voices to challenge government about programmes that the government aims to organize in their support. They also have the responsibility to hold government to account to address how a programme is effective and useful to them.

Former US President Barack Obama once shared the lessons he learned on leadership, power and effecting change. So often we think of leadership “as someone at the top who is ordering other people around”, Obama said (in Kowitt, 2017). He discovered that leadership was teaching people who thought they did not have a voice to speak up about the things impacting their lives. The focus should be on what local communities not only care about but care enough to act upon. This chapter illustrates that by looking at the strengths and voices in the communities,

we also can figure out how to negotiate a more respectful and sustainable relationship between local communities, project implementers and the government, to uphold local communities' role in tourism development.

Therefore, we have to maintain relationships with people so that when we have the opportunity to develop, we can link with them again.

(RP28, Department officer, 05.09.2016)

Empowering local people also means that they become aware of the power they already possess, so they can request participation forcefully. Empowerment means people actively participate, contribute opinions to relevant policies issued, and their voices are paid attention to. Although local people have not had many opportunities to contribute their ideas, the majority of respondents perceived that they should have a voice in their local tourism development. Findings from the questionnaire survey indicate that 71.31 % of the respondents agreed; 27.05 % strongly agreed and none of them disagreed.

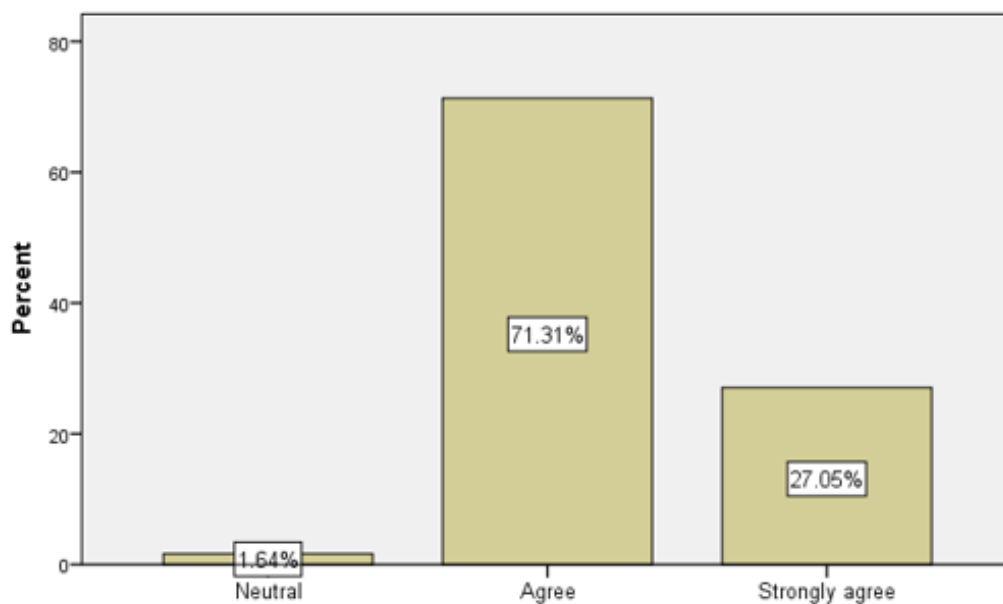


Figure 56: Local people should have a voice in local tourism development

Source: Questionnaire Survey

Democracy can be seen as the foundation for community empowerment (Chapter 2, section 2.3.2.1). The first step in community tourism development is to help each farmer become more efficient. This means CBT should be understood as strengthening the legal rights and responsibilities of the community over their land,

supporting them in maintaining ownership of their land and their culture. Empowering local people is a necessary way to avoid lack of community participation, which results in weak capacity of local people in negotiating equitable and sustainable relationships with other actors and agencies in tourism development (Southgate, 2006). Collaboration means recognizing their voices in a democratic way:

I think democracy is important. It is also a condition for people to express their thoughts and desires. We also need to understand that, in order to be better at our consulting work.

(RP28, Department officer, 05.09.2016)

The empowerment of local people is very necessary. From that local voices can be heard.

(RP19, commune leader, 19.08.2016)

It will enhance the belief and confidence of local communities in tourism development as a leader of Khuon 2 hamlet said:

Our people are still not confident that we are able to do tourism.

(RP6, hamlet leader & CBT local man, 24.08.2016)

The community in Bittar and Prideaux's study (2017) did not feel confident to exercise some control and felt it hard to get involved in local managerial decisions. The community remained a passive rather than active participant. This happens often in rural communities yet other stakeholders do not raise the issue. As a result, local people have almost no control over the management of the venture. Scheyvens (2002) noted that if an external stakeholder has the ultimate authority to determine the price and form of the tourism experience that is delivered, then empowerment is more than the community being able to exercise control. The community must also have the skills, knowledge and importantly the confidence to exercise power. Continuous training is therefore still needed for local people (Ap, 1992; Okazaki, 2008; Stronza & Gordillo, 2008).

Empowerment hence is the process through which individuals, households, local groups, communities, regions and nations shape their own lives and the kind of society in which they live (Okazaki, 2008; Scheyvens, 2002). When local people feel appreciated, they become much more likely to engage with local activities, they

feel more confident in contributing ideas (George et al., 2009), which has been confirmed through my discussion with the CBT expert in Thai Nguyen:

Dung: Should people be listened to when they comment on local policies?

CBT expert: This has become the direction of the government, in terms of increasing the right of people to participate. Now all must go up from the bottom. Listening to the people is very important.

(RP26, CBT expert, 27.09.2016)

She claims local people must be consulted about training. In developing an authentic tourism product, they will know best their culture. They have actually oriented experts and managers who then provide modern knowledge to support the products' creation. Managers or experts do not know traditional houses, but they know about hygiene, safety and cleanliness, so they train the people about that. However, modern architecture and way of living of the local family should not be imposed (e.g. concrete houses), as they would differ from the local way of building, not offering a traditional culture experience.

The CBT expert gave me another example. Local people in another locality had no money to buy blankets in the market. When the expert asked what they laid on in cold weather, they replied they used a grass, or paddy-mattress. However, they were afraid that tourists would be repelled by insects in the dried grass, which is still also often moist. The expert told local people to clean and dry the mattress, put it into a plastic bag and use it when visitors come. When visitors came, they really liked the paddy-mattress with its smell of rice. The local people then felt more confident in introducing tourists to their ways which is what tourists often seek in CBT. The CBT expert called it collaboration of two important partners, local people and managers/experts in creating an authentic local tourism product.

It is important to raise the question of who (in the local communities) wants to join in tourism as the fundamental first step, who wants to develop a homestay? Managers or experts then can support and advise:

We should let the community itself decide then advise; we should not impose on them. Who wants to develop a homestay can take me to their home, and show what they intend to do. People should always be asked to take the initiative. For that we need good feedback, I do like this, it is good, but in my opinion they can do more than that.

(RP26, CBT expert, 27.09.2016)

When local people have autonomy and self-determination in their work, it increases their power and their active participation.

“Power that does not invite resistance is more powerful” assert Yang et al. (2014, p. 1165). When local people are empowered, conflicts tend to dwindle since there is less to oppose. District and commune officials’ awareness should be raised about this matter. When leaders mentioned that local people know little, the expert invited the district’s deputy head to a local meeting so he could hear what they know. He concluded that he was still too bureaucratic, he had to learn more from local people.

Community empowerment enables proper connection between managers and local people as a city official explained:

Local people do not know whom to discuss tourism related issues with and how. There is still distance between government and the people. They do not have a chance to speak their minds and about their aspirations.

(RP28, Department officer, 05.09.2016)

Respondents confirm that local management are aware of this problem.

Dung: How is empowerment carried out in Viet Nam and in Thai Nguyen?

RP8: It's still normal now. This is due to the fact that people still wait for direction, so the empowerment of people has been constrained.

(RP8, CBT local man, 01.09.2016)

Another local man added:

Dung: Has democracy been established in the locality?

RP3: It is not possible here, policies are all issued from the top down.

(RP3, CBT local man, 08.08.2016)

Consulting local people will help improve their welfare. The CBT expert mentioned how a foreign project was implemented to help an ethnic community in North Vietnam build a cultural market to sell local goods. Local people were not consulted about its construction; after it was built, no household used it. It did not fit the culture of the ethnic people. Project implementers built a modern city market. The area was tight, space was closed, so nobody wanted to get in. The police forced

people to sit, if no police arrived they left. The market should suit their expectations and habits, no one can force them. The CBT expert concluded from her experiences:

To do something, invest in, or want to support the local people, but without consulting them, will be useless (*emphasis*).

(RP26, CBT expert, 27.09.2016)

Listening to the people is necessary, especially by the direct leadership, before establishing policies on specific activities such as tea and farmers. It is not just about listening; their ideas should also be taken into account. The investment in a program, a project, a plan may be very expensive, a lot of efforts put in but without buy-in from the local people, it will only bring very low efficiency, or be a waste of money, and of time.

We support people to create for their use. They will also be the ones who will grow and protect it, then it must come from the practical needs of people. The people must have a voice. The people must be involved. Then it will succeed.

(RP26, CBT expert, 27.09.2016)

Another example shared by the CBT expert was a state program to build a cultural house in a Northern province in Vietnam. Once finished, it was always locked. The culture house did not fill the spiritual needs of the ethnic people. Therefore, the investment was a huge waste. The CBT expert confirmed:

This is the consequence of not listening to the community, so if we want to act for the community, then listen first and collaborate with local people.

(RP26, CBT expert, 27.09.2016)

A manager confirmed:

If the commune has implemented, it means people participate voluntarily. If they do not agree, we cannot force them, it is also not a civil obligation law.

(RP18, commune ex-leader, 11.08.2016)

Murphy (2013) argues that by being involved and having some control, a community can shape the type of industry that is most appropriate to its own needs, which then raises the quality of their life (Choi & Murray, 2010). The CBT expert exclaimed:

Once the decision is made by them, they naturally want to follow.

(RP26, CBT expert, 27.09.2016)

Managers play an important role in enabling democracy in a community, starting from their perceptions and behaviours. Yang (2014) claims that effective management is the key to achieve sustainable tourism development, because, aside from providing direction, it can stimulate democratic processes and, as a result, offer the means to implement progress (see Bramwell & Lane, 2011).

A commune's leader born there, understood the tea tree, the people here, what they wanted, what difficulties they were facing, what people needed. Before big events such as preparing tea festivals, he needed and had occasions to discuss and prepare with local people so they could mobilize funds for the festivals and a commune's certification ceremony (see Chapter 6, section 6.4.2.2). He recognized that not all local leaders are aware of the importance of asking locals' opinions and empowering them. He suggested that local leaders should be willing to have direct discussion. Knowing how managers and local people can work smarter together is essential for positive, efficient, and impactful problem-solving.

This is not to say that I am more responsible, or more enthusiastic but communal authorities in charge of tourism should be more committed, they should go more closely with local people.

(RP19, commune leader, 19.08.2016)

Democracy and empowerment will increase the benefits and welfare of the people because policies then would be more effective, since local people are implementing them rather than others, whose roles are mainly leading and gathering. Democracy, hence, should be built through openness and transparency. When there is information transparency, there is enlightenment. Even when there is debate, there will be solutions.

Democracy is difficult. But people have the right to say what they think. The effective mechanism now seems to be recognizing that if democracy is to work, we have to respect the right even of people who disagree most because if democracy is just a slogan, it may never last (Former US President Barack Obama, 2015). Transition takes time, but as long as this kind of change is encouraged, it can really make a difference.

Empowerment, or listening to people's opinions, is necessary, for those who have direct engagement in that activity. The study reinforces Mendoza-Ramos and Prideaux's (2017) conclusion that substantial community support is required to achieve tourism success. It also emphasizes the importance of supportive community leadership and their ability to work with government agencies and the private sector. Such process requires informing, educating and training local people, government officials and local businesses to increase public understanding about community empowerment, difficult to accomplish within the current political system.

The government must continue to advise on policies and directions, but the people themselves need to ensure their whole process of production and economic development.

(RP16, Thai Nguyen city's manager, 05.08.2016)

An ex-manager expressed that Thai Nguyen people are very interested and proud to promote their tea. Appropriate programs that people understand are easy for them to accept and follow. So how can managers help local people feel empowered?

We have to widen the table to have more comments; this is the key. From that we can understand which difficulties exist. If we make decisions ourselves, without local people's support, they can hardly be implemented.

(RP18, commune ex-leader, 11.08.2016)

People can find it difficult to tell directly the agencies, organizations and authorities what they think. The job of government should be to bring people together to develop a common vision. An appropriate environment, which allows people to comment, to be inspired, could be the most effective method. A city official confirmed:

In fact, only through live meetings for discussion with local people, could concerns of localities be addressed.

(RP28, Department officer, 05.09.2016)

According to local people, there must be media channels at the local level, and the government must do its utmost to facilitate understanding. It would be best if local authorities provide training and meetings in each zone, each cluster, several times, so the whole village can know and understand.

With the right orientation and support, people themselves will be more eager to participate.

(RP3, CBT local man, 08.08.2016)

Public meetings are often seen by planners and developers as an obstacle to be overcome and not as an opportunity to engage the public fully to share authority and ownership (George et al., 2009). Local government needs to understand how the local people can be empowered to make choices that are best for them, rather than merely serve them or self-decide:

Just forcing local people to act without reaching out to them, will of course make them feel uncomfortable.

(RP27, leader of Thai Nguyen's province Tourism Association, 16.09.2016)

It would be good to survey and evaluate what conditions local households are lacking, how many guests each household can welcome. Those can be proposed to the People's Council, so they see how to distribute funding, and support... The local people can contribute to this process.

(RP25, manager of Thai Nguyen Tourism Promotion Center, 22.09.2016)

Having an appropriate approach with local people can make them understand and feel motivated. As a result, local people could address the local issues. This manager, who was not directly in charge of CBT implementation in Tan Cuong commune, expressed:

Dung: What do you think about empowering local people so that they have more voice and more decision-making power?

Sy *(replied immediately)*: It is necessary and very important *(emphasis)* to make policies in the right direction. It is almost like a sociological investigation, do you like to do the program? This time I intend to do this, build the other, what is your opinion about this; so people can give their ideas.

(RP19, commune leader, 12.08.2016)

An empowered community is one that has the ability to respond as a collective to the question: What do they want their community to look like in the future? Creating a vision in response to this question provides the starting point to engage in the planning process (George et al., 2009). The question is how to motivate people, to make them really participate, engage and be enthusiastic about local tourism. While the local people have such power, once their enthusiasm for tourism is increased, they may create change for the locality. As farmers become

empowered to overcome struggles that they may face in life – to become better farmers, entrepreneurs and leaders - opportunities should be created for them to participate.

Tourism planners and other community officials responsible for development have not been well schooled in the nuances of constructing community engagement in the planning process (George et al., 2009). My findings reveal that a program needs to reach a wider community.

Our people must have a State program to guide us. Some families have abilities, but we have no conditions and skills. Community development must include all people, I mean.

(FG19, focus group 3, 23.09.2016)

Another local man expressed:

If there is a community, all local people must be heard together, propaganda information must be understood and shared.

(RP5, CBT local man, 06.08.2016)

7.5.2. Collaboration between Members of Local Communities

Participation and support of the people are pivotal to achieve CBT success and that is possible when they have a common concern and common interests. Collaboration is essential, between managers and local people and between local people themselves. This challenges management levels to think about how to engage them better, and develop a ‘sense of community’ (see section 7.2.1). By sharing, local people can also become more confident in discussion as this process will lessen the distance between perceived winners (who can practice CBT) and perceived losers (who do not). This expands the knowledge and skills that exist in the community (see Chapter 6, section 6.4.3) and develops an expectation of community participation and control that bring values for the community in tourism development.

The communities studied were relatively homogeneous since all are farmers (producing either tea or bonsai trees). The main differences were age, gender and income. It also indicates the micro-scale of the study. The power in the local stories, traditions, and myths gathers the community. This then supports community desires to move forward in sustainable tourism development.

Stories need to be shared between members of the community, stories of their neighbours, of the community, of people who do not support tourism or want to do tourism but are not active. A movement cannot mobilize large numbers of people unless individuals are able to listen and hear the story of the person next to them. The thesis argues that it is important that local people listen to each other, learn how others think, and share with each other, to forge bonds and diminish feelings of isolation. Members of the community should be able to talk not only to governmental managers, but also to people who are not joining in CBT, to the larger community. The stories can go viral, and lead people to meet each other, in spite of their busy work and life.

However, as Sakata and Prideaux (2013) noted, it should not be automatically assumed that all members of a community will work together despite the apparent benefits of cooperation. When it comes to CBT, some resistance may occur, but the findings uncovered that nobody explicitly said “I am sorry, I do not want to develop CBT in my hometown”. In the case of Thai Nguyen, when one household is doing CBT well, that story should motivate local people, not separate them. The family should sustain their story and the community should build on to it. There should be broad agreement that for CBT development to be reached, it must be known by all local people, understanding the CBT plan as well as its sustainable development goal for tea culture. Then they can look for how to improve it.

In implementing a tourism project, the focus should no longer be on what’s wrong but also on what’s right. Local people can encourage each other that they must persist if they desire change from tourism development. Their communities cannot suddenly be transformed. So often humans get impatient. Some could not see an immediate benefit from CBT so they felt discouraged, disappointed or frustrated (see Chapter 5, section 5.3.3). Their response to it, and their ability to build on it, are what counts.

The findings show that local people themselves not only can identify the local issues and barriers but are also capable of determining how they can deal with them (see Chapter 2, section 2.3; Chapter 6, section 6.4.3.4). Rosabeth Moss Kanter says that *“when we do change to people, they experience it as violence, but when people*

do change for themselves, they experience it as liberation” (extract in Russell, 2016). This study reveals that together the local people themselves can generate great knowledge that significantly contributes to the development of their own communities. It means starting with the abilities of people in their communities to improve conditions while creating a more inclusive community.

CBT must pay attention to the capacity of local people to act collectively to control and to gain in common (Ketema, 2015). When I asked local people how CBT could be performed more successfully, they considered that a common voice, common dedication, was one of the most important factors. Many local people shared this point of view:

The level of the people's knowledge is different. The economy of each family is different. The common voice is not there because “every person has a different voice”.

(FG10, focus group 2, 11.09.2016)

To be honest, I am very dedicated to our local tea tree. I hope the local people will share and have a common voice to work together. When there is a common voice, tourists come to any place that will feel comfortable.

(RP8, CBT local man, 01.09.2016)

As in the Sapa case, if Tan Cuong were to receive 50 guests, then 10 households would need to prepare. It would be expected that local people get to know more about welcoming tourists and developing local tourism so that they can work together to welcome guests. Local people expressed:

In one family, if husband and wife, children live without a common voice, it is hard. Here there is a whole group of hundreds of households, not counting the individuals; the common voice is very important.

(RP8, 01.09.2016)

The tradition of the people has been to make tea for ages now, even without programs, people still do, still work. But there are programs that must be widely diffused, everyone is listening; any program that has the support of all the people is the champion.

(RP4, local CBT man, 09.08.2016)

I believe when we are familiar with tourism, we can together learn how to pull the customer, we will get smart, train ourselves.

(FG1, focus group 1, 08.08.2016)

Some studies recognize the primary importance of social capital, which includes trust, social networks and social memory, as well as knowledge and experiences in dealing with change, in creating positive change in society and/or achieving sustainable tourism development (Claiborne, 2010; Emery, Fey, & Flora, 2006; Moscardo, Schurmann, Konovalov, & McGehee, 2013). My study considers that for rural communities such as Tan Cuong, social capital is essential for the communities to adapt to and to shape change.

Mobilizing people, inviting them to bring their ideas and skills (their social capital) to create a better community, are the power and the potential that come from the grassroots, the ability to generate great ideas together, the foundation to work together. It defines community agency, a notion that Matarrita-Cascante et al. (2010) refer to as strong community interaction, open communication and tolerance with a highly positive impact on community participation. It is also a reflection of the ability to adapt and manage to resolve local issues. So even if the community is heterogeneous, with community agency, these differences could be transcended to establish a kind of consensus towards desirable outcomes for the whole community (Wilkinson, 1991).

Community agency also enables the effective use of social capital. The literature specifies little about how to build such agency. The findings recommend that future community-based projects and external advisors pay more attention to obtain strong and long-term community agency (Sakata & Prideaux, 2013). That's when local people have a sense of empowerment. And that's how they can extend themselves because they are part of a team. Most great achievements are done by a group, which is, as my study argues, the meaning of collective local power.

George et al. (2009) claim that the creation of a community vision, which should not be confused with developing a vision for the product, is necessary at the beginning of the tourism process. When the tourism product is implemented, ongoing evaluation and monitoring of such vision should be conducted to examine possible changes in the community through the introduction of that tourism product. Based on the initial conditions, government planners and developers who support CBT rather than exploit the local culture for the developers' benefit, can work with local communities to make the changes required to develop the community vision.

When community agency is directed by community vision, it is much more likely that communities would strive for their vision. As a local CBT man affirmed:

Society in general and all households in particular are aiming to develop, no one wants to go backward. When we understand that CBT development is a meaningful vision for our locality, our people will definitely look forward to implement and achieve that vision.

(RP5, 06.08.2016)

Leadership is a key issue in tourism planning. While most communities, including marginalized ones, have an abundance of potential leaders, these individuals may need to be discovered and encouraged (George et al., 2009).

Each community must have community builders who will support the village and the individuals to identify what is strong within them and figure out how to use what's strong to address what's wrong, and make what is strong, stronger still.

(Cormac Russell, TEDxExeter, 05.2016)

Boonzaaier (2012) pointed out that the establishment of institutions based on a traditional authority system can enable role-players at the grassroots level to introduce management systems that ensure their particular needs and affiliated values. Hence, careful management for the development of CBT needs to be vigilant against such outcomes.

Developing any particular project takes time. As leaders also meet difficulties (see Chapter 6, section 6.2.2), their job is not trying to do everything themselves, but organizing people, each of whom has different talents and skills. They must be joined in a common vision about what needs to get done but then leaders must give the community the tools to accomplish it, including necessary investment (Former US President Barack Obama, 2015). A participating community, my study claims, is a community in which each has a role, and all are working together to build belief and confidence in the potential for further tourism development. That really means collaboration.

Each place is different; before tourists visit the locals, they have already found out such information. The state wants to develop this area, that's why the state chose our area for tourism as it has its own characteristics. Hence, to do that, we should not be afraid, we should feel more confident.

(RP6, hamlet leader & CBT local man, 24.08.2016)

The more managers can support public opinion, the more response from the community they can observe. It will also ensure that the people in charge are responsive. CBT could be implemented well if managers are firmly convinced. Local people have the power today to choose their local future. That power is collaboration power that local people can create themselves.

7.5.3. The Participation of Other Stakeholders – How They Can Collaborate

My findings reveal that the current number of CBT households in the villages was too small. Tourists just experienced the same activities in different households. It was insufficient to attract international tourists to stay overnight so the local people could not earn more benefits. It demonstrates that CBT needs to be improved. The participation of other stakeholders is needed in creating more CBT services and to diversify tourism products.

What is needed is how the tea products can be made richer and more sophisticated.

(RP25, manager of Thai Nguyen Tourism Promotion Center, 22.09.2016)

Roberts and Hall (2001) underline that one of the major challenges of rural tourism is how to increase the appeal of small-scale rural attractions. This issue was discussed in focus group 3. Other attractions could be created such as spa services from tea products (e.g. matcha – tea powder), for tea bath, tea candies, tea for cooking, making special and unique tea pots. Collaboration of different stakeholders helps develop and turn ideas into real products. When tourists visit the area, they may want to buy these souvenirs for themselves, for their families or friends.

The area should consider opening more teahouses, and places for encounters, exchanges, and cultural features. Local people can build Internet café/tea enjoyment facilities to create more stopping places for tourists. Enjoying tea in small rooms with folk songs can make an impression on visitors. Thai Nguyen should have tea lanes with geographic indications. During my field trip, I met tourists who went to the area by themselves and they did not know how and where to visit in the village. Signage in English and more Vietnamese signs should be placed for tourists so they can encounter different activities in the communities.

David, a Czech tourist, expressed that extending tourist services in the Thai Nguyen area is needed as the level of services is low – no tourist information center, no official car rental, and no maps. Noda, a Japanese tourist also commented:

Tourists need information. In Japan most people know very little of Vietnam and do not know that Northern Vietnam is one of the homelands of tea trees and still produces excellent tea. Thai Nguyen Province is so far, geographically and mentally, therefore, few Japanese make plans to travel to Thai Nguyen Province.

(Tourist questionnaire, 15.11.2016)

He, therefore, suggested that utmost efforts of CBT should be in providing information about Thai Nguyen's tourism attractions, by setting up tourist information centers in major cities both inland and overseas e.g. in Hanoi and Saigon Airports, and Railway Stations. CBT in Thai Nguyen requires support for promotion. CBT in Sapa which welcomes the largest number of tourists developed a very good website model. Web pages are very effective and powerful ways to give information to tourists. David, the Czech tourist proposed his recommendations after his visit to the area with friends:

Thai Nguyen could introduce a tourist information centre with English speaking staff, maps of the area with marked areas worth a visit, improving electronic (internet) information about car and motorbike rentals in Thai Nguyen.

(Tourist questionnaire, 09.11.2016)

Convenient transportation is also important for tourists visiting Tan Cuong. Bus services, or car rental to access tea producing villages and tea farms are essential.

Local people also expect the support and collaboration of other stakeholders to help them create sequences to enrich tourists' experiences.

I really think that authorities at all levels have to join hands with people to make a model for guests to have new experiences.

(FG14, focus group 3, 23.09.2016)

An alternative approach is to bundle different types of secondary attractions together to create a 'mixed' rural tourism experience (Roberts & Hall, 2001). Rural tourism literature has examined the diverse interests of rural tourists, but little about specific interrelationship between rural heritage and alternative activities. Huang et al. (2016) addressed the lack by exploring the relationship between heritage tourism and other touristic activities in rural areas.

Collaboration could be established too between local CBT households and tourism companies. Local people should invite travel companies to introduce their services, gradually establish relationships with tourism companies to obtain more visitors and offer the possibility to package their visits with accommodation and travel. Tourism companies can promote CBT products and organize CBT in combination with tours visiting other places. As the CBT expert suggested, if every family gets acquainted with 2-3 companies, they will have many visitors. During the process, tourism companies can also guide local people in how to meet tourists' needs. In addition, tours can be created for students or children by signing with the university or with schools to put them into their program.

According to a leader of the Culture and Information Department of Thai Nguyen people's committee, in its tourism development project, with a vision to 2030, the Tan Cuong tea area becomes a tourist destination, so it can be potentially combined with other places for tours. Currently, most CBT foreign tourists mainly came from companies based in Hanoi. Several tourism companies in Thai Nguyen such as Da Huong Travel Company, Le Truong, and Thai Hai have tours to take visitors through the tea area. These companies could play a very valuable role in building CBT in Tan Cuong.

Tours can facilitate the development of CBT. Many tourists visit the area through joining tours or they know the location from adverts of tours.

(RP27, leader of Thai Nguyen's province Tourism Association, 16.09.2016)

Effective promotion can be implemented via the Internet, which has become an almost universal marketing tool in recent years. The most successful cultural and tourism regions seem to be those that manage to lead inclusive groups of stakeholders from both public and private sectors in developing and marketing a wide range of cultural and creative resources for tourism (OECD, 2009). These resources are developed to add to regional distinctiveness and highlight the authentic culture and characteristics of each region. To develop CBT products in the area, it is important to build other forms of partnership, for example links with other regions to create marketing alliances, to showcase tourism opportunities, which extend the tourism opportunities available to tourists and help to support new and innovative products. The community of Pesqueiro Village (Bittar & Prideaux,

2017) preferred to leave a trading company to deal with the tourism industry. The households in Thai Nguyen can consider such a solution.

In my observation of CBT activities, I noticed that the translator accompanying foreign tourists coming from Hanoi played an important role in CBT, because many tourists want to learn the history of tea and tea trees, or to learn more about tea processing and tea products. CBT needs trained guides to reply to these demands. Local people themselves or their children can work as guides, but when they have limited English capacity, more students in tourism at Thai Nguyen Universities with good skills in English should be encouraged to support local people. Guides should be motivated to make the most efficient use of their role:

If travel guides do not understand the land and people in each region, especially the culture and customs, they cannot communicate deeply. Visitors then cannot discover what is truly attractive in their journey.

(Trinh, 2014)

The support from experts also plays an important role in collaboration between stakeholders in tourism development. Mr. Nguyen Van Tuan, General Director of the Vietnam National Administration of Tourism expressed the need for awareness of the unique and distinctive values of agriculture to create attractive products and services, combined with the cultural values of each region, contributing to the development of eco-tourism in an effective manner. Local people should be supported to bring in experts in CBT implementation and understand about the working life cycle in the development of products.

Other challenges exist in the local area that require the government to pay attention and play its role in dealing with them. To achieve sustainable tourism development via CBT, developing tea trees in a sustainable way should be first recognized. Although tea is an important product in the economic development strategy of the government and there are advantages and supporting mechanisms and policies (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.1), as pointed out by Dr. Nguyen Huu Tai the development of tea in Thai Nguyen is still limited.

The organization of tea production and trading in Tan Cuong is mainly by small farmers, because households are now responsible for all aspects of the value chain, from planting, and processing to marketing, thus the level of specialization

is not high and productivity is low as they cannot step up modernization (Nguyen, 2016). Thai Nguyen has a large concentration of tea plantations but each household holds one or more blocks and households organize their tea plantation on their own. Households have essentially the same (mostly manual) labor process and basically follow the same schedule but have not coordinated with each other in supplying inputs and outputs for the product. This wastes labour and creates unnecessary internal competition, increasing input costs and reducing benefits (Nguyen, 2016).

The area of tea produced under the VietGAPs process is still small. Current smallholder production cannot ensure a safe tea control mechanism. What is more, the collective management of the trademark 'Thai Nguyen tea' is still loose, without strict control. Tea has difficulty to increase its value added and contribute to sustainable development. The government needs to recognize these limitations and support the development of tea trees in a sustainable way, enhance their value, exploit their potentials and strengths, applying advanced science and technology to produce safe and high quality products.

Local families could thus be encouraged to form tea cooperatives with the support of local government. Families who want to do CBT should be supported to participate. CBT tours can visit cooperatives that develop organic production, introducing clean sustainable agriculture products. It will benefit the cooperative members by a shared benefit. It must be of a reasonable size determined by the surrounding community, to control the production of safe raw tea materials.

7.6. Conclusion

Sustainable development is highly desired because it can benefit local communities, the government and the nation. In the case of Thai Nguyen, the philosophy of sustainable tourism development is met through community development goals. The local communities studied showed their great willingness to support those goals. The complexity of sustainable tourism implementation in developing countries, however, cannot be underestimated.

The findings may not apply in all developing countries; however, a number of lessons can be learned; and some solutions are proposed. One particularly important observation is the meaning of community in the CBT concept, which could be better understood when considering and appreciating the sense of

belonging, a sense of community. Local people need to build up a foundation of feeling and appreciation for community-based tourism so they can implement, support and continue CBT by working together. When the local people have a sense of belonging, feeling empowered, they can adopt a positive attitude and become active in developing CBT, coordinating with the government and other stakeholders.

This study claims that for CBT development, we should invest time in getting to understand and listen to the voices of local people. Local people need to be treated in a transparent and accountable way, and empowered enough to have their voices and ideas incorporated. It is possible to move beyond fixed and static definitions of local farmers or ethnic people in ways that encourage them to become aware of their role in their communities. This is to affirm and support the empowering of local people in sustainable tourism development.

The steps to successful CBT in Thai Nguyen should include: involvement of the broad community; information distributed transparently throughout the destination community; a committed management; development of strong partnerships and support from within and outside the community; and uniqueness of the place for CBT development to ensure long-term sustainability and environmental conservation. The study reveals that community agency could help form at least *a common voice* towards desirable outcomes for the whole community. The study also indicates young people can play a significant role.

The government needs to provide support policies to encourage close relationships amongst key stakeholders. Collaboration with NGOs is also beneficial. There is a need to put more effort into making sure that key stakeholders show a commitment to developing a culture of inclusion. Tourism progress is going to depend on an inclusive system.

Collaboration is effective when everyone and all parties operate at a higher level of responsibility and work for its effectiveness over time. It ensures obstacles will not hold CBT development back. Collaboration should help reach sustainable tourism development goals, so that it will result in more growth and more development. Many studies have looked at what happened to local tourism development, but that does not necessarily mean that such studies will help local tourism or any individual person to achieve success. Many stories have been told

in this thesis. “For all the words, however, in the end we must act” (Simmonds, 2014, p. 60). In the end, each local destination is going to walk its own path, defined by the local resources, the local power that they have gained from experiences and knowledge, as well as the commitment and direction of their local government.

Martin Seligman, the leading authority in the field of Positive Psychology, found that success in life is driven by one critical distinction – the belief that challenges are inevitable and failures as learning experiences can be fixed with efforts. Success also comes to optimists who fare better because they believe that they can improve in the future. Sustainable development can be addressed from the efforts of key stakeholders who focus on what they can do every single day to improve their own lives and the world around them, because these small steps are all it takes to make the world a better place.

Besides warm teapots, after the meal, families have reunions, old stories are re-told, new intentions for life and for the family's future are planned... Tan Cuong people eagerly await for the new tea buds to grow so that the people of the tea land can always be proud of a specialty that feeds and enriches many generations of this land.

(Truong, 2015)

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

8.1. Introduction

We are operating in challenging times. Perhaps then, it is time to step back from the chaos and ask what we want. It is in that space that we'll find simplicity. The simplicity of peace, of prosperity and of fairness. In the face of isolationism, protectionism, racism – the simple concept of looking outwardly and beyond ourselves, of kindness and collectivism might just be as good a starting point as any... Going alone is not an option.

(Jacinda Ardern, Prime Minister of New Zealand⁶⁵)

This thesis is a theoretical and empirical examination of the role of local communities in sustainable tourism development through CBT. By reclaiming and acknowledging local people power and collective responsibility and upholding the central role of local communities, this study reveals the potential to transform experiences of/about local people in order to enable them to achieve what they desire in tourism. This thesis, therefore contributes to a broad agenda of community empowerment, sustainable tourism development, inclusive tourism and positive social change.

This final chapter addresses the key research question: understanding local communities' experiences of CBT and how their role and participation can be promoted for successful implementation of sustainable tourism development via CBT in traditional tea production areas in Thai Nguyen province, Vietnam. Four sub-questions were set out: 1) What are the impacts of CBT on local communities (economic, socio-cultural and environmental) caused by the development of the industry and by the tourists? How are they perceived locally? 2) How do local communities, tourists and key informants (management officials and other key stakeholders) perceive tourism development and local communities' participation in CBT development? 3) What are the barriers for local communities' participation in CBT development perceived by the local communities as well as specified by the key informants? 4) What solutions can be proposed to implement successful CBT

⁶⁵ Jacinda Adern's address at the 73rd Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, New York, 25 September - 01 October 2018.

development and sustainable tourism development and to enable local people to become equal partners in that development?

The discourse of sustainable tourism development has been widely accepted as a desirable objective. CBT is implemented to provide a better future for local people. A large gap, however, exists between ideological targets and realistic outcomes of most CBT projects implemented, especially in southern contexts (Kumara, 2016). This critique highlights the realities of sustainable tourism in developing countries to avoid unrealistic expectations in practice. While looking for reasons is essential, it is also important to find theoretical and pragmatic answers and to stimulate the consideration of more practical models of sustainable tourism for development.

My study seeks answers from listening to the voices of local communities and the perspectives of management officials on the role of local communities in Tan Cuong, Thai Nguyen. I used a mixed methodology, mostly qualitative. Quantitative tools supported and complemented qualitative results. I was fortunate and humbled that a large number of local communities participated and shared their opinions and their stories for this research.

I realize the importance of each local person as a member of a community that is practicing tourism. Drawing their opinions and stories together reveals the threads that connect local communities together across their diversity and heterogeneity. Weaving these threads, I believe one can reclaim the role of local communities, by reconnecting them to their tea culture history, geographies, and local tourism development that should be undeniably by them and for them. By making sense of community values and the connections amongst individual members in tourism development, it is possible to find clues and tools that hold significant potential for supporting the power of collaboration with government and other stakeholders such as NGOs or tourism agencies.

This chapter provides a summary of key themes and arguments as they relate to the research questions. Furthermore, I begin to tease out connections and future directions that could provide meaningful contributions to community empowerment, collaboration, inclusive tourism, and sustainable tourism development scholarship.

8.2. Main Findings and Contributions to Knowledge

8.2.1. Local Characteristics - *The Roots of Tourism Development*

Tan Cuong, Thai Nguyen is one of those communities with different and unique features. The data collected offer insights into their means of communication, their histories, their beliefs and values, their politics and their relationship with the world. Chapter 5 explores the perceptions of local people on CBT impacts and their willingness to support and/or participate in CBT, which were mostly positive because CBT is founded and grounded in what they have: a traditional tea culture, but a heritage of hardship and richness, struggle and joy, which they desire to preserve even as they seek further local economic development. Tourism therefore should start with the exploration, reclamation, and celebration of their stories of traditional tea culture.

A question was raised in the introduction chapter as to how rural communities position themselves when many local communities with strong cultural traditions do exist across the world. The answer is to recommit to local characteristics, landscapes, culture, and people, as the roots of tourism development in the face of globalisation. Chapter 4 and 5 reveal that these local characteristics are drivers of attractiveness and competitiveness for places to live, invest in and visit. These local assets are valuable to local people too since they are to develop them into tourism activities for the benefit of their community.

Local people need to realize that they should be who they are, what uniquely they can bring to tourism development. Moving forward this way is valid because many times local people do not believe or even suspect that they can bring their own characteristics to tourism, what is authentic to them and the many great experiences their region can provide. Tourists will then find it memorable and unique - a feeling about the place that stays with them for a long time. Local people should be encouraged to celebrate the work that is done, to know their effort and courage to reach out will be worth it.

Recommitting local characteristics as the roots of tourism development is essential because it is integral to developing local products. It will make the dialogue between tourism and local development effective if decision-makers,

actors in tourism, and the community develop policies and attitudes resulting from an understanding of the significance of local characteristics as assets for tourism development.

8.2.2. Current Challenges of Local Communities

Barriers keep local people from full participation in CBT development. To answer the question about how they can be helped, it is essential to determine the constraints they face in CBT development, to take down those barriers that prevent more local people from getting to the top of their role. This thesis reveals in Chapter 5 and 6 that in addition to institutional obstacles such as lack of access to information, local people faced battles within the community. Communities themselves become a source of challenges to the practical implementation of sustainable tourism.

Having lived under a highly centralized government, local people have developed a habit of looking to the government for everything. Local people in rural areas, such as in Tan Cuong, also have not reached a high level of education. Often hence local people living in rural areas are labelled as vulnerable, deficient or problematic. When psychologists study power dynamics, they find that people in low-power positions are more hesitant to share their views and often hedge their statement when they do (Sandberg, 2013). Current local communities still internalize the negative messages they get throughout their lives – messages that say it's right that local people, especially farmers in rural areas, should wait for actions of government, that they always lack power.

This, in turn, lowers their own expectations of what they can achieve. This is at the root of many of the barriers that they face and is one reason they avoid stretching for new assignments and challenges. My argument is that getting rid of these internal barriers is critical to gaining power. To address one of the most (and still) recognized concerns in sustainable tourism development – community empowerment (Schmidt & Uriely, 2018) – it is necessary to transform the old paradigm into a new, deeper one – a paradigm that starts from within local people themselves, and their community. Only when the communities win this battle from within, other support from government and other stakeholders can bring the most effective impact to the community.

Of all the challenges the literature debates and discusses, my study argues that the lack of a sense of community presents the single biggest threat to a community. In Vietnam, the CBT concept has been reclaimed by the local people themselves, as CBT in Thai Nguyen somehow involved only a small number of local households, missing a large sector of the community. This study has discovered that what is needed in local tourism planning is a much better understanding of local communities themselves from a motivational and psychological perspective, as to what the term ‘community’ means to them. CBT is about community and for the community, for more people rather than just one or a few households. Only then can tourism be community-based and community-oriented.

It is important to reflect on why communities should strive to develop their local tourism from individuals and as a whole. Findings in Chapter 6 reveal that the concept of community is better understood when considering and appreciating the sense of belonging, a sense of shared purpose – in other words the feeling that all or most local people belong to the community once CBT is implemented. Local people need to build a foundation of feeling and appreciation for CBT so they can implement, support and continue CBT by working together.

The fact, however, that communities are not homogeneous and not all community subgroups have equal opportunity to participate in local tourism development challenged me when doing this research. Although acknowledging that (any/all) local communities are heterogeneous, this study reveals that some common threads draw their members together. There can still be a degree of togetherness irrespective of the circumstances people find themselves in. In Tan Cuong, the significance of tea culture and tradition and the desire to develop tea through many generations is the thread that weaves this community together.

Some practices will inform how CBT can be more effectively implemented from the grassroots. If local people get into the real situation together, discuss openly and have authentic communication about their local tourism development, they can identify what they care enough to act upon; they will also define their role and their ways uniquely and specifically to them and who they are, as well as take action. By sharing, the distance between people who can practice CBT and those who are new to CBT, can be lessened. A connected community performs (any)

activities more easily, including tourism. No matter how big or small the contribution, every expression of local people provides a pathway into building a connected community.

It is the contention of this thesis that both the commonalities and diversities within communities reconfigure understandings of local people and show how they can be supported in a practical way. My hope for the future of CBT and sustainable tourism development is to stay with the connected community while acknowledging heterogeneity, celebrating diversity and inspiring communities to solve problems together in order to seize opportunities for local development. My thesis responds to the call for more research in tourism planning on diversity and heterogeneity within host communities (Elliot & Joppe, 2015). It contributes to the tourism literature on a better understanding of communities to find effective ways to engage them in local tourism development.

8.2.3. Power and Development for Sustainable Tourism

The biggest question raised was whether local communities have power to enable them to be full-fledged participants, and whether they can/do exercise it? The theoretical framework of this study used one particular notion of Foucault's discussion about power, that power is everywhere in tourism. This challenges the hegemonic discourses and assumptions of one-sided and/or top down power and local people as powerless; it demonstrates that knowledge about power should be reclaimed if it seeks to increase community participation and empower local people whom we seek to privilege. This brings the potential to create new patterns from existing knowledge on the role of local communities in sustainable tourism development.

In Chapter 2, I argued that part of the evolution of the concept of development and its implementation was due to a slow and subtle but inexorable shift in power balance of the world. My study contributes to a deeper understanding of power in CBT, to find out how shifts in power can be achieved and lead to social change, as power helps to explain the gap between theory and practice. Understanding power is necessary for any real change to occur (Gaventa, 2006; Gaventa & Pettit, 2012).

8.2.3.1. Local power - Empowering local people - Role of local people

The introduction chapter raised an important issue, which is why thirty years after the advocacy for sustainable tourism development and community empowerment, local people are still in weaker positions, little involved and dependent. How could we move forward? This study argues that local people's role and participation can and must be promoted for successful implementation of sustainable tourism development if we acknowledge their power and enable them to exercise that power.

Chapter 6 examines the power relations in and between communities in traditional tea production areas in Thai Nguyen. It reveals local people have powerful local knowledge from their expertise in traditional tea cultivation over years and generations, from their capabilities, creativity and invention, self-learning through life experiences, and the ability to recognise local issues. These should be valued, recognized and incorporated fully in order to involve local communities effectively in tourism. Several examples from the study demonstrated how local power and the power of community mobilisation made many difficult things possible, shifting the focus to their inner strength - a significant power that they could use to address the barriers facing them in tourism development and to make real change occur.

During the field trip, I meant to motivate local people to share their perceptions and stories, but they actually motivated me when I could recognize the power that actually exists in every community. If community empowerment is to count in sustainable development, local people need to have a specific role to play – as an equal partner in local tourism development. Empowerment is enabling local people to realize the power they do hold, so they can use it to negotiate their participation in the (tourism) development of their community. How can more local people be urged to believe in themselves and aspire to lead and to change, to become partners in the solution? How can they be supported more effectively in tourism? And so what is the answer to the question of how to (really) empower local people? This study argues that empowering local people means appreciating their knowledge as to what work needs to be done or what kind of support they really need.

This research responds to the scarcity of existing academic scholarship pertaining to the power of local people within tourism development. Reconsideration of the role of power in tourism is one of the major contributions of this study. It recognizes the power that exists in local communities, and that local people can really become full partners in local tourism development. Their representation then can be improved in the eyes of other stakeholders because the way people perceive others matters. Tourism research should acknowledge that true equality and community empowerment in sustainable tourism development is long overdue and will be achieved only when more local people are empowered.

We need to move beyond fixed and static definitions of local traditions, especially in rural areas, to encourage residents to become better aware of their role in local tourism development. Acknowledging that local people remain less likely to contribute their voices, and fully participate, we need institutions and ways to notice and correct this belief by encouraging, promoting, and championing all local people. Local people, in turn, have to learn to keep their hands up, because when they lower them, external support from government and others might not help effectively. To continue to grow their well being, local people have to believe in their own abilities. They themselves have the power and knowledge so they should not remain ignorant or complacent. If local people do participate, they will definitely become an important part of the solution. CBT success is driven by mindset. Local people need to shift their thinking, so they use their voices in local tourism development. That is where power is located.

When the local people understand their power, feeling empowered, they are less likely to be just obedient (pessimistic) and passive participants; they can adopt a positive attitude towards local tourism development, enabling them to fully engage in the community work, in developing CBT, coordinating with the government and other stakeholders for further development based on their traditional tea culture. It is argued that such an approach can ultimately protect and affirm their central position in CBT development. This suggests a possible transformation to greater success for the whole community and more sustainable practices because the cost of stability is often diminished opportunities for growth.

Their role is also as guardians, not only because they desire it, but also as their duty of care to preserve their tea culture and to work on tourism development based on tea culture and local ways of life to continue to sustain their tea culture. Their responsibility is also to nurture the next generation. Dealing with the current challenges is also to prepare for the future of the next generation – and that is where and how sustainable development can be achieved.

8.2.3.2. Power of collaboration

The demands and expectations of local people in sustainable tourism development are numerous. They must constantly respond to the challenges of globalization by defining their strengths and building on their distinctive character and identity. Other stakeholders must also commit to assist local people in turning these challenges into opportunities. Each household or local people themselves cannot be expected to bear the load alone. Rather, decolonising the spaces of local power, asserting their power and supporting them in tourism development must be the responsibility of many, encouraging local people to be ambitious, to become leaders, entrepreneurs in the tea field, and to act. Government and other key stakeholders need to stand with them in that ambition. Local people must be provided with time, space, resources and support necessary to develop tourism, and ensure that CBT development reaches its full potential.

Each stakeholder has an impact on tourism development. The power and responsibilities of each stakeholder are both unique and important. By discussing the meaningful impacts that government, NGOs and local people can bring to tourism development in Chapter 6, the study reveals the significance of collaborative power when looking inside the leadership, community participation, external support, and effecting change. This study contributes to unpack the significance of collaboration in the way it generates collective power of the stakeholders in CBT development.

Individuals have relatively low levels of power. Working together develops power since tourism development cannot be implemented by a single stakeholder alone. People, united, can make things possible and accomplish more (Sandberg, 2013). Collective power in CBT and sustainable development has the potential to

provide success. It includes the pivotal role of local people in continued collaboration with government and other key stakeholders.

A major obstacle for sustainable tourism governance has, however, been a lack of collaboration (Graci, 2013). Chapter 7 argues that collaboration is effective when everyone and all parties operate at a higher level of responsibility and work for its effectiveness over time. Tourism practice should also embrace this understanding of collaboration: the concept of working together and the value of inter-dependency - an often overlooked, yet easy practice that produces powerful results - while increasing the role of each stakeholder in tourism development.

This study also recognizes the important role of government in this collaborative approach, first by making the process as transparent as possible. The more people can see a process in operation, the more able they will be to negotiate and plan in their own interests. It is also expected that local people can take concerns directly to the government managers, not afraid to criticize, and free to share ideas. Flatter organizations are good for generating new ideas, and ensuring that those ideas are heard. At the same time they still need to have the infrastructure in place to execute the idea (Sandberg, 2013). Recognizing the role local people play and be willing to discuss with them make government members better managers, and better partners in collaboration.

As tourism continually redefines social and political realities, Chapter 6 illustrates the challenges in governing communities today. The hierarchical management mode is no longer suited to sustainable tourism development, especially CBT. Government reform efforts should be encouraged to make governmental levels more responsive, effective, and modernised to deal with today's challenges. Mindset and leadership culture shifts are thus required to transform the organizations. Government's commitment is to stimulate willingness to create such profound shift in the political paradigm. Government, thus, becomes a different but important part of the solution for community empowerment and sustainable tourism development. This thesis contributes to the literature on tourism planning which calls for more research on redefining stakeholders' roles and relationships (Elliot & Joppe, 2015).

8.2.4. Inclusive Tourism

In today's unstable and fast-changing world, community participation and empowerment are not enough. Chapter 7 reveals the importance to address and promote the concept of more inclusive tourism, which has recently been brought into tourism research (Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018). It aspires to equal access and promotes full inclusion of all in stakeholder collaborations (Nyanjom et al., 2018). I argue this initiative is meaningful for collective responsibility in upholding the central role of the local people to achieve sustainable tourism development.

This study claims that countries need to put more effort into making sure that key stakeholders show a commitment to developing a culture of inclusion. A stakeholder inclusive process involves collective responsibility: the engagement of government, local communities, NGOs, and other stakeholders, which aligns with what the community desires, and with sustainable development goals. As the role of local communities and more inclusive tourism grow, it is expected that Vietnam can strongly engage in the delivery of sustainable development goals.

At this point, as examined in Chapter 5, it is true that CBT in Tan Cuong has not brought the significant benefits that were originally intended. The question now is how it should move forward (Chapter 7). The first option would be to dismiss CBT. However, it would be like quickly closing a box, trapping hope inside and never knowing in which direction it could lead the communities. The second option would be to leave the box open (Simons & de Groot, 2015). CBT development is not an easy process, the implementation has not been perfect, but all can be improved from lessons gained. As a researcher, I support the second option. A more inclusive tourism is expected to bring opportunities for further tourism development from mutual understanding and better connectedness of key stakeholders.

As Scheyvens and Biddulph (2018) argue, inclusive tourism development provides constructive and critical thinking about ways of approaching tourism, so that it can provide a holistic range of benefits and lead to more equitable and sustainable outcomes; it can also re-draw the tourism map in order to create new sites of experience and interaction. Local people cannot rely on government and international institutions to do this. In the same way, local people cannot blame them if they have not delivered these benefits. It is incumbent of *all* stakeholders to

build productive, sustainable, and inclusive tourism, each playing their part. Shared belief in the value of connectedness should be rediscovered, to understand that collective action and inclusive tourism do not only work, but are in the best interests of all stakeholders, making the effort put in all tourism development endeavours worthwhile (Biddulph & Scheyvens, 2018).

The complexity of sustainable tourism implementation in developing countries cannot be underestimated. This thesis provides an opportunity to advance the innovative and forward thinking of inclusive tourism. From the understanding that solutions work best when they are appropriate, I argue that inclusive tourism should be the answer to a changing world, in which every party faces different challenges in tourism development.

8.3. Recommendation for Future Research

My research has provided insight into how the role and participation of local communities can be promoted in CBT development and sustainable tourism development. The scope of future research can be widened though, to guide future scholarship and to bridge other gaps in this field. Potential areas for future research are highlighted below.

The study provides the basis for comparison and offers grounds for further research in other destinations within the country and elsewhere, with similar goals. Multiple stories and sharing from local communities in Thai Nguyen, Vietnam contribute to a bigger story of finding ways to empower local communities in CBT and sustainable tourism development. Comparative research could be conducted to enlarge this knowledge. Barriers and challenges that different local communities are facing in the current contexts of tourism could be further examined.

There is no doubt that the role of local communities, particularly in local tourism development and sustainable tourism development, is important. As a researcher, I am struck by the power and the potential that resides in the communities in Tan Cuong. I reassert that power transition to each and every local resident has the potential to make space for, to transform, and to celebrate experiences and expressions of local communities and their role in CBT development. Examining my work made me realize that the gains we have made

through understanding the role of local communities in tourism development are not enough.

It seems surprising that in this modern age, we have to commit to give power to local people to enable them to become equal partners. Despite the attention of scholars and for all of the emphasis on local empowerment, the gap still exists. The current state of our knowledge for the application and results of community empowerment remains limited. These constraints are due to the fact that evidence is often absent in many countries. We need to go beyond research indicating that local empowerment is necessary.

I think the potential for local people to be empowered is absolute. The challenge lies in getting to the place where local knowledge and community empowerment are not just claimed to exist (or practiced) but they really become the foundations of local tourism development. I hope this research demonstrates that when community empowerment is achieved, the possibilities are endless. This research then offers another opening for what I hope will be an on-going dialog about community empowerment, power in tourism development, and more broadly, inclusive tourism in which local people become fully equal partners. More research in these areas is needed to enrich the literature, and to provide inputs from evidence to inform policy formation and implementation for sustainable tourism development.

Although a number of models have been built for research on sustainable tourism development, progress also requires increasing stakeholder collaboration and efforts. Even economists agree that collaboration is the only way forward for the global economy (United Nations, 2019). Future research should investigate in more detail the rich possibilities of collaboration, and suggest channels to explore how collaboration could be achieved. It also opens up important avenues to continue to explore the specific role of each stakeholder in collaboration relationships in tourism. This thesis argues it is worth to promote and defend the collaboration approach in order to make tourism inclusive.

To conclude, the motto “For the People” is at the heart of this thesis. I hope this thesis strongly reflects community desire and needs, and offers practical solutions for them to achieve their desire. I believe researchers can continually find

better ways to serve communities around us, to bring about positive and transformative change in them. It is my hope that this research goes some way towards enabling this.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Ethics Approval Letter

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THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Nguyen Thi Ngoc Dung
Anne-Marie d'Hauteserre
Naomi Simmonds

Tourism

23 March 2016

Dear Dung,

Re: **FS2016-08 The role of local communities in community-based tourism development in traditional tea production areas in Thai Nguyen Province, Vietnam**

Thank you for submitting an application to the FASS Human Research Ethics Committee. We have received the final electronic version of your application and the Committee is now pleased to offer formal approval for your research activities, including the following:

- Interviews with homestay/CBT households (including photos and tours)
- Interviews with non-CBT households (including photos and tours)
- Interviews with key informants
- Focus groups
- Household surveys
- Tourists surveys

We encourage you to contact the committee should issues arise during your fieldwork in Vietnam, or should you wish to add further research activities or make changes to your project as it unfolds. We wish you all the best with your research.

Regards,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Julie Barbour'.

Julie Barbour, Chair

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee.

Appendix 2: Interview Information Sheet for Local Households

(who have already implemented some kind of homestay/CBT services)

Department of Geography, Tourism & Environmental Planning
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THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Research title: The Role of Local Communities in Community-based Tourism Development in Traditional Tea Production Areas in Thai Nguyen Province, Vietnam

Thank you for taking time to consider being a part of this research. I am Nguyen Thi Ngoc Dung, I am working as a lecturer at Thai Nguyen University and presently I am a doctoral candidate in the Department of Geography, Tourism and Environmental Planning at The University of Waikato. My supervisory panel consists of Dr Anne-Marie d’Hauteserre and Dr Naomi Simmonds.

The Research

Community-based tourism (CBT) positions local communities as key stakeholders as it is based on their participation. Understanding the support and participation of the host community is important in achieving successful implementation of CBT development and sustainable tourism, hence, I am interested in exploring the role of the local communities in CBT development in the traditional tea production areas in Thai Nguyen province. This approach is to better understand CBT impacts on local communities; local communities’ roles in CBT development; the barriers for them to participating in CBT; and how and in what ways they would like to participate in tourism development.

Your involvement

Since you have been identified as a household who has been participating in CBT development by offering some kind of home-stay/CBT services, I would greatly appreciate your time and contribution by participating in an individual face-to-face semi-structured interview. This would be like an informal talk with you to understand about local community participation and CBT development.

You can decide who in your household would be involved in the interview. If you would feel better if both of you (your husband/wife) or other adult family members could participate in the interview to support you and where applicable to contribute to the interview, you are welcome to do so. The interview will last about 60-90 minutes and will be audio-recorded to ensure that I could have an accurate account of all your views and opinions.

After the interview, I would like to ask if you are willing to take me around your tea gardens/businesses, take some photos and allow me to participate in your CBT activities.

Confidentiality

I will treat all discussions with you as private and confidential and will not share them with anyone. I will ask to know if you would like your business and names to be included in the research (or not). Unless your permission is obtained, your identity (name or any identifying characteristics) will not be revealed in my thesis or in any reports produced by this research. Pseudonyms could be used for research purposes and in any reports related to this study. However, please note that due to the small number of current local households offering home-stay/CBT services, anonymity could not be guaranteed entirely. There are the risks of identity disclosure even if pseudonyms are used. Photographs of the physical location may also carry the potential to be identified. In photographs, the identifiable people and/or places will be reproduced either with permission or will be obscured/blurred through Photoshop® techniques. I will work closely with you to ensure that you are comfortable with the materials to be used.

Research materials (recordings, transcripts and photographs) will be stored securely in a locked cabinet in my office at the University of Waikato. Any information stored on my computer will be

accessible by password only. I am the only person with access to the research materials. All research materials will be kept for a minimum of five years. In addition, digital sound recordings of the interview and your images would be offered back to you.

Participants' rights

By agreeing to participate in this research, you have the right to:

- Decide preferred time and venues as is practical and at your convenience for the interview;
- Decline to answer any particular question;
- Ask for the audio-recorder to be turned off at any time;
- Ask to erase, add or change information within a month after the interview;
- Withdraw completely from the study up until one month after the interview was conducted;
- Ask any questions about the research at any time during participation.

Research results

The findings of this research will be presented as part of my PhD Thesis. In accordance with University guidelines, four copies of my thesis will be produced; three in print and one will be made available online through the University of Waikato Library. The findings of this research may also be used in journal articles, conference presentations, seminars and lectures. Some of these materials may be accessible online. Recommendations on how local communities' role and participation could be promoted in CBT development based on the findings of this research would also be first sent to the tourism providers for their approval before proceeding to send to management officials.

The recorded interviews will be transcribed. You own the copyright of all your interview recordings. By signing the consent form, you allow me to use these materials for my thesis and other academic publications. The copyright of this study and any other publications related to this research will be held solely by me.

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, email fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz, postal address, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

What next?

I do look forward to hearing from you and appreciate any interest you may have in participating. If you have any questions regarding the study, please feel free to contact me at any point during this research. The contact details are provided below.

Nguyen Thi Ngoc Dung (Researcher)

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Anne-Marie d'Hauteserre (Chief Supervisor)

Email: adhautes@waikato.ac.nz

Contact: + 64 7 838 4466 Ext. 8270

Naomi Simmonds (Co-supervisor)

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Appendix 3: Interview Consent Form for Local Households (who have already implemented some kind of homestay/CBT services)

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THE UNIVERSITY OF
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Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
FACULTY OF ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

Interview Consent Form for Local Households (who have already implemented some kind of homestay/CBT services)

Research title: The Role of Local Communities in Community-based Tourism Development in Traditional Tea Production Areas in Thai Nguyen Province, Vietnam

I, _____, have received a copy of the Information Sheet describing the research project. Any questions that I have, relating to the research, have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions about the research at any time during my participation, and that I can withdraw my participation at any time up to one month after the interview.

My interview will be audio-recorded. During the interview, I understand that I do not have to answer questions unless I am happy to talk about the topic. I can stop the interview at any time, and I can ask to have the recording device turned off at any time. The researcher will give me the audio-recording of my interview.

When I sign this consent form, I will retain ownership of my interview, but I give consent for the researcher to use the interview for the purposes of the research outlined in the Information Sheet.

I understand that my identity may be disclosed because of the nature of my business. I have discussed how my identity will be presented in the research and I would like to:

- be named/be anonymous in the research (Choose 1);
- have my business named/be anonymous in the research (Choose 1).

Participant :	_____	Researcher :	Nguyen Thi Ngoc Dung
Signature :	_____	Signature :	_____
Date :	_____	Date :	_____
Contact Details :	_____	Contact Details :	Email: tndn1@students.waikato.ac.nz
	_____		Mobile: + 64 22 692 3818
	_____		Office: + 64 7 838 4466 Ext. 9160

Nguyen Thi Ngoc Dung (Researcher)

Anne-Marie d’Hauteserre (Chief Supervisor)

Naomi Simmonds (Co-supervisor)

Appendix 4: Interview Schedule for Local Households

(who have already implemented some kind of home-stay/CBT services)

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THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Research title: The Role of Local Communities in Community-based Tourism Development in the Traditional Tea Production Areas in Thai Nguyen Province, Vietnam

Background

- Could you please tell me something about yourself and your family (age, educational level, work of family's members, living situation)?
- How long have you been offering home-stay/CBT services?
- Why would you like to do tea community-based tourism? How did you start?
- Could you please describe the facilities you offer for community-based tourism? (areas of tea hills, rooms for guests, kinds of food provided, etc...)
- What activities tourists could experience when they stay at your house and join in community-based tourism? (for example: Would they join in some sightseeing of green tea hills, picking tealeaves with famers, visiting the scene of crumpling and processing of tea, drinking self-make-up teapot, experiencing tea processing according to traditional methods, listening to local people sing traditional songs, appreciating tea culture performances, tasting local specialties, etc...?)
- So far how many tourists (both domestic and international) have joined in your community-based tourism activities?

Impacts of Community-based tourism

- Does community-based tourism have a direct impact on your family income? How so?
- What do you perceive about community-based tourism's impacts, concerning economic, socio-cultural and environmental aspects in your community?
- Do you think community-based tourism influences most positively or negatively your community? Why?
- How would you describe your rapports with tourists (domestic and international)? Are their visits pleasant, making your home-stay/CBT services worth the effort? Do you have any other comments about visitors?
- Do you have any special concern regarding impacts of community-based tourism for your family and your community?

Barriers to CBT participation

- During your time offering services in community-based tourism, have you experienced or perceived any difficulties or barriers? What are they and how do/did you cope?
- Do you have any language problems when foreign tourists stay at and participate in your local activities under your guidance?

The roles of local communities

- How do you perceive local communities' participation and local communities' roles in community-based tourism development in your community?
- Do you think that local communities must be consulted and have a "voice" in decision-making related to tourism policies implemented in your community?
- How and in what ways do you think local communities' roles could be promoted and enhanced?
- Would you like to receive more financial support and professional guidance from relevant authorities for better practical participation in community-based tourism? What kinds of help would be best for you?

Suggestions to further CBT development

- Do you strongly support community-based tourism development in your community/province?
- If yes, what are your recommendations to further CBT development in your community/your province? If no, please indicate why?

Any other topics related to the roles of local communities/local community participation in CBT development that they wish to talk about or discuss further.

Appendix 5: Interview Information Sheet for Local Households

(who have not implemented any kinds of CBT services)

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Hamilton, New Zealand



Research title: The Role of Local Communities in Community-based Tourism Development in Traditional Tea Production Areas in Thai Nguyen Province, Vietnam

Thank you for taking time to consider being a part of this research. I am Nguyen Thi Ngoc Dung, I am working as a lecturer at Thai Nguyen University and presently I am a doctoral candidate in the Department of Geography, Tourism and Environmental Planning at The University of Waikato. My supervisory panel consists of Dr Anne-Marie d’Hauteserre and Dr Naomi Simmonds.

The Research

Community-based tourism (CBT) positions local communities as key stakeholders as it is based on their participation. Understanding the support and participation of the host community is important in achieving successful implementation of CBT development and sustainable tourism, hence, I am interested in exploring the role of the local communities in CBT development in the traditional tea production areas in Thai Nguyen province. This approach is to better understand CBT impacts on local communities; local communities’ roles in CBT development; the barriers for them to participating in CBT; and how and in what ways they would like to participate in tourism development.

Your involvement

Since you have been identified a household living in Tan Cuong specialty areas, where a CBT project has been implemented, I would greatly appreciate your time and contribution by participating in an individual face-to-face semi-structured interview. This would be like an informal talk with you to understand about local community participation and CBT development.

You can decide who in your household would be involved in the interview. If you would feel better if both of you (your husband/wife) or other adult family members could participate in the interview to support you and where applicable to contribute to the interview, you are welcome to do so. The interview will last about 60-90 minutes and will be audio-recorded to ensure that I could have an accurate account of all your views and opinions.

After the interview, I would like to ask if you are willing to take me around your tea gardens/businesses, take some photos and allow me to observe/participate in your daily activities.

Confidentiality

I will treat all discussions within the interview as private and confidential and will not share them with anyone. Unless your permission is obtained, your identity (name or any identifying characteristics) will not be revealed in my thesis or in any reports produced by this research. Pseudonyms could be used for research purposes and in any reports related to this study. Photographs of the physical location, however, may carry the potential to be identified. In photographs, the identifiable people and/or places will be reproduced either with permission or will be obscured/blurred through Photoshop® techniques. I will work closely with you to ensure that you are comfortable with the materials to be used.

Research materials (recordings, transcripts and photographs) will be stored securely in a locked cabinet in my office at the University of Waikato. Any information stored on my computer will be accessible by password only. I am the only person with access to the research materials. All research materials will be kept for a minimum of five years. In addition, digital sound recordings of the interview and your images would be offered back to you.

Participants’ rights

By agreeing to participate in this research, you have the right to:

- Decide preferred time and venues as is practical and at your convenience for the interview;
- Decline to answer any particular question;
- Ask for the audio-recorder to be turned off at any time;
- Ask to erase, add or change information within a month after the interview;
- Withdraw completely from the study up until one month after the interview was conducted;
- Ask any questions about the research at any time during participation.

Research results

The findings of this research will be presented as part of my PhD Thesis. In accordance with University guidelines, four copies of my thesis will be produced; three in print and one will be made available online through the University of Waikato Library. The findings of this research may also be used in journal articles, conference presentations, seminars and lectures. Some of these materials may be accessible online. Recommendations on how local communities' role and participation could be promoted in CBT development based on the findings of this research would also be first sent to the tourism providers for their approval before proceeding to send to management officials.

The recorded interviews will be transcribed. You own the copyright of all your interview recordings. By signing the consent form, you allow me to use these materials for my thesis and other academic publications. The copyright of this study and any other publications related to this research will be held solely by me.

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, email fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz, postal address, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

What next?

I do look forward to hearing from you and appreciate any interest you may have in participating. If you have any questions regarding the study, please feel free to contact me at any point during this research. The contact details are provided below.

Nguyen Thi Ngoc Dung (Researcher)

Email: tndn1@students.waikato.ac.nz

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Anne-Marie d'Hauteserre (Chief Supervisor)

Email: adhautes@waikato.ac.nz

Contact: + 64 7 838 4466 Ext. 8270

Naomi Simmonds (Co-supervisor)

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Appendix 6: Interview Consent Form for Local Households

(who have not implemented any kinds of CBT services)

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THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO

FACULTY OF ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

Research title: The Role of Local Communities in Community-based Tourism Development in Traditional Tea Production Areas in Thai Nguyen Province, Vietnam

I, _____, have received a copy of the Information Sheet describing the research project. Any questions that I have, relating to the research, have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions about the research at any time during my participation, and that I can withdraw my participation at any time up to one month after the interview.

My interview will be audio-recorded. During the interview, I understand that I do not have to answer questions unless I am happy to talk about the topic. I can stop the interview at any time, and I can ask to have the recording device turned off at any time. The researcher will give me the audio-recording of my interview.

When I sign this consent form, I will retain ownership of my interview, but I give consent for the researcher to use the interview for the purposes of the research outlined in the Information Sheet.

I have discussed how my identity will be presented in the research and I would like to:

- be named/be anonymous in the research (Choose 1).

Participant :	_____	Researcher :	Nguyen Thi Ngoc Dung
Signature :	_____	Signature :	_____
Date :	_____	Date :	_____
Contact Details :	_____	Contact Details :	Email: tndn1@students.waikato.ac.nz
	_____		Mobile: + 64 22 692 3818
	_____		Office: + 64 7 838 4466 Ext. 9160

Appendix 7: Interview Schedule for Local Households

(who have not implemented any kinds of CBT services)

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Research title: The Role of Local Communities in Community-based Tourism Development in Traditional Tea Production Areas in Thai Nguyen Province, Vietnam

Background

- Could you please tell me something about yourself and your family (age, educational level, work of family's members, living situation)?
- How do you understand the CBT project that has been implemented in your living area?

Impacts of Community-based tourism

- What do you perceive about community-based tourism's impacts, concerning economic, socio-cultural and environmental aspects in your community?
- Do you think community-based tourism influences most positively or negatively your community? Why?
- What do you think of the presence of tourists in CBT? Do you feel comfortable with tourists around in the community? How do they behave? Do you like to create rapport with them? Would you want more (or fewer) tourists in your community? Please explain why.
- Do you have any special concern regarding impacts of community-based tourism for your family and your community?

Barriers to CBT participation

- Would you like to participate in offering any kind of CBT services? If yes, how and in what way?
- What barriers do you face when you would like to participate in CBT?
- Are these barriers somehow related to matters of finance, professional knowledge and skills, experiences, language constraints or others (please specify)?

The roles of local communities

- How do you perceive local communities' participation and local communities' roles in community-based tourism development in your community?

- Do you think that local communities must be consulted and have a “voice” in decision-making related to tourism policies implemented in your community?
- How and in what ways do you think local communities’ roles could be promoted and enhanced?
- Would you like to receive more financial support and professional guidance from relevant authorities for your participation in community-based tourism? What kinds of help would be best for you?

Suggestions to further CBT development

- Do you strongly support community-based tourism development in your community/province?
- If yes, what are your recommendations to further CBT development in your community/your province? If no, please indicate why?

Any other topics related to the roles of local communities/local community participation in CBT development that they wish to talk about or discuss further.

Appendix 8: Details of Photos Taken

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UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
FACULTY OF ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

Research title: The Role of Local Communities in Community-based Tourism Development in the Traditional Tea Production Areas in Thai Nguyen Province, Vietnam

Photo ID/Description	Date	Notes

Appendix 9: Interview Information Sheet for Key Informants

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Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences
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Hamilton, New Zealand

Nguyen Thi Ngoc Dung
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Mobile: + 64 22 692 3818
Email: tndn1@students.waikato.ac.nz



Research title: The Role of Local Communities in Community-based Tourism Development in the Traditional Tea Production Areas in Thai Nguyen Province, Vietnam

Thank you for taking time to consider being a part of this research. I am Nguyen Thi Ngoc Dung, I am working as a lecturer at Thai Nguyen University and presently I am a doctoral candidate in the Department of Geography, Tourism and Environmental Planning at The University of Waikato. My supervisory panel consists of Dr Anne-Marie d'Hauteserre and Dr Naomi Simmonds.

The Research

Community-based tourism (CBT) positions local communities as key stakeholders as it is based on their participation. Understanding the support and participation of the host community is important in achieving successful implementation of CBT development and sustainable tourism, hence, I am interested in exploring the role of the local communities in CBT development in the traditional tea production areas in Thai Nguyen province. This approach is to better understand CBT impacts on local communities; local communities' roles in CBT development; the barriers for them to participating in CBT; and how and in what ways they would like to participate in tourism development.

Your involvement

As you are a person engaging in the CBT project in Thai Nguyen province, I would greatly appreciate your time and contribution by participating in an individual semi-structured interview. This would be like a talk with you to understand about local community participation and CBT development.

You are free to choose how you would like to be interviewed: Face-to-face or online interviews (via skype, viber) or over the telephone. The interview will last between 60-90 minutes and will be audio-recorded to ensure that I could have an accurate account of all your views and opinions.

Confidentiality

I will treat all discussions within the interview as private and confidential and will not share them with anyone. Unless your permission is obtained, your identity (name or any identifying characteristics) will not be revealed in my thesis or in any reports produced by this research. Pseudonyms could be used for research purposes and in any reports related to this study. In the case of photographs, the identifiable people and/or places will be reproduced either with permission or will be obscured/blurred through Photoshop® techniques. I will work closely with you to ensure that you are comfortable with the materials to be used.

Research materials (recordings, transcripts and photographs) will be stored securely in a locked cabinet in my office at the University of Waikato. Any information stored on my computer will be accessible by password only. I am the only person with access to the research materials. All research materials will be kept for a minimum of five years. In addition, digital sound recordings of the interview and your images (if any) would be offered back to you.

Participants' rights

By agreeing to participate in this research, you have the right to:

- Decide preferred time and venues as is practicable at your convenience for the interview;
- Decline to answer any particular question;
- Ask for the audio-recorder to be turned off at any time;

- Ask to erase, add or change information within a month after the interview;
- Withdraw completely from the study up until one month after the interview was conducted;
- Ask any questions about the research at any time during participation.

Research results

The findings of this research will be presented as part of my PhD Thesis. In accordance with University guidelines, four copies of my thesis will be produced; three in print and one will be made available online through the University of Waikato Library. The findings of this research may also be used in journal articles, conference presentations, seminars and lectures. Some of these materials may be accessible online. Recommendations on how local communities' role and participation could be promoted in CBT development based on the findings of this research would also be first sent to the tourism providers for their approval before proceeding to send to management officials.

The recorded interviews will be transcribed. You own the copyright of all your interview recordings and photographs. By signing the consent form, you allow me to use these materials for my thesis and other academic publications. The copyright of this study and any other publications related to this research will be held solely by me.

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, email fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz, postal address, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

What next?

I do look forward to hearing from you and appreciate any interest you may have in participating. If you have any questions regarding the study, please feel free to contact me at any point during this research. The contact details are provided below.

Nguyen Thi Ngoc Dung (Researcher)

Email: tndn1@students.waikato.ac.nz

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Anne-Marie d'Hautesserre (Chief Supervisor)

Email: adhautes@waikato.ac.nz

Contact: + 64 7 838 4466 Ext. 8270

Naomi Simmonds (Co-supervisor)

Email: naomis@waikato.ac.nz

Contact: + 64 7 838 4466 Ext. 6241

Appendix 10: Interview Consent Form for Key Informants

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Email: tndn1@students.waikato.ac.nz

UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
FACULTY OF ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

Research title: The Role of Local Communities in Community-based Tourism Development in Traditional Tea Production Areas in Thai Nguyen Province, Vietnam

I, _____, have received a copy of the Information Sheet describing the research project. Any questions that I have, relating to the research, have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions about the research at any time during my participation, and that I can withdraw my participation at any time up to one month after the interview.

My interview will be audio-recorded. During the interview, I understand that I do not have to answer questions unless I am happy to talk about the topic. I can stop the interview at any time, and I can ask to have the recording device turned off at any time. The researcher will give me the audio-recording of my interview.

When I sign this consent form, I will retain ownership of my interview, but I give consent for the researcher to use the interview for the purposes of the research outlined in the Information Sheet.

I have discussed how my identity will be presented in the research and I would like to:

- be named/be anonymous in the research (Choose 1).

Participant :	_____	Researcher :	Nguyen Thi Ngoc Dung
Signature :	_____	Signature :	_____
Date :	_____	Date :	_____
Contact Details :	_____	Contact Details :	_____
	_____		Email: tndn1@students.waikato.ac.nz
	_____		Mobile: + 64 22 692 3818
	_____		Office: + 64 7 838 4466 Ext. 9160

Appendix 11: Interview Schedule for Key Informants

Department of Geography, Tourism & Environmental Planning
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Hamilton, New Zealand

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Research title: The Role of Local Communities in Community-based Tourism Development in the Traditional Tea Production Areas in Thai Nguyen Province, Vietnam

1. Interviews with Management officials

Details about their work position, place of work and how their work is related to community-based tourism in Thai Nguyen province

Community-based tourism project in Thai Nguyen province

- Could you please tell me about the deployment of the CBT project in Tan Cuong specialty tea areas in Thai Nguyen province? How was it deployed and at what stage is it now?
- How do you evaluate the current CBT development stage?

Impacts of CBT

- Could you please summarise the most significant positive (and negative) impacts of CBT (economic, socio-cultural and environmental) to local communities in Thai Nguyen province where the CBT project has been implemented?
- What has been the response of tourists to your initiatives? Domestic? International? Have numbers of tourists increased over time? How so?

Barriers for local communities' participation in CBT

- In practice, what barriers local communities are facing when participating/would like to participate in CBT?
- Are these barriers somehow critically related to matters of finance, professional knowledge and skills, experiences, language constraints or psychology (e.g. hesitate to change) of local communities?

The roles of local communities in CBT development

- How do you evaluate the importance of local communities' attitudes to CBT development in their community and their participation in CBT development?
- Could local communities actively contribute their opinions for tourism planning and would their opinions be listened to and taken into account before tourism policies and decisions are made? How and in what ways?
- Could you provide suggestions to support and promote/enhance the participation and roles of local communities in CBT development?
- What does empowerment of the local communities mean to you? Is it a worthwhile goal? Would it help improve local well-being?

2. Interviews with Other Stakeholders/Experts

Details about their work position, place of work and how their work is related to community-based tourism in Thai Nguyen province

Community-based tourism project in Thai Nguyen province

- Could you please give your insights into the CBT project in Tan Cuong specialty tea areas in Thai Nguyen province? How is it in comparison with other CBT projects in Vietnam? Where other CBT models have been implemented in Vietnam so far?
- How do you evaluate the current CBT development stage?
- Which kinds of supports are you providing for the CBT project in Thai Nguyen province?

Impacts of CBT

- Could you please describe the significant impacts of CBT (economic, socio-cultural and environmental) to local communities in Thai Nguyen province where the CBT project has been implemented?
- What has been the response of tourists to your initiatives? Domestic? International? Have numbers of tourists increased over time? How so?

Barriers for local communities' participation in CBT

- What barriers do local communities face when participating/would like to participate in CBT?
- Are these barriers somehow critically related to matters of finance, professional knowledge and skills, experiences, language constraints or psychology (e.g. hesitate to change) of local communities?

The roles of local communities in CBT development

- How do you evaluate the importance of local communities' attitudes to CBT development in their community and their participation in CBT development?
- Should local communities be consulted and have a "voice" in decision-making where tourism policies are made in their areas?
- What does empowerment of the local communities mean to you? Is it as worthwhile goal? Would it help improve local well-being?
- Could you give advice on how to encourage and stimulate local communities' involvement and participation in CBT development in Thai Nguyen province?
- Could you provide advice on how best the roles of local communities could be promoted?

Appendix 12: Information Sheet for Focus Group Interview

Department of Geography, Tourism & Environmental Planning
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The University of Waikato
Hamilton, New Zealand

Nguyen Thi Ngoc Dung
PhD Candidate
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Mobile: + 64 22 692 3818
Email: tndn1@students.waikato.ac.nz



Research title: The Role of Local Communities in Community-based Tourism Development in the Traditional Tea Production Areas in Thai Nguyen Province, Vietnam

Thank you for taking time to consider being a part of this research. I am Nguyen Thi Ngoc Dung, I am working as a lecturer at Thai Nguyen University and presently I am a doctoral candidate in the Department of Geography, Tourism and Environmental Planning at The University of Waikato. My supervisory panel consists of Dr Anne-Marie d'Hauteserre and Dr Naomi Simmonds.

The Research

Community-based tourism (CBT) positions local communities as key stakeholders as it is based on their participation. Understanding the support and participation of the host community is important in achieving successful implementation of CBT development and sustainable tourism, hence, I am interested in exploring the role of the local communities in CBT development in the traditional tea production areas in Thai Nguyen province. This approach is to better understand CBT impacts on local communities; local communities' roles in CBT development; the barriers for them to participating in CBT; and how and in what ways they would like to participate in tourism development.

Your involvement

I would like to invite you to be part of a focus group discussion to seek understandings about local community participation and community-based tourism development. This will be carried out with 5-7 people in each group. Please note that you are invited to participate in the focus group with other members in your community. The group discussion will last between 90-120 minutes and will be audio-recorded to ensure that I could have an accurate account of all your views and opinions. Light refreshment will be provided.

Confidentiality

I will treat all discussions as private and confidential and will not share them with anyone. Unless your permission is obtained, your identity (name or any identifying characteristics) will not be revealed in my thesis or in any reports produced by this research. Pseudonyms could be used for research purposes and in any reports related to this study. In photographs, the identifiable people and/or places will be reproduced either with permission or will be obscured/blurred through Photoshop® techniques. **Please do not share experiences that you may wish to keep confidential during the discussion, instead talk to me personally if you think there are things that might be helpful for the study. Information shared during focus group discussions will be kept private to the people within the group.**

Research materials (recordings, transcripts and photographs) will be stored securely in a locked cupboard in my office at the University of Waikato. Any information stored on a computer will be accessible by password only. I am the only person with access to the research materials. **As a part of a group, you are asked not to share any focus group related information outside the group.** All research materials will be kept for a minimum of five years.

Participants' rights

By agreeing to participate in this research, you have the right to:

- Decline to answer any particular question;
- Leave the focus group when I feel that I would rather not participate;
- Withdraw completely from the study up until one month from the interview conducted;

- Ask any questions about the research at any time during participation.

Research results

The findings of this research will be presented as part of my PhD Thesis. In accordance with University guidelines, four copies of my thesis will be produced; three in print and one will be made available online through the University of Waikato Library. The findings of this research may also be used in journal articles, conference presentations, seminars and lectures. Some of these materials may be accessible online. Recommendations on how local communities' role and participation could be promoted in CBT development based on the findings of this research would also be first sent to the tourism providers for their approval before proceeding to send to management officials.

The recorded focus group discussion will be transcribed. You own the copyright of all your discussion recordings. By signing to the consent form, you allow me to use these materials for my thesis and other academic publications. The copyright of this study and any other publications related to this research will be held solely by me.

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, email fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz, postal address, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

What next?

I do look forward to hearing from you and appreciate any interest you may have in participating. If you have any questions regarding the study, please feel free to contact me at any point during this research. You can also email me with the contact details are provided below.

Nguyen Thi Ngoc Dung (Researcher)

Email: tndn1@students.waikato.ac.nz

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Anne-Marie d'Hauteserre (Chief Supervisor)

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Naomi Simmonds (Co-supervisor)

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Appendix 13: Consent Form for Focus Group Interview

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THE UNIVERSITY OF
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UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO

FACULTY OF ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

Research title: The Role of Local Communities in Community-based Tourism Development in the Traditional Tea Production Areas in Thai Nguyen Province, Vietnam

I, _____, have received a copy of the Information Sheet describing the research project. Any questions that I have, relating to the research, have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions about the research at any time during my participation, and that I can withdraw my participation at any time up to one month after the interview.

Our conversations will be audio-recorded. During the discussions, I understand that I do not have to answer questions unless I am happy to talk about the topic. I understand that I cannot ask for the recorder to be turned off. However, I have the option to leave the focus group when I feel that I would rather not participate.

When I sign this consent form, I will retain ownership of my interview, but I give consent for the researcher to use the interview for the purposes of the research outlined in the Information Sheet.

I have discussed how my identity will be presented in the research and I would like to:

- be named/be anonymous in the research (Choose 1).

Participant :	_____	Researcher :	Nguyen Thi Ngoc Dung
Signature :	_____	Signature :	_____
Date :	_____	Date :	_____
Contact Details :	_____	Contact Details :	_____
	_____		Email: tndn1@students.waikato.ac.nz
	_____		Mobile: + 64 22 692 3818
	_____		Office: + 64 7 838 4466 Ext. 9160

Appendix 14: Focus Group Interview Schedule

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Hamilton, New Zealand

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THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Research title: The Role of Local Communities in Community-based Tourism Development in the Traditional Tea Production Areas in Thai Nguyen Province, Vietnam

This is an outline of the focus group interviews. I will use this as a guide and let participants shape the discussions.

1. What is community-based tourism? Where have other CBT models been implemented in Vietnam so far?
2. What are the impacts of community-based tourism (economic, socio-cultural and environmental) on the local communities? What are the consequences for the local communities and their participation of these impacts?
3. What are the barriers or difficulties to participate in CBT?
4. How local communities could participate and what roles should be taken in CBT development?
5. How CBT development could be implemented more successfully in the community by the roles and participation of local communities promoted?
6. Any remarks about tourists: Do you feel comfortable with tourists around in the community? How do they behave? Would you want more (or fewer) tourists in your community? Why?

Appendix 15: Types of Behaviours and Activities to be Observed in

Participant Observations/Sensings

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Hamilton, New Zealand



THE UNIVERSITY OF
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Research title: The Role of Local Communities in Community-based Tourism Development in the Traditional Tea Production Areas in Thai Nguyen Province, Vietnam

- Performance of activities in the daily life and work of local communities (planting and taking care of tea gardens, etc.)
- Community-based tourism activities (e.g. welcoming tourists, taking tourists sightseeing in green tea hills, picking tealeaves with famers, visiting crumpling and processing of tea, drinking self-make-up teapot, experiencing tea processing according to traditional methods, listening to local people sing traditional songs, appreciating tea culture performances, tasting local specialties, etc.)
- Place observation (e.g. home-stay room layout, tea gardens).
- The performing body of participants during interviews and other interactions (sights, gestures, touch and voices).
- The performance of relational identities (how people interact with each other).
- Other local communities' activities, local events related to CBT and tourism development (e.g. tea festival, tea product exhibition, tea contest, etc.).
- Smell, taste, texture of the tea products and local specialties served.
- Any aspects of marginalisation, exclusion and inclusion (welcoming gestures, and/or deviant behaviour, etc.).

Appendix 16: Information Sheet for Participants in Household Survey

Department of Geography,
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Hamilton, New Zealand

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Research title: The Role of Local Communities in Community-based Tourism Development in the Traditional Tea Production Areas in Thai Nguyen Province, Vietnam

Thank you for taking time to consider being a part of this research. I am Nguyen Thi Ngoc Dung, I am working as a lecturer at Thai Nguyen University and presently I am a doctoral candidate in the Department of Geography, Tourism and Environmental Planning at The University of Waikato. My supervisory panel consists of Dr Anne-Marie d’Hauteserre and Dr Naomi Simmonds.

The Research

Community-based tourism (CBT) positions local communities as key stakeholders as it is based on their participation. Understanding the support and participation of the host community is important in achieving successful implementation of CBT development and sustainable tourism, hence, I am interested in exploring the role of the local communities in CBT development in the traditional tea production areas in Thai Nguyen province. This approach is to better understand CBT impacts on local communities; local communities’ roles in CBT development; the barriers for them to participating in CBT; and how and in what ways they would like to participate in tourism development.

Your involvement

Since you are a household living in the traditional tea production areas in Thai Nguyen province, I would greatly appreciate your time and contribution by answering the prepared questionnaire. The survey will take you about 20 minutes to complete.

Confidentiality

I will treat all information that you provide as private and confidential. Your identity (name or any identifying characteristics) will not be revealed and disclosed in my thesis or in any reports produced by this research.

Research materials (all filled questionnaires) will be stored securely in a locked cabinet in my office at the University of Waikato. Any information related to this research and stored on my computer will be accessible by password only. I am the only person with access to the research materials. All research materials will be kept for a minimum of five years.

Participants’ rights

By agreeing to participate in this research, you have the right to:

- Ask any questions about the research at any time during participation.

Research results

The findings of this research will be presented as part of my PhD Thesis. In accordance with University guidelines, four copies of my thesis will be produced; three in print and one will be made available online through the University of Waikato Library. The findings of this research may also be used in journal articles, conference presentations, seminars and lectures. Some of these materials may be accessible online. Recommendations on how local communities’ role and participation could

be promoted in CBT development based on the findings of this research would also be first sent to the tourism providers for their approval before proceeding to send to management officials.

By agreeing to participate in the survey and answer the prepared questionnaire, you allow me to use these materials for my thesis and other academic publications. The copyright of this study and any other publications related to this research will be held solely by me.

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, email fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz, postal address, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

What next?

I do look forward to hearing from you and appreciate any interest you may have in participating. If you have any questions regarding the study, please feel free to contact me at any point during this research. The contact details are provided below.

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Appendix 17: Survey Questionnaire (For Local Communities)

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THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Research title: The Role of Local Communities in Community-based Tourism Development in the Traditional Tea Production Areas in Thai Nguyen Province, Vietnam

Thank you for your participation in answering this survey questionnaire.

Section 1. In this section, I would like to learn something about you

1. How old are you?
☐ 18 – 25 years old ☐ 36 – 45 years old ☐ 56 – 65 years old
☐ 26 – 35 years old ☐ 46 – 55 years old ☐ 66 and above
2. What is your gender?
☐ Male ☐ Female
3. What is the highest level of education you have attained?
☐ Primary school ☐ High school ☐ College graduate
☐ Secondary school ☐ Vocational school ☐ University graduate or higher
4. What is your ethnicity?
☐ Kinh ☐ Dao ☐ San Diu
☐ Tay ☐ Nung ☐ Others (please specify).....
5. How long have you been living in your community?
☐ < 1 year ☐ 5-10 years ☐ 15-20 years
☐ 1-5 years ☐ 10-15 years ☐ > 20 years
6. What is your primary occupation? You may choose more than one option
☐ Farmer ☐ Tourism and service worker
☐ Businessperson ☐ Unemployed
☐ Employee ☐ Others (please specify).....
7. What is your family average monthly income?
☐ < 1 million VND ☐ 3-4 million VND
☐ 1-2 million VND ☐ 5-6 million VND
☐ 2-3 million VND ☐ Over 6 million VND
8. How often do you meet tourists?
☐ Daily ☐ Fortnightly/Once a fortnight
☐ < 5 times per week ☐ Monthly/Once a month
☐ Weekly/Once a week ☐ Never

Section 2. In this section, I would like to learn about your opinions of community-based tourism impacts in your communities

9. Please indicate to what extent do you agree or disagree by tick (X) in the appropriate scale

Question	1	2	3	4	5
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree

Tourism has developed our community economically					
Tourism creates jobs for local residents					
Tourism helps increase household income of local people					
Tourism has contributed to raising local residents' living standards					
Tourism has enhanced local residents' knowledge and awareness					
Tourism helps sell local products					
Tourism helps the community obtain services					
Tourism has contributed to protecting our traditional local culture					
Tourism helps build capability and training skills for local people					
Tourism has strengthened community cohesion					
Community-based tourism supports protecting the environment in my community					
I am happy with the way tourism has been developed in our community					
Tourism has brought about more positive benefits than negative effects					
Implementing CBT in specialty tea areas will result in environmental, social and economic sustainability					
I am happy with tourists visiting my community					
I love interacting with tourists					
Tourism causes a rise in crime rates					
Tourism harms moral standards					
Tourism harms the environment					
Tourism disrupts local activities					

Section 3. How critical are the following barriers to your participation in community-based tourism?

10. Please tick (X) in the appropriate scale

	1 Most critical	2	3	4	5 Least critical

Lack of professional knowledge					
Lack of professional skills					
Inadequate experience					
Poor foreign language knowledge					
Lack of opportunity					
Lack of information					
Insufficient capital					
Lack of motivation					
Hesitate to change					
Poor health					
Unfavourable market access					
Legal constraints					
Others (please specify)					

11. Would you like to write more on this matter?

Section 4. In this section, I would like to seek your opinions about the roles of local communities in community-based tourism development:

12. Do you think you will participate/continue to participate in community-based tourism?

- ☐ Definitely yes
 ☐ Probably not
☐ Probably yes
 ☐ Definitely not
☐ Not sure

13. Which of the following roles would you like to take in participating in community-based tourism in your community?

- ☐ Homestay owner
 ☐ Souvenir seller
☐ Food provider
 ☐ Tourist guide
☐ Travel agency owner
 ☐ Provider of transportation for tourists
☐ Others (please specify).....

14. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree by ticking (X) in the appropriate scale:

Question	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neutral	4 Agree	5 Strongly agree
Local people should play a positive and active role in tourism development in the community					
Local people should create a good rapport with tourists					
Local people should be consulted when tourism policies are being made					

Local people should have a voice in the decision-making process of local tourism development					
Local people should be financially supported to invest in tourism development					
I am willing to protect natural resources for tourism and participate in community-based tourism					
Local people should not participate by any means					

Section 5. I would like to have your further opinions in the following matters:

15. What is your overall opinion of community-based tourism development in your community?

1 Strongly support	2 Support	3 Neutral	4 Not support	5 Strongly not support

16. Would you want more or less community-based tourism in future in your community?

1 Much Less	2 Less	3 Same	4 More	5 Much More

17. What are your main concerns regarding community-based tourism in your community?

18. What are your recommendations to improve community-based tourism in your community?

END OF SURVEY

Thank you very much for your participation!

Appendix 18: Information Sheet for Tourists in Survey Questionnaire

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THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Research title: The Role of Local Communities in Community-based Tourism Development in the Traditional Tea Production Areas in Thai Nguyen Province, Vietnam

Thank you for taking time to consider being a part of this research. I am Nguyen Thi Ngoc Dung, I am working as a lecturer at Thai Nguyen University and presently I am a doctoral candidate in the Department of Geography, Tourism and Environmental Planning at The University of Waikato. My supervisory panel consists of Dr Anne-Marie d’Hauteserre and Dr Naomi Simmonds.

The Research

Community-based tourism (CBT) positions local communities as key stakeholders as it is based on their participation. Understanding the support and participation of the host community is important in achieving successful implementation of CBT development and sustainable tourism, hence, I am interested in exploring the role of the local communities in CBT development in the traditional tea production areas in Thai Nguyen province. This approach is to better understand CBT impacts on local communities; local communities’ roles in CBT development; the barriers for them to participating in CBT; and how and in what ways they would like to participate in tourism development.

Your involvement

As a tourist who is participating in tea tourism/CBT in the traditional tea production areas in Thai Nguyen province, I would greatly appreciate your time and contribution by answering the prepared questionnaire. This survey questionnaire seeks to understand your experiences of tea tourism/community-based tourism and your perceptions of local communities’ role in CBT development in traditional tea production areas in Thai Nguyen province. Your opinions are important in helping to build understandings of local communities’ roles in CBT development from tourists’ perspectives. The survey will take you about 15 minutes to complete.

Confidentiality

I will treat all information that you provide as private and confidential. Your identity (name or any identifying characteristics) will not be revealed in my thesis or in any reports produced by this research.

Research materials (all filled questionnaires) will be stored securely in a locked cabinet in my office at the University of Waikato. Any information related stored on my computer will be accessible by password only. I am the only person with access to the research materials. All research materials will be kept for a minimum of five years.

Participants’ rights

By agreeing to participate in this research, you have the right to:

- Ask any questions about the research at any time during participation.

Research results

The findings of this research will be presented as part of my PhD Thesis. In accordance with University guidelines, four copies of my thesis will be produced; three in print and one will be made

available online through the University of Waikato Library. The findings of this research may also be used in journal publications, conference presentations and seminars. Some of these materials may be accessible online. Recommendations on how local communities' role and participation could be promoted in CBT development based on the findings of this research would also be first sent to the tourism providers for their approval before proceeding to send to management officials.

By agreeing to participate in the survey and answer the prepared questionnaire, you allow me to use these materials for my thesis and other academic publications. The copyright of this study and any other publications related to this research will be held solely by me.

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, email fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz, postal address, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

What next?

I do look forward to hearing from you and appreciate any interest you may have in participating. If you have any questions regarding the study, please feel free to contact me at any point during this research. The contact details are provided below.

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Appendix 19: Survey Questionnaire (For Tourists)

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THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Research title: The Role of Local Communities in Community-based Tourism Development in the Traditional Tea Production Areas in Thai Nguyen Province, Vietnam

Thank you for your participation in answering this survey questionnaire.

Section 1. In this section, I would like to learn something about you

1. How old are you?
☐ Under 18 years old ☐ 26 – 35 years old ☐ 46 – 55 years old
☐ 18 – 25 years old ☐ 36 – 45 years old ☐ 56 and above
2. What is your gender?
☐ Male ☐ Female
3. What is the highest level of education you have attained?
☐ Primary school ☐ High school ☐ College graduate
☐ Secondary school ☐ Vocational school ☐ University graduate or higher
19. What is your occupation? You may choose more than one option.
☐ Government officials ☐ Farmer ☐ Not working
☐ Private business ☐ Retired ☐ Other (please specify).....
☐ Labourer ☐ Student
4. Who accompanies you?
☐ Only by myself ☐ With my friends
☐ With my family ☐ With my family and friends
5. Are you domestic or foreign tourists?
☐ Domestic tourist ☐ Foreign tourist

If you are a domestic tourist, please proceed to question 7, if you are a foreign tourist, please proceed to questions 8, 9 and 10.

6. Which region of Vietnam do you come from?
☐ Northwest ☐ North Central Coast ☐ Southeast
☐ Northeast ☐ South Central Coast ☐ Mekong River Delta
☐ Red River Delta ☐ Central Highlands
7. Where do you come from?
☐ European countries (please specify.....)
☐ Asian countries (please specify.....)
☐ Other countries (please specify.....)
8. How many times have you come to Vietnam?
☐ First time ☐ 4-5 times
☐ 2-3 times ☐ Above 5 times
9. Why do you come to Vietnam?
☐ For tourism purpose only ☐ For both business and tourism purposes
☐ For business purpose only ☐ Others (please specify).....
10. How did you receive information about CBT in Tan Cuong specialty tea areas?
☐ Internet ☐ Newspaper/Publication ☐ TV
☐ Travel agency ☐ By friends/ other visitors ☐ Others (please specify).....

11. Why are you participating in tea tourism/CBT here?
- ☐ Just to enjoy and relax ☐ Research/field study
- ☐ Business purpose ☐ New experience
- ☐ Others (please specify).....
12. How many different tea areas that you have visited so far?
- ☐ This is the first one ☐ 4-5 areas
- ☐ 2-3 areas ☐ More than 5 areas

Section 2. In this section, I would like to learn about your tea tourism/CBT trip

13. Do you use home-stay here?
- ☐ Yes ☐ No (please indicate why.....)
14. Could you please indicate which of the following activities you would like to participate in your trip?

Go sightseeing green tea hills	☐ Yes	☐ No
Pick tealeaves with famers	☐ Yes	☐ No
Experience tea processing according to traditional methods	☐ Yes	☐ No
Drink self-make-up teapot	☐ Yes	☐ No
Listen to local people sing traditional songs	☐ Yes	☐ No
Enjoy tea culture performances	☐ Yes	☐ No
Taste local specialties	☐ Yes	☐ No
Buy tea products	☐ Yes	☐ No
Take photographs	☐ Yes	☐ No

Section 3. In this section, I would like to learn about your experience/opinion of tea tourism/CBT

15. To what extent do you agree or disagree by tick (X) in the appropriate scale

Question	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neutral	4 Agree	5 Strongly agree
Tourism has developed the community economically					
Tourism helps sell local products					
Tourism creates jobs for local residents					
Tourism helps the community obtain services					
Community-based tourism has contributed to protecting the traditional local culture					
Community-based tourism supports protecting the environment in the community					
Implementing CBT in specialty tea areas will result in environmental, social and economic sustainability					
CBT development is a proper direction for tourism development of specialty tea areas in Thai Nguyen province					

Section 4. In this section, I would like to seek your opinons about the roles of local communities in community-based tourism development:

16. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree by tick (X) in the appropriate scale:

Question	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neutral	4 Agree	5 Strongly agree
Experiences and/or rapports with local communities are extremely important to tourists in CBT					
Local people should play a positive and active role in tourism development in the community					
Local people should be consulted when tourism policies are being made					
Local people should have a voice in the decision-making process of local tourism development					
Local people should be financially supported to invest in tourism development					

Section 5. In this section, I would like to have your further opinions in the following matters:

17. What is your overall opinion of current CBT development in the community?

1 Very unsatisfactory	2 Not satisfactory	3 Neutral	4 Satisfactory	5 Very satisfactory

18. What do you think of more tourist services (might interest you) that could be offered by local communities in CBT?

19. Would you please give recommendations/suggestions to improve community-based tourism in Thai Nguyen's specialty tea areas?

END OF SURVEY

Thank you very much for your participation!

Appendix 20: Inventory Table with All Respondents

No.	Code (+ Year of Birth)	Type of Respondent	Country of Origin	Type of Methods Used	Date and Place of Interview
1.	RP5 (1978)	CBT local resident	Vietnam	Semi-structured interview (individual, face-to-face interview); Follow-up visits; Photographs; focus group discussion; join in their CBT activities	August 6, 2016 August 15, 2016 September 14, 23, 2016 Hong Thai 2, Tan Cuong, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
2.	FG15 (1980)	CBT local resident	Vietnam	Follow-up visits (see tea processing); Participant observation; photographs; focus group discussion; join in their CBT activities	August 15, August 16, 2016; September 14, 23, 2016 Hong Thai 2, Tan Cuong, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
3.	RP3 (1967)	CBT local resident	Vietnam	Semi-structured interview (individual, face-to-face interview); Follow-up visits; Photographs; participant observation	August 8; September 21, 2016 Hong Thai 2, Tan Cuong, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
4.	FG1 (1975)	CBT local resident	Vietnam	Follow-up visits; Photographs; participant observation; focus group discussion	August 8; September 21, 2016 Hong Thai 2, Tan Cuong, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
5.	RP30 (1990)	Staff of Tam Thai Vietnam International Company	Vietnam	Semi-structured interview (individual, face-to-face interview); Follow-up visits;	August 8, 2016; August 11, 2016 Hong Thai 2, Tan Cuong, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
6.	RP1 (1961)	CBT local resident	Vietnam	Semi-structured interview (individual, face-to-face interview); Follow-up visits;	August 5, 2016; August 9, 2016 Hong Thai 2, Tan Cuong, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
7.	RP29	CBT local resident	Vietnam	Semi-structured interview (individual, face-to-face interview); Follow-up visits;	August 5, 2016; August 9, 2016 Hong Thai 2, Tan Cuong, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam

8.	RP2 (1976)	CBT local resident	Vietnam	Semi-structured interview (individual, face-to- face interview); Follow-up visits; Photographs; participant observation	August 7, 2016; September 23, 2016 Hong Thai 2, Tan Cuong, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
9.	RP31 (1981)	CBT local resident	Vietnam	Follow-up visits; Photographs; participant observation	October 4, 2016; October 14, 2016 Hong Thai 2, Tan Cuong, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
10.	RP4 (1981)	CBT local resident	Vietnam	Semi-structured interview (individual, face-to- face interview); Follow-up visits; Photographs; focus group discussion	August 9, 10, 20; September 23, 2016 Hong Thai 2, Tan Cuong, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
11.	FG17 (1986)	CBT local resident	Vietnam	Follow-up visits (see tea processing); Participant observation; photographs; focus group discussion	August 9, 10, 20; September 23, 2016 Hong Thai 2, Tan Cuong, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
12.	RP15 (1967)	Non-CBT local resident	Vietnam	Semi-structured interview (individual, face-to- face interview)	September 28, October 4, 2016 Hong Thai 2, Tan Cuong, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
13.	RP6 (1952)	CBT local resident	Vietnam	Semi-structured interview (individual, face-to- face interview); Follow-up visits; Photographs; focus group discussion	August 24; September 1, 5, 11, 2016 Khuon 2, Phuc Triu, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
14.	RP8 (1956)	CBT local resident	Vietnam	Semi-structured interview (individual, face-to- face interview); Photographs; focus group discussion	September 1, 11, 2016 Khuon 2, Phuc Triu, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
15.	RP7 (1964)	CBT local resident	Vietnam	Semi-structured interview (individual, face-to- face interview); Photographs	September 5, 2016 Khuon 2, Phuc Triu, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
16.	RP14 (1961)	Non-CBT local resident	Vietnam	Semi-structured interview (individual, face-to- face interview);	September 7, 11; October 14, 2016

				Follow-up visits; Photographs; focus group discussion	Khuon 2, Phuc Triu, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
17.	FG12	Non-CBT local resident	Vietnam	Follow-up visits; focus group discussion; Photographs	September 7, 11, 2016 Khuon 2, Phuc Triu, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
18.	RP9	Non-CBT local resident	Vietnam	Semi-structured interview (individual, face-to- face interview); Photographs	August 9, 2016 Hong Thai 2, Tan Cuong, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
19.	RP10 (1963)	Non-CBT local resident	Vietnam	Semi-structured interview (individual, face-to- face interview)	August 9, 2016 Hong Thai 2, Tan Cuong, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
20.	RP13 (1962)	Non-CBT local resident	Vietnam	Semi-structured interview (individual, face-to- face interview); focus group discussion	September 6, 11, 2016 Khuon 2, Phuc Triu, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
21.	RP12 (1972)	Non-CBT local resident	Vietnam	Semi-structured interview (individual, face-to- face interview); Follow-up interview.	August 16, 22, 2016 Go Moc, Quyet Thang, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
22.	RP11 (1944)	Non-CBT local resident	Vietnam	Semi-structured interview (individual, face-to- face interview)	August 16, 2016 Go Moc, Quyet Thang, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
23.	FG7 (1961)	Non-CBT local resident	Vietnam	Focus group discussion	September 11, 2016 Khuon 2, Phuc Triu, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
24.	FG6 (1953)	Non-CBT local resident	Vietnam	Focus group discussion	September 11, 2016 Khuon 2, Phuc Triu, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
25.	FG13 (1982)	Non-CBT local resident	Vietnam	Focus group discussion	September 11, 2016 Khuon 2, Phuc Triu, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
26.	FG2 (1998)	Non-CBT local resident	Vietnam	Focus group discussion	August 8, 2016 Hong Thai 2, Tan Cuong,

					Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
27.	FG3 (1964)	Non-CBT local resident	Vietnam	Focus group discussion	August 8, 2016 Hong Thai 2, Tan Cuong, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
28.	FG4 (1972)	Non-CBT local resident	Vietnam	Focus group discussion	August 8, 2016 Hong Thai 2, Tan Cuong, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
29.	FG5 (1994)	Non-CBT local resident	Vietnam	Focus group discussion	August 8, 2016 Hong Thai 2, Tan Cuong, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
30.	FG19 (1962)	Non-CBT local resident	Vietnam	Focus group discussion	September 23, 2016 Hong Thai 2, Tan Cuong, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
31.	RP23	Phuc Triu commune leader	Vietnam	Semi-structured interview (individual, face-to-face interview); follow-up talks	August 24, September 5, 2011 Phuc Triu, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
32.	RP19	Tan Cuong commune leader	Vietnam	Semi-structured interview (individual, face-to-face interview), divided into 2 sections, follow-up interviews	August 12, 19, 2016 Tan Cuong, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
33.	RP21 (1963)	Tan Cuong commune leader	Vietnam	Semi-structured interview (individual, face-to-face interview)	August 19, 2016 Tan Cuong, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
34.	RP17 (1959)	Tan Cuong commune leader	Vietnam	Semi-structured interview (individual, face-to-face interview)	11 August, 2016 Guoc, Tan Cuong, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
35.	RP18 (1962)	Tan Cuong commune ex-leader	Vietnam	Semi-structured interview (individual, face-to-face interview)	August 11, 2016 Tan Cuong, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
36.	RP24	Tan Cuong commune leader	Vietnam	Semi-structured interview (individual, face-to-face interview)	September 20, 2016 Hong Thai 2, Tan Cuong, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam

37.	RP27 (1964)	Leader of Thai Nguyen Province's Association of Tourism	Vietnam	Semi-structured interview (individual, face-to-face interview)	September 16, 2016 Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
38.	RP16	Thai Nguyen city's manager	Vietnam	Semi-structured interview (individual, face-to-face interview)	August 5, 2016 Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
39.	RP28 (1983)	Staff of Culture and Information Department, Thai Nguyen city's People's Committee	Vietnam	Pre-trip email interview; semi-structured interview (individual, face-to-face interview); follow-up interviews	August 5, 2016; 17 October, 2016 Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
40.	RP25 (1961)	Leader of Thai Nguyen Province's Tourism Promotion Center	Vietnam	Semi-structured interview (individual, face-to-face interview)	September 22, 2016 Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
41.	RP22	Quyet Thang commune leader	Vietnam	Semi-structured interview (individual, face-to-face interview)	August 23, 2016 Go Moc, Quyet Thang, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
42.	RP20	Quyet Thang commune leader	Vietnam	Semi-structured interview (individual, face-to-face interview)	August 16, 2016 Go Moc, Quyet Thang, Thai Nguyen, Vietnam
43.	RP26	CBT expert, International Cooperation Department, CEMA Human Right Official, State Committee for Ethnic Minority Affairs (CEMA)	Vietnam	Semi-structured interview (individual, skype interview)	September 27, 2016 Skype interview
44.	Kazumi Noda	Tourist	Japanese	E-mail interview; Photographs; join in their CBT; talks	September 14, 2016
45.	Rumiko Mihara	Tourist	Japanese	Photographs; join in their CBT; talks	September 14, 2016
46.	Naoko Veda	Tourist	Japanese	Photographs; join in their CBT; talks	September 14, 2016
47.	Christine	Tourist	Netherlands	Photographs; join in their CBT; talks	September 23, 2016
48.	Aart	Tourist	Netherlands	Photographs; join in their CBT; talks	September 23, 2016
49.	Huong Anh	Tourist	Vietnam	Photographs; join in their CBT; talks	September 23, 2016

50.	Minh	Tourist	Vietnam	Photographs; join in their CBT; talks	September 23, 2016
51.	Yaara	Tourist	Israel	Photographs; join in their CBT; talks	October 14, 2016
52.	Omer	Tourist	Israel	Photographs; join in their CBT; talks	October 14, 2016
53.	David Kubin	Tourist	Czech Republic	E-mail interview; Photographs; join in their CBT; talks	October 14, 2016
54.	Radka	Tourist	Czech Republic	E-mail interview; Photographs; join in their CBT; talks	October 14, 2016