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The Bottom-Up Approach of Community-Based Ethnic Tourism: A Case Study in Chiang Rai

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1. Introduction

This chapter introduces the concept of community-based tourism, as a part of economic development plans in Thailand. It presents alternative tourism experiences initiated by an ethnic minority community and a non-government organization in the Northern Province of Chiang Rai. The discussion focuses on the dynamic experiences of tourism and factors in a 'bottom-up' planning approach towards desirable development outcomes. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the future implications of the implementation of the approach upon tourism policy involving ethnic minority communities applied beyond a single destination community.

1.1 Community development towards sustainable tourism

The concept of sustainable tourism has complex origins and can be interpreted somewhat differently in different cases and locations. The World Tourism Organization (WTO) defines sustainable tourism development (STD) as a broad concept involving fulfilment of economic, social and aesthetic needs while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems (Inskeep, 1998, p. 21).

Inskeep (1991, p. xviii) defines STD as being rooted in the sustainable development paradigm. He suggests that the sustainable community development approach can be applied to any scale of tourism development from large resorts to limited-size, special-interest tourism facilities. He believes that sustainability depends on how well the planning is formulated relative to the specific characteristics of an area's environment, economy and society, and on the effectiveness of implementation of plans and continuous management of tourism resources. Butler provides a comprehensive definition of sustainable community development in the context of tourism:

"...tourism which is developed and maintained in an area (community, environment) in such a manner and at such a scale that it remains viable over an indefinite period and does not degrade or alter the environment (human and physical) in which it exists to such a degree that it prohibits the successful development and well-being of their activities and processes." (Butler, 1993, p. 29)

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Finding a balance between the use of resources required for tourism development and preservation of those resources at tourism destinations is always very difficult when the goal is ethical and sustainable community development. In other words, trade-offs between the tourism industry and other groups of stakeholders, such as the people living in destination communities, are issues that have been discussed.

This debate requires some critical questions to be answered, including what is to be the top priority in implementation of policies. Choices range from conservation of natural and cultural heritage resources to economic development of tourism facilities and activities. In addition, there is the issue of what groups of people should be involved in the policymaking processes. These can sometimes appear to be intractable questions for public policymakers and tourism planners who are attempting to find desirable common interests of all parties such as tourists, local residents, tour operators, developers and government agencies.

Richards & Hall (2000, p. 6) suggest one of the principles should be to balance the costs and benefits in decisions about different courses of action by consideration of how different individuals and groups will gain and lose. However, it should be noted that the fundamental problem might be a lack of initial discussion in terms of whether or not tourism development should be promoted (Sharpley & Telfer, 2002, p. 14). Alternatively, if tourism is to be developed, what possible policy options would build on an understanding of all stakeholders' interests to develop a consensus based vision (Bramwell & Lane, 2000, p. 55)? Font and Sallows (2002, p. 27) agree and point out that local communities must take part in defining what sustainable tourism means to them, and should actively have input about decision-making processes.

Rather than a single formula or framework that fit all scales and types of tourist destinations, there might be some particular or unique complex issues related to achieving the successful implementation of STD in any given locality. Butler (1999, p. 70) concludes that success and failure factors for implementing STD are place and time specific, as well as relating to the nature of the specific development. Furthermore, sustainable development is a positive socio-economic change that does not undermine the ecological and social systems upon which a community and society are dependent. It can be argued that its successful implementation requires integrated planning and social learning processes; its viability depends on the full support of the people, their relationships with governments, their social institutions and their private activities (Ryan, 2002; Mastny, 2001; Roseland, 2000; Reed, 1997; Stabler, 1997; Wahab & Pigram, 1997; Coccossis & Nijkamp, 1995; and Inskeep, 1991).

The concept of sustainable tourism requires impact assessment as to whether local communities have been able to benefit from tourism development (Richards & Hall, 2000, p. 25). These authors suggest that the two major objectives of STD should be to improve the quality of life for the community and to increase the economic benefits that tourism brings to the local community. The achievement of these objectives would seem to depend on how planners approach policy about tourism development. In particular, the options are imposing planning from the top down, deriving from the local communities, or negotiating between the top-level policymakers and the locals.

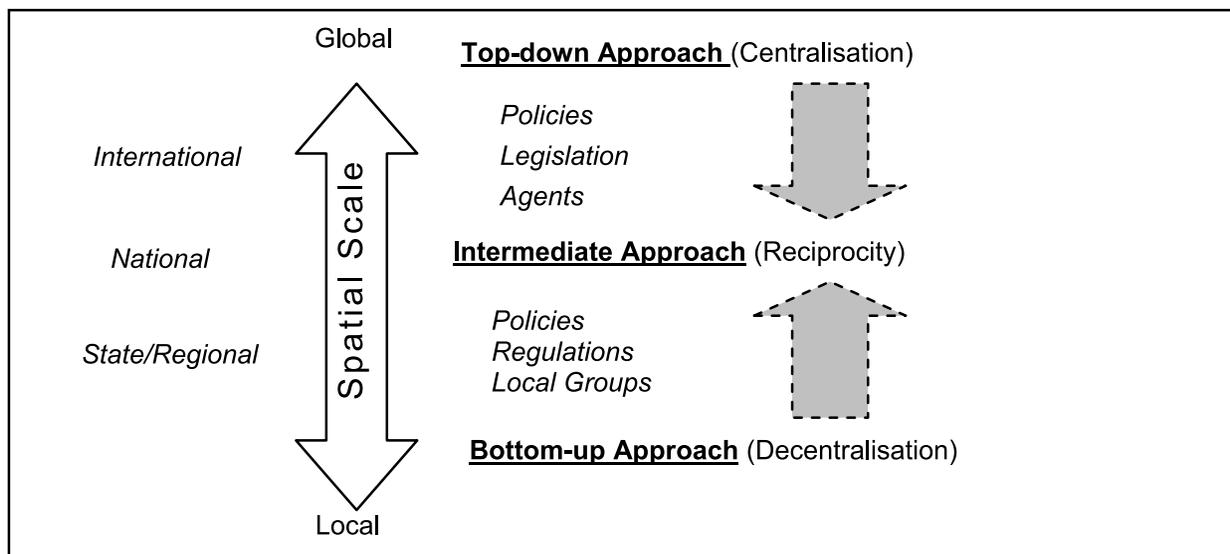
2. Community-based tourism: A 'bottom-up' approach

A policy option derived from the grassroots has not usually been a preferred choice for top-level policymakers. There are intermediate bodies to help facilitate and mediate dialogue

between top-level policymakers and locals. Nevertheless collaborative planning is often complex because the interactions between various groups of stakeholders, as well as the nature of tourism development impacts on local resources, are markedly different from one area and country to another, and are often rapidly changing (Hall, 2000, 1999; Murphy, 1985).

For example, destination communities are literally sold as part of the tourist product, and they are often expected to conform to the tourist's image of the idealised community (Richards & Hall, 2000, p. 301). However, the impacts of tourism development and changes on rural communities at the village level are likely to be more than in urban communities where modern facilities have been developed.

Figure 1 shows the conceptual relationship between the three main policy approaches: top-down, intermediate and bottom-up. There is, of course, no one right answer to the dilemma of how to balance top-down and bottom-up forces, either by reference to the criteria of democratic participation or efficiency in planning and management processes (Carley & Christie, 2000, p. 124).



Source: Sofield, 2003, p. 281; Howitt, 2001, p. 18; Carley & Christie, 2000, pp. 186–89.

Fig. 1. Conceptual Diagram of Policy Approaches

Kelly and Becker (2000, p. 8) suggest that the role of professional planners is to help communities make their own plans. The concept of a 'bottom-up' policy approach reflects a principle for local communities to set their own goals and make decisions about their resources in the future, including heritage preservation, development of buildings, parks, open space and landscapes, and other conservation or development activities.

A decision-making process in this policy approach is initiated by local groups, without having derived their ideas from local, regional, central or international government agencies. The initiatives taken in this process usually reflect and construct diverse (even contradictory) visions of alternative futures consistent with local values and experience (Howitt, 2001, p. 18). Edwards (1985) suggests that this process from the ground up leads to an appreciation of indigenous knowledge systems and popular participation towards various future alternatives centred on people and the environment.

In the context of community culture†, local knowledge helps each community to answer questions of who they are, and how and why they differ from others, and which allocates them to social categories constructed on the basis of age, gender, descent, material status, wealth, occupation, skill, power and so forth (McCaskill & Kampe, 1997, p. 41). A challenge is whether or not people in general will have respect for local knowledge as valid knowledge of each locality, and for the resident community's role in governance of their place (Brown, 2001, p. 6).

In a tourism context, the 'bottom-up' policy approach indicates challenges and opportunities for destination communities to work with the public and private sectors. However, the key question is whether or not all tourism stakeholders are involved at the beginning of development plans, not at the end! This concept of participatory tourism planning is initially developed from the grassroots and extends to the global level by incorporating local wisdom, knowledge, culture and needs through alternative future scenarios of possible global tourism transformation. Continuity of pride amongst people living in destination communities might encourage local participation and maintain a sense of community and social equity for local residents.

3. Case study: Bottom-up tourism development approach

3.1 A brief review of tourism development in Thailand

The Thai tourism industry has generally performed very well for the last forty years, with growing numbers of tourists visiting Thailand, from only 81,340 foreign visitors travelling in Thailand in 1960 (TAT, 2000, p. 20) to almost 15 million in 2007 (TAT, 2008). The forecasts from the WTO (2001, p. 20) are 18.6 million in 2010 and almost 37 million in 2020, with an overall growth rate of about 7 percent per year. A challenge for the Thai Government, however, would seem to be to sustain an increasing recognition of the tourism attractions of Thailand while achieving the highest standards for tourist satisfaction with the least negative long-term tourism development impacts on destination communities.

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

As a result of the increasing scarcity of natural resources, it has become more difficult for villagers to make a living in traditional ways, and engaging with tourism has become a necessity for many. Trekking tours are now a relatively common form of activity (Bartsch,

† A community has its own culture. It is a culture which values human beings and a harmonious community. Community culture is the most critical driving force behind community development; it can be utilised when the consciousness of its members is raised to achieve an awareness of their own culture (Nartsupha, 1991, p. 119).

2000, p. 198) and theoretically this should be a positive development, but it has also not been free of problems. Towards the mid-1990s the trekking market had been transformed to also include 50% older, more conventional tourists, as part of the development of the new ecotourism fashion (Weaver, 1998, p.169). The problematic results of this are exemplified by remote upland Karen villages in Northern Thailand, where undesirable effects have included pollution caused by the litter dropped by tourists, noise pollution late at night, encroachment on the norms and values of the villagers, and tensions produced amongst the local people themselves (Bartsch, 2000; Dearden 1996; Toyota, 1996).

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

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

3.2 Community-based tourism development policies

Local communities occasionally seek alternative forms of tourism and associated development in order to balance opportunities and costs. There have been a number of research papers reviewing community-based tourism (for example: Hatton, 1999; Parnwell, 2001; Pleumarom, 2002). However, there has been not nearly enough attention paid to political and ethical factors. Nevertheless, because of the diversity of values within communities, what is appropriate to achieve sustainable tourism development must be determined equitably, and this means that a relevant system of guiding ethical principles must be consciously brought to bear in the expansion of this industry (Smith & Duffy, 2003). The quotation below manifests an emerging sense of cultural crisis towards tourism development in many Southeast Asian countries including Thailand.

"To what extent can tourism be encouraged and developed without destroying the very essence of what tourists have come to experience and see? The host communities should not have their

culture and unique environment totally submerged in the trivia of western civilisation, or even under some of the worst aspects of modern Asian lifestyles...” (PATA, 2000, p. 10)

In Chiang Rai, Northern Province of Thailand, a tourism development project is being undertaken by local communities from the hill-tribe village of 'Jalae'. Its implementation, as an example of the bottom-up approach in community-based ethnic tourism development, has been supported by a local Non-Government Organization (NGO) called the Mirror Cultural Arts Centre (MCAC).

The MCAC, is a local non-profit organization with sixteen core members, originally from Bangkok but extended to include local ethnic people, local and foreign volunteers, and a rotating staff of volunteer teachers and workers, all striving towards the common goal of rebuilding strong, active hill-tribe communities. Their funding comes from various donors and organizations, from international to local levels (e.g. the Rockefeller Foundation, Singapore International Foundation, Thailand Research Fund) as well as donations from teacher volunteers visiting every month and income from souvenirs sold from the shop in the centre as well as via the Internet. This NGO began introducing social activities in 1991, using drama and camping as main activities to promote learning among children and the community.

Since 1998 MCAC has developed a number of community development projects in the area of Mae Yao Sub-District in the Muang District of Chiang Rai Province. This area contains 14 villages located in a mountainous region that has approximately 50 clusters of households with a total population of 12,000 from three different hill-tribe ethnic groups – Akha, Lahu, and Mien.

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

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

In 1999, the MCAC was asked by a group of local residents of Jalae village to plan and develop tourism facilities and activities within their village as an alternative source of income to supplement farming. In response, the MCAC organized a new team to help the

[‡] *Bannok* in Thai means 'rural' but is often used in a derogatory sense by people in the cities.

community collect data about the village history, including research on hill-tribe culture and traditions in the area. During this process, in-depth interviews were conducted with key village informants, especially older people. They also produced video documentaries of cultural festivals which included stories about hill-tribe culture, tribal music and tour programs, to allow potential tourists to better appreciate the attractions of the area. Two years after this project was launched, a community-based tour initiative, that had been given the name 'Hill-tribe Cultural Experience', expanded to other villages. The MCAC team, working as facilitators, has had a vital role in ensuring the feasibility of the project, particularly by assisting with funding applications and volunteer recruitment to build a museum in the village as well as other tourist facilities, with marketing, and in training villagers in communications and business management skills.

3.3 The study area of Jalae village

Jalae is a village in Mae Yao Sub-district, located 20 kilometres from Chiang Rai city and 11 kilometres from the MCAC headquarters with convenient transport access from the main highway.

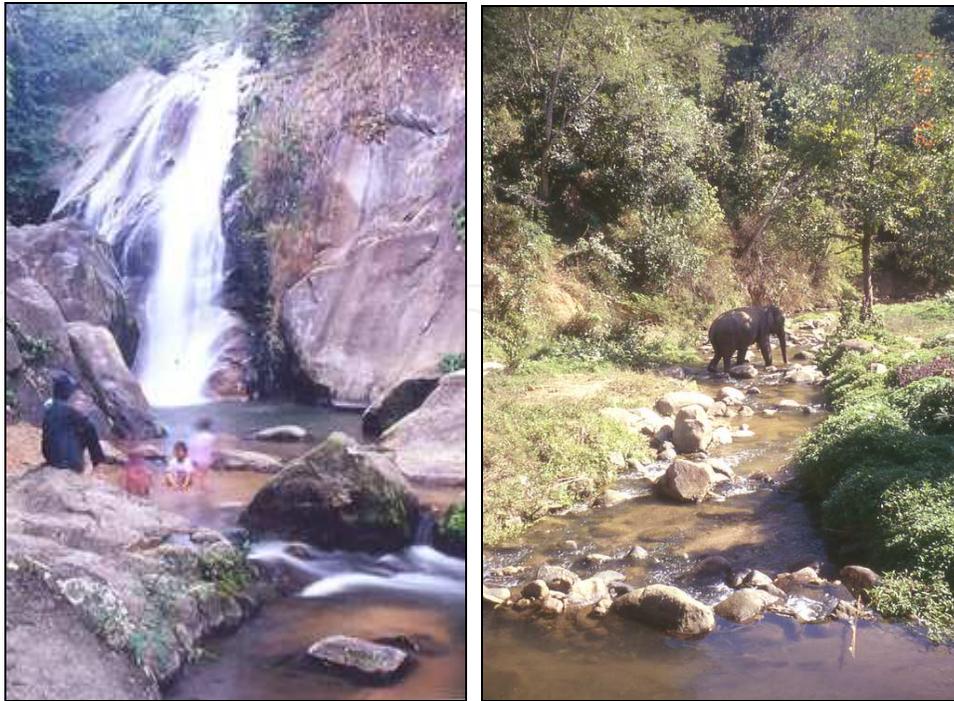
Information posted at the village Information Centre[§], gave the population in 2000 to have been 332, with 90 families housed in 59 households. The main ethnic group was the Lahu with 40 households but there were also 19 Akha households. The village and its immediate surroundings are shown in Figure 2. Other villages in the immediate area are also composed of different ethnic groups, namely Lahu (Ya Fu village), Akha (Apa, Aja, and Pukao villages) and Mien (Yao village).

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

A few tour operators had attracted tourists to the area for trekking and home-stay activities, with the tourists paying between \$25 and \$80 (Australian) per person per night. However, hill-tribe families themselves received less than one Australian dollar per night per tourist for use of their homes, including dinner and breakfast. Tour guides asked host families not to ask for tips from tourists at the end of their stay, but they were pressured to provide full hospitality. These tour guides came mainly from agents located in the city areas of Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai.

The researcher also observed that not all of the tour guides could accurately explain hill-tribe culture to tourists. It was customary for them to encourage tourists to visit specific handicraft shops in the village from whose owners they received commissions. Villagers knew about this practice of the guides and therefore were keen to take control themselves in order to derive more income. However, they realised that they would need people to train and support them in hospitality skills.

[§] The local information was the most up-to-date data the researcher could obtain during the fieldwork.



Photos: Theerapappisit, P. Jan. 2001.

Fig. 2. Jalae Village and its Surroundings

4. Data collection and analysis

Data was collected at Jalae village using various techniques from reviewing the public policies to interviews, questionnaires and focus group discussion so that both quantitative (degrees of importance) and qualitative (contextual analysis) methods of data analysis were integrated.

4.1 Policy review

The development policies of Jalae village are based on a 5-year (2002-2006) development plan and an annual development plan (2001) drafted by Mae Yao Sub-District Administration Office (MY-SAO) for which information which can be found on the MCAC website. The development policy and budget allocations of MY-SAO were reviewed and supplemented with visual observation and photographs to examine existing social and physical resources in the village. Later email and phone

communication was maintained after the fieldwork in 2001 with one of the responsible MCAC staff-members. A follow-up visit to the village was undertaken in May 2006 combining further interviews with MCAC staff and direct observation of the activities of the village. The focus of the research was the annual Lahu New Year festival in February, since this was a peak season for tourism.

4.2 In-depth interviews

In-depth interviews in this case were conducted mainly with members of committees in Jalae Village and the MCAC team. There were then regular checks via email and telephone with one of the MCAC staff members in order to assess progress in project implementation, and the 2006 return visit.

Keeping an open line of communication with the MCAC team was very important. Interviews were more casual than in the former two cases as no formal letters were needed to introduce the researcher before the visit. An informal style of working was also the prevailing preference for the MCAC.

4.3 Focus group discussion

The village information centre was used for conducting the focus group discussion because of its central location and large space. A research assistant acted as interpreter and a local volunteer also assisted in communicating with people in the meeting (see Figure 3).



Photos: Theerapappisit, P., Jan. 2001.

Fig. 3. Atmosphere of the Focus Group Discussion at Jalae Village

There were thirty-five available and willing participants in the meeting from diverse groups in the village. The ratio of male to female was 60% to 40%. Only 3 young people aged between 15 and 24 (out of a total of 95 in the village) appeared. Details about respondent numbers are shown in Table 1.

4.4 Questionnaires

Sixteen questions were posed to identify attitudes to problems and benefits of local participation in tourism planning. One respondent was chosen for each household in this village (see Table 2 for sample sizes and characteristics).

Adults and elders		Youths		Total numbers of participants
Male	Female	Male	Female	
19	13	2	1	35 (11 % of 332, total population in the village)
32 (14 % of total 237)		3 (3 % of total 95)		

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

Table 1. Comparative Numbers of Local Representatives

Numbers of respondents		Total numbers of respondents	Total households
Male	Female		
28	13	41 (70%)	59

Table 2. Comparative Numbers of Respondents

4.5 Participant observation and informal interviews

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

5. Results

5.1 Policy review

5.1.1 Integrated development policies for the local community

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

The theme of one particular community-based tourism development program organized in cooperation between the MCAC team and hill-tribe village representatives in the Mae Yao Sub-District was 'cultural experience' (see atmosphere and activities in Figure 4). Jalae village was selected as a pilot study to launch a tour program in September 2002. Local

villagers wanted to have trial home-stay activities. A website to promote this project (in English, Japanese and Thai) can be found at www.hilltribetour.com. This website has played a vital role in promoting the tour programs. It contains images of village activities, up-to-date stories, tour itineraries, information on hill-tribe cultures, codes of conduct (e.g. local customs, “do’s” and “don’ts”, the cultural protocol), monthly e-newsletters and web-board discussions.

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



Photos: Theerapappisit, P., Jan. 2001.

Fig. 4. Atmosphere and Activities at the MCAC

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

** Average exchange rate as of January 2003: around 23.6 Baht to \$A1.

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

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

Table 3. Comparative Income Breakdown for Host Villagers

As Table 3 shows, each household under the MCAC payment system got almost 80% of the total income, or 25 times more than they used to get from outside tour operators. Some elderly women and children in the village got extra income by selling handmade woven products and from tourists' donations for cultural shows such as dance performances. The MCAC team assisting in the administrative and financial management of the village kept the remaining profits to pay for transport, telecommunication and other operating costs.

After reviewing the trial program the MCAC team and local representatives agreed that it would be better to encourage longer tour programs because it would lead to greater cultural learning experiences for both tourists and the host communities. In addition to this positive effect, local people would also received economic benefits from related trekking activities. The proposed long-stay programs^{††} (from one to two weeks or more) were devised as follows:

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

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

^{††} Source: <http://www.hilltribetour.com> and email communication with MCAC staff, January 2003.

5.1.2 Local government development plans

Representatives from 14 villages in Mae-Yao Sub-District had the chance to participate with the local government in decision-making about future development plans only once a year (MY-SAO, 2001, p. 23). The problem of insufficient participation in conservation and development of tourism attractions in the villages was also addressed on these occasions (MY-SAO, 2001, p. 11). Budgets for tourism development planning in 2002–2006 provided for improved physical landscape development, tourist accommodation and shop-houses, a cultural centre and museums, parking, signage and leaflets for public relations, and a database of tourist attractions (MY-SAO, 2001, pp. 34–8).

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

5.2 Views of local residents

5.2.1 Results of in-depth interviews

5.2.1.1 Impacts of tourism development

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

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

greater chance for the younger generation to be influenced by different cultural attitudes, such as modern costumes and lifestyles.

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

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

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

5.2.1.2 Problems and benefits of local participation in tourism planning

It was a widely-held view that the village headman and the village committee played a vital role in encouraging villagers to become involved in meetings to discuss matters of public interest and benefit, such as traditional festivals, environmental conservation, and coordination with local government officials and the MCAC team. With regard to attendance at meetings, although the village headman believed that meeting times had not interfered with agricultural work, some male farmers argued that they preferred to pay attention to their agricultural and livestock farming rather than to participate in public meetings. To solve this problem, the headman advocated imposing a penalty of 50 Baht on villagers who did not attend the village committee meetings. One elderly man also pointed out that it was more critical to educate the younger generation on the importance of public participation in community development. There were only a few youth representatives who consistently attended the meetings because most thought that the issues discussed were only for adults.

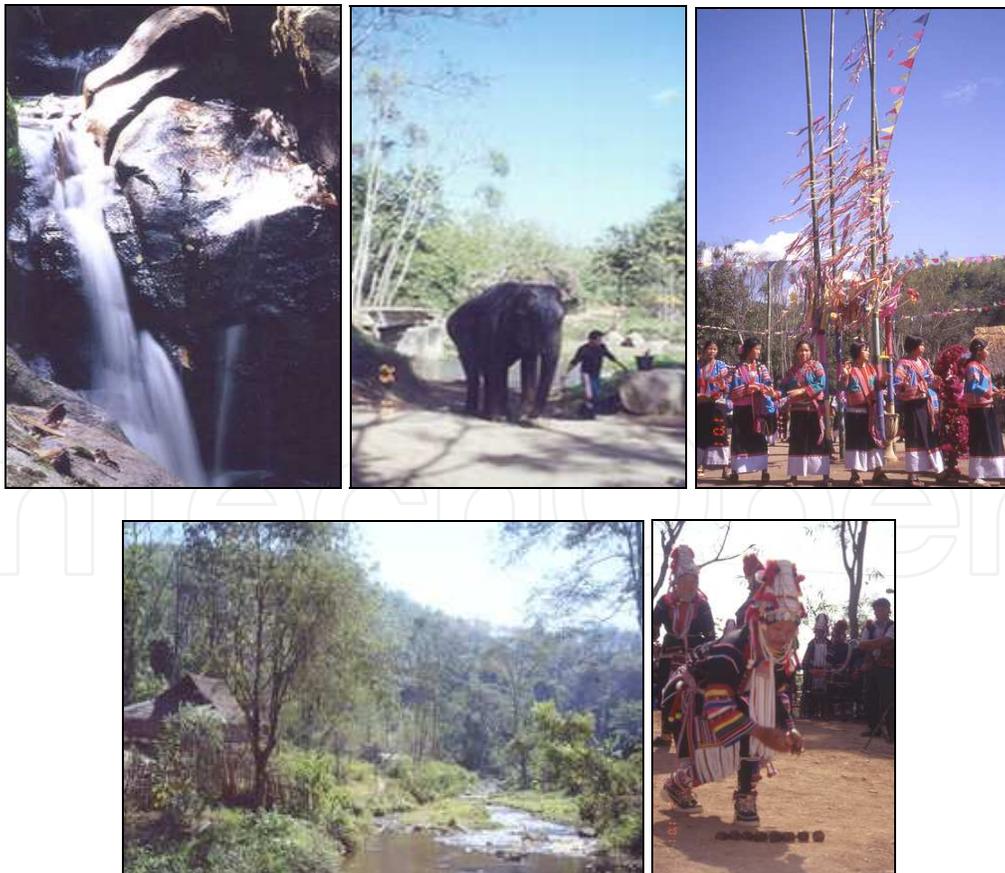
On the other hand, there was clear evidence of positive results derived from the meetings. One was a sign setting out rules for visitors located at the village gateway. More

importantly, greater negotiating power and control of the activities of external tour operators and walk-in tourists were also positive outcomes. This was reflected in discussions about problems that needed to be avoided. While most villagers wanted to get income from tourism, the village committee expressed concern about tourist numbers and the amount of time that visitors should be limited to when staying in home-stays and going on trekking adventures, because if the tourists took up too much time they would interfere with the normal life and needs of the villagers.

The general issue of participation was recognised as needing attention. A group of older villagers said that they would like to see coherent long-term education and training concerning the benefits of local participation in tourism planning, as supported by the local government.

5.2.2 Results of the focus group discussion

During the focus group discussion questions about heritage resources and tourism attractions were discussed. Figure 5 shows what local respondents in Jalae village identified as being natural and cultural heritage resources. The significant natural resources are the Huey Mae Sai Water Fall, the local creek, mountainous landscape and livestock, particularly elephants. Local residents perceive Lahu cultures such as their festivals, rituals and ceremonies with traditional costumes, folk music and dance as their cultural heritage resources.



Photos: Theerapappisit, P., Jan. 2001

Fig. 5. Heritage Resources and Tourist Attractions

The focus group discussion also employed a voting process to assess existing problems and future benefits in terms of economic, environmental, socio-cultural and personal aspects. The numeric values are based upon average on mean score marking values of importance with the highest value being 3. Votes were translated into mean scores for each item of both problems and benefits.

5.2.2.1 Perceived problems

Overall, environmental and socio-cultural problems received higher mean ratings than both economic and personal aspects. However, the highest mean for a perceived problem was related to communication in Thai (M=2.67). This result suggests that these hill-tribe people realise that their limitation in speaking the Thai language resulted in misunderstanding of laws and regulations, and this was a significant problem limiting community development. Problems of migration of local residents to cities to work as labourers and insufficient social welfare programs were also rated as very important social problems (M=2.57 and M=2.50, respectively).

The lack of Thai citizenship was also a problem for many hill-tribe people (M=2.44). The MCAC team provided consultation services and legal support so that villagers could gain lawful permission to work, including in the tourism industry. Local villagers perceived these negative factors as disadvantaging community development and limiting their ability to obtain social welfare benefits from the government. These factors related to development impacts irrespective of the presence of tourism.

In addition, the insufficiency of job opportunities and low wages (M=2.38) and migration of labour to the main cities (M=2.57) were also identified as problems. In interviews, local villagers suggested that they were taken advantage of by tour companies that provided them with low incomes for their home-stay and trekking operations. Understandably, villagers would prefer to get a fairer share of the revenue for their services. To ensure tourist satisfaction, training in Thai, English and hospitality services was regarded by MCAC and local villagers as crucial to the success of future community-based tourism.

5.2.2.2 Desired needs/benefits

In the focus group rating of issues, the highest score received was in relation to adequate and consistent year-round tourist numbers (M=2.64). However, this expectation might be difficult to achieve because most tourists, both domestic and international, tend to prefer to visit villages at the peak periods of the year when ethnic ceremonies or festivals are happening. Whether a more regular flow of tourists would result in overall economic needs for the majority of villagers is also questionable as catering to regular tourism activities throughout the year could lead to conflicts with farming activities and other aspects of daily life. Additional benefits with regard to tourism development that were identified include:

- Control of community handicraft shops (M=2.60) and distribution of proceeds to all stakeholders.
- Preservation of hill-tribe costumes (M=2.36), given increasing costs and changing attitudes of the younger generation.
- Balancing budget priorities with respect to road upgrading (M=2.48) and landscape improvement (M=2.35).
- Upgrading English training (M=2.29).

Although environmental, socio-cultural and personal problems were identified in the analysis above, the overall results suggest that local representatives perceived the benefits of tourism more importantly as being economic.

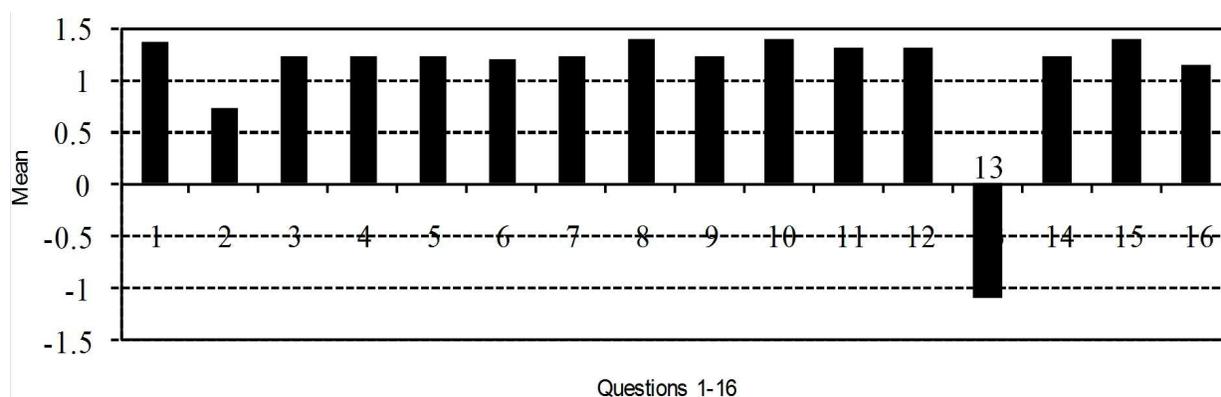
5.3 Questionnaire results

Questions about problems and benefits associated with local participation in tourism planning processes were asked of 41 villagers (the same questions as were asked in the other two case studies). Table 4 and Figure 6 show the comparison of results in relation to the 16 questions (shown as mean scores). These results show this group of local people had fairly strong agreement across most of the 16 questions (means between 1.2 and 1.4).

Jalae Village (N)	Attitude* means for the 16 questions															
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Means (41)	1.4	0.7	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.2	1.4	1.3	1.3	-1.1	1.2	1.4	1.2
Standard deviation	0.5	1.1	0.8	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.7	0.4	0.5	0.4

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

Table 4. Attitudes about Local Participation in Jalae Village



Questions, by numbers, were: In your village, what do you think about the following statements:

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

Fig. 6. Results of Questionnaire: Mean Ratings by Question

The overall response from the 41 respondents about having input in tourism planning was neutral (Question 2, $M=0.7$). It seems likely that this is because they already felt involved in formal meetings arranged by the village committees or/and local government agencies, and besides, most had trust in the village headman as they usually reported their needs directly to him. This feedback is reflected in response to Question 13, which was that they did not believe that external bodies would be more influential in local participation than internal factors in the village ($M= -1.1$).

Answers to open-ended questions regarding the reasons why they believed that more education and access to information were needed (Questions 1 and 8) indicate that villagers want a supporting body like the MCAC to help them develop more efficient methods for participation in developing tourism plans for the village, in language translation and in public relations. They also expressed the view that the MCAC team had significantly assisted them with financial administration, pre-tour communication and management, with minimum investment costs.

Villagers suggested the main reason for their preference for being involved in the early stages of planning (Question 10), was that it would be difficult to change decisions after action plans were implemented. In addition, they thought they would be more willing to participate in the process if they could trust future political commitments (Question 15) as this would assure them they were not wasting their time and energy.

5.4 Results of participant observation and informal interviews

As previously mentioned, the researcher lived with the MCAC team and afterwards kept in touch with them via email and by other forms of communication. This NGO consistently expressed interest in enhancing the strength of human resources in local communities and focussed on resolving social problems rather than promoting tourism as a priority. Various parallel community development programs were initiated, such as a youth network, self-reliant agriculture, information technology development, an anti-drug network and community music programs. It became clear in informal interviews that the MCAC team believed that these programs would result in positive learning outcomes, especially for young people to become interested in developing a long-term vision for their own community.

In order to build strong and healthy families and supportive social environments, the MCAC team developed a policy of working together with the village committees and local representatives to build strategies for community planning and tourism development. Diverse styles of local handicrafts were promoted at local shops and via a website (www.ebannok.com). This included cloth weaving of tribal-style bags, shirts, skirts, home decorations, necklaces and clay whistles. These skills could generate income for hill-tribe women not taking drugs, or those trying to give them up.

The distribution of profits was organized according to a coding system to identify the villagers who produced particular products. Each producer would get a 30% share of the sale price after passing a quality control procedure and a further 40% of the total sale price when products were sold. Thirty percent of the profit was used for administrative and operational costs. Villagers also organized a system of rotation of host houses for tourists to ensure equal distribution.

It was found that a major impact on tourism was the relocation of Jalae village from state-owned highland forest preservation land to a lowland plain area as a result of the Thailand Community Forest Bill in 1999.## This is because the new location has basic problems needing future attention such as lack of shade from trees and loss of unique traditional-style houses. In addition, the new location needed a garbage collection system, and informative signage and town maps (see Figure 7). The MCAC team fought for increased budgets from both local government agencies and overseas aid organizations, at the same time as promoting community development and environmental conservation programs.



Photos: Theerapappisit, P., Jan. 2001.

Fig. 7. Physical Problems in Jalae Village

Elderly people suggested during informal interviews that there was an attitudinal change amongst young tribal people over the last 30 years leading to decreasing pride in their

The Community Forestry Bill of 1999 was passed to rehabilitate degraded reserved forest lands, especially in National Parks, and people were no longer permitted to live in state-owned preservation areas. Thailand's laws governing national parks, which were enacted in the early 1960s, assumed that human use and nature preservation were incompatible, and are therefore particularly strict on habitat protection. However, their enforcement has often been applied against local villagers seeking to use the resources to which they previously had access, rather than against rich and influential entrepreneurs. (Jantakad and Gilmour, 1999)

indigenous culture and loss of self-confidence. Young people no longer wear indigenous dress except at special village festivals or for ceremonies. Traditional musical instruments have also disappeared because missionaries told them that they should not perform their own rituals and ceremonies, of which the instruments were an integral part. It was observed that the pattern of traditional lifestyle had been disrupted by modern media influences such as television programs, movies, music, magazines and the Internet. It was pointed out that these external influences might be resulting in hill-tribe teenagers feeling disconnected from their own physical and cultural environments and their religions and traditional rituals.

However, there have been some cultural improvements partly due to tourism. Women were observed to have a higher degree of influence in maintaining traditional costumes and cultural performances at village festivals and ceremonies (see Figure 8).



Photos: Theerapappisit, P., Jan. 2001.

Fig. 8. Cultural Festivals and Tourism Activities

A foreign volunteer pointed out that these events were what most tourists expected to experience in the village. As Cohen found, the women in a unique ethnic village could become a standard attraction for tourist excursions. However, he raises the issue of hill tribe people mostly playing a passive role in otherwise contrived situations created and managed by outsiders against their will (Cohen, 2004, pp. 305–6). This is clearly most likely to occur where there is no local involvement in tourism development planning.

There is a hill-tribe youth network composed of fourteen village representatives in all fourteen villages of the Mae Yao Sub-district, some of whom used to be drug addicts. They had been trained in computer skills and given English and Thai lessons by lowland Thai youths at the MCAC. The main goals of these activities were to develop leadership skills, to encourage active roles as tour guides, to build relationships between these groups and to eliminate cultural misconceptions. In order to build a sense of pride for the local communities the making of traditional handicrafts, such as weaving and bamboo work, was encouraged. Children spontaneously exchange their ideas, knowledge and experiences at a home-stay and with tourist trekkers.

6. Discussion

This section integrates the results from the various data sets to show that community development through effective local participation can be a useful tool for promoting long-term tourism outcomes.

6.1 Bottom-up: Community and NGO working together

The integrated results from a review of policy documents, in-depth interviews, participant observation and informal interviews suggest that the MCAC team played a significant role as a facilitator and supporter of community-based tourism planning. The local community derived definite benefits from this process. For example, there was a mutual interest between Jalae village representatives and the MCAC team in developing a network of tour guides. The youth network project also convinced many youths, both in the village and those from the lowland, to learn and work together towards the same ultimate goal of achieving desirable community-based tourism development. Jalae village has an advantage in its location, in which people from two different hill-tribes, Lahu and Akha, live in the village with a Mien village that is located nearby. This provides the possibility of expanding tourism activities in the local area to include a diversity of cultural attractions, for example, via trekking on elephants or horses to more remote villages.

It was found that ordinary villagers were willing to trust their village headman, local committees and representatives to effectively voice their needs to the local government. The small size of the village (59 households) may help villagers feel comfortable about communicating with their representatives. The nearness of MCAC to the village and to other projects of the MCAC might be factors contributing to effective teamwork in undertaking participatory activities between various groups of villagers and the MCAC team.

There was a clear economic benefit from the sale of locally made products sold via the Internet. The income derived from these sales was seen to enhance interest in villagers working together to develop quality products with the MCAC team. This 'bottom-up' approach to job creation might help to stop young people from leaving the village to find work in the cities.

6.2 Changes in local resources and communities

The combined research findings indicate that there had been changes since the village was relocated. For example, the focus group discussion revealed that environmental and socio-

cultural impacts, such as garbage collection, loss of traditional-style housing features, labour migration, social welfare, drug abuse and Thai citizenship, were important issues to address. It should be noted that these impacts may not directly be derived from the tourism industry, but rather are bigger problems facing the community.

Table 3 indicates that there was a significant economic benefit gained from community-based tourism as co-arranged by the MCAC team and the villagers. The almost 80% of the income going to the villagers is a significant improvement from what they used to receive from private trekking tour companies. Michaud found that a trekking agency in Chiang Mai could earn as much as 97.7 % of total charges paid by the tourists while the host villagers normally only received between 1.5 and 2.3 percent share of income (1997, pp. 142–4).

An evaluation of the identified policy views of the MCAC team and the community suggests that they felt it was important to mitigate possible negative impacts resulting from tourism development by focusing particularly on human resource development, such as increasing education and skills training. It was also felt necessary to seriously consider conservation of environmental and socio-cultural resources in order to sustain tourism attractions. Cohen (1996, pp. 140–1) noted in five hill-tribe tourism case studies in Northern Thailand that a balance was often achieved between heritage conservation of the different spheres of village life, that is, in working, social and family life, and tourism development. He observed:

“...although some of the villages may have been ‘spoilt’ by tourism, and hence are no longer as ‘authentic’ as they used to be in the past, intensive penetration of tourism has not had a markedly disruptive impact on the economic and social life of the villager.”

It also became clear from informal interviews and participant observation that the attitudes of hill-tribe youths have been influenced by modern media, as can be observed in their clothing. As mentioned earlier, it will be a very challenging task for the MCAC team and Jalae villagers to work together to conserve the Lahu people’s heritage resources and the area’s natural environment, while developing more and better quality tourism facilities.

Analysis of the children’s pictures revealed some common interests with regard to local culture and the natural environment. The children’s pictures show physical changes in the natural environment and cultural changes in the village and surrounding areas. Most foci of the pictures are environmental and socio-cultural aspects. These findings suggest that young people appreciated the benefits of tourism but not at the risk of environmental and socio-cultural degradation, such as loss of traditional-style houses and other features in the cultural landscape.

6.3 Factors contributing and hindering on local participation

Findings from the questionnaire, as summarised in Table 4 and Figure 8, and results from in-depth interviews are linked to evaluate perceived problems and benefits of local participation. These have been found to include:

- A need for more education about participation, particularly during early stages of tourism planning, and political commitments (M=1.4 equivalent in Questions 8, 10 and 15);

- A need for more access to information about participation in order to minimise possible conflicts of interest amongst various stakeholder groups (M=1.3 in both Questions 11 and 12);
- A need for more diversity in representation by interest groups (Question 4, M=1.2), by including disadvantaged groups such as women and young people;
- A need for more active involvement in the process of tourism planning (Question 2, M=0.7) to strengthen trust in final decisions based on democratic processes.

Local participation in tourism planning was perceived as the key to reaping benefits and minimising problems (Question 5, M=1.2), due to the community's ability to deal effectively with external bodies such as tourists and tour operators (Question 14, M=1.2). A sense of hope for economic improvement was identified as the most important incentive to participate in the planning process (Question 7, M=1.2). This may be because villagers could not afford to participate in the meetings during daytime hours when they needed to work for their living. One respondent suggested a warning or penalty system as a practical means of enforcing participation in the planning process. However, encouragement through more positive measures to foster the willingness of local villagers to participate without regulatory sanctions and economic incentives would seem likely to result in longer lasting changes in attitudes.

Local leadership was found to affect the degree of local participation in tourism planning (Williams & Lawton, 2001). This result was confirmed by comments by local villagers who said that leadership by the village headmen was the most important factor affecting their commitment towards participating in tourism development planning. This suggests that improving leadership skills could lead to more effective network building for local people resulting in more confidence in expressing opinions.

Two further suggestions about the desirable outcomes of local participation in the planning process were revealed from the results of the questionnaire. Firstly, greater sharing of economic benefits needed to be achieved (Question 6, M=1.2). Secondly, greater networking and understanding among various groups of stakeholders was needed (Question 16, M=1.2). It will not be easy, however, to satisfy all stakeholders in practice and attempts to increase public interest in the future of tourism development rather than in merely furthering individual profits are needed.

There the only real conflicts were between the NGO and the local drug mafia, and with those tour operators and other commercial interests who found themselves losing profits as a result of the community-based development initiatives. There are still very complex social issues and problems of human rights in the area, which have the capability of affecting the tourism project, but these are likely to be lessened by the tourism initiative, rather than exacerbated.

There are numerous small-scale examples world-wide of where tourism has resulted in economic benefits as well as contributing to the safeguarding of cultural and natural heritages in rural villages. Currently, however, such knowledge is beyond the reach of the remote northern Thai villages studied in the present research as there is a lack of education and training accessible from responsible public agency such as the Sub-district Office. In-depth knowledge and understanding through proper education programs about the nature

of tourism and associated development is necessary in emerging tourist destination communities because undesirable impacts of tourism development can then be possibly managed and controlled.

7. Conclusions

Community-based tourism is complex and involves complicated processes to be undertaken by destination ethnic communities (Singh, Timothy & Dowling, 2003). Collaborative planning is undertaken through the political process and it is via this process that the views of participant stakeholders are developed and evolve. Steps towards successful local empowerment or local capacity building are often difficult and not necessarily achievable for all communities (Burn, 2004; Mowforth & Munt, 2003; Hall, 1999).

The three most common problems were identified as the impacts of the physical development of local communities and of tourism infrastructure on natural and cultural heritages, conflicts of interest amongst stakeholders and ineffective local participation in the planning process. There is a clear interrelationship between all these factors, and a universal dimension to all of them, as they are local reflections of issues of development needs. Nevertheless, they are indeed local in their expression, and it is therefore important for planners and policymakers at all levels not to simply apply a 'single formula' planning framework to all cases, as the issues at the local level are often unique and complex.

The findings presented in this chapter suggest that cooperation in tourism planning between host communities and a local NGO can be successfully used to find a balance in setting down rules for economic development beyond a single destination community. The important assets for tourism planning are recognized to be the socio-cultural and environmental resources of the village and surrounding areas but a significant factor in ensuring success in economic development of tourism is seen to be skills training such as in hospitality services and language and computer skills. The existing youth network in Jalae village in which volunteer youths in each village have been trained in hospitality service skills can probably be expanded and developed to efficiently incorporate neighboring communities in Mae Yao Sub-District.

Eventually it is to be hoped that the best possible experience for villagers and tourists alike can be developed beyond economic aspects by building long-term host/guest relationships that lead to increased tourist visits through 'word of mouth' communications with other potential tourists.

The integration of tourism into the broader economic development plans of the community necessitates encouragement of all stakeholders to take an interest in tourism issues and deal with conflicts within broader contexts. This chapter suggests that 'conflicts of interests' between tourism stakeholders are likely to happen because of differing perceptions and attitudes within communities. Evaluation tools for planning need to be adaptable to local socioeconomic situations taking account of cultural heritage values and personal/human aspects in addition to the physical environment and natural resources.

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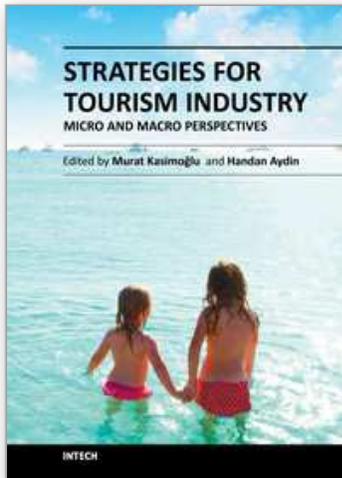
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Today, it is considered good business practice for tourism industries to support their micro and macro environment by means of strategic perspectives. This is necessary because we cannot contemplate companies existing without their environment. If companies do not involve themselves in such undertakings, they are in danger of isolating themselves from the shareholder. That, in turn, creates a problem for mobilizing new ideas and receiving feedback from their environment. In this respect, the contributions of academics from international level together with the private sector and business managers are eagerly awaited on topics and sub-topics within Strategies for Tourism Industry - Micro and Macro Perspectives.

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