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**Community-based Ecotourism and Empowerment of Indigenous
People: the Case of Yeak Laom Community Development,
Cambodia**

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree of
Master of Tourism Management

at
Lincoln University
by
Bunly Bith

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Abstract of a thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Tourism Management.

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by

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Ecotourism, with its potential to generate income and employment and its promise to protect natural environment for local communities, has been considered an important agent for indigenous community development since the growth in demand for cultural tourism began in the early 1990s. It has been argued that, as a result of ecotourism, indigenous populations' living standards and quality of life can be enhanced, and indigenous resources can be protected. In contrast, without community control, more often than not, ecotourism has contributed to unfair distribution of tourism benefits and deterioration of cultural and natural resources in indigenous communities. As a result, empowering indigenous communities to control ecotourism has been advocated as an integral component of sustainable tourism. In this sense, community-based ecotourism is often promoted as an effective mechanism for the empowerment of indigenous communities, allowing them to participate in decision making about, and control over, tourism development.

This study evaluated the potential of the Yeak Laom Community-based Ecotourism development for empowering the indigenous Tampuan people who live adjacent to the Yeak Laom Protected Area, Ratanakiri, Cambodia. Key informant interviews, secondary data and survey questionnaires were used as research tools to examine collaborative efforts of key stakeholders to empower the Tampuan community to have control over, and assess the level of community participation in, the Yeak Laom Community-based Ecotourism development. This analysis also includes the evaluation of the perceptions of the Tampuan with regard to the impacts of the development on the economic, psychological, social and political lives of their people. The study results reveal that power re-distribution among the stakeholders involved in a collaborative process in Yeak Laom Community-based Ecotourism planning and implementation had the potential to be a crucial component in facilitating empowerment

of the Tampuan community. The findings indicate that the Yeak Laom Community-based Ecotourism initiative was perceived as an important tool for enhancing the psychological, social and political empowerment of the Tampuan community, although the capacity of the project to contribute direct economic benefits to the community is limited. The thesis concludes that community-based ecotourism has the potential to contribute to a form of sustainable tourism for people living adjacent to protected natural areas when there is an effective collaboration with indigenous people. This is most effectively achieved when indigenous people have the ability to have control over, and make decisions about, the development based on their own interests.

Keywords: Ecotourism, empowerment, stakeholder collaboration, community participation, tourism impacts, indigenous people, Yeak Laom, Cambodia.

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List of Abbreviations

ADB	Asia Development Bank
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CAMFREL	Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia
CARERE	the Cambodian Area Regeneration and Rehabilitation Project
CBE	Community-Based Ecotourism
CCBEN	Cambodian Community-Based Ecotourism Network
FUNCINPEC	the National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IDRC	The International Development Research Centre of Canada
IO/NGO	International and Non-Governmental Organization
KUFNS	Kampuchean United Front of Nation Salvation
MOT	The Ministry of Tourism
MOP	The Ministry of Planning
NFTPs	Non-Forest Timber Products
NGOF	NGO Forum
NGOs	Non-Government Organizations
NRM	Natural Resource Management
NZAID	New Zealand Agency for International Development
PAs	Protected Areas
PLG	Partnerships for Local Governance
PRDC	Provincial Rural Development Committee
RGC	Royal Government of Cambodia
RMPR	Resource Management Policy- Ratanakiri Project

UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia
YLCBE	Yeak Laom Community-Based Ecotourism
YLCC	Yeak Laom Commune and Committee
YLLCRC	Yeak Laom Lake Conservation and Recreation Committee
YLLMC	Yeak Laom Lake Management Committee
YLPA	Yeak Laom Protected Area

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background to the study

According to the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous People, there are about 370 million people native to a specific region, in 70 countries throughout the world. These people have retained their different social, cultural, economic and political characteristics in societies with dominant cultural groups (Ramos, Osório & Pimenta, 2009). Most indigenous groups live in remote protected areas where typical conditions include poor accessibility and an underdeveloped infrastructure, superstructure, educational systems, finance and banking service and social welfare (UNDP, 1992, as cited in Sofield, 2003; Altman & Finlayson, 2003; Rogerson, 2004). Many of these groups also live in poverty with special problems relating to discrimination and human rights abuse (United Nations General Assembly resolution 46/128 of 17 December 1991, as cited in Sofield, 2003). In addition, it is commonly reported that indigenous people have been excluded from economic, social and political activities (Freidmann, 1992; Scheyvens, 2009) and have been assimilated by dominant societies (Ramos, Osório & Pimenta, 2009).

Such exclusion and assimilation is somewhat surprising as indigenous people have unique cultural and natural resources, which have been described by Smith (1996) as having four H's: habitats, heritages, histories and handicrafts. Being in protected areas, indigenous communities possess an abundance of valuable resources (Zepple, 2006; Cole, 2006; Ryan & Aicken, 2005; Smith, 2001a). Indigenous groups represent between 4,000 and 5,000 of the approximately 6,000 different cultures in the world (Quiblier, 2001). According to the UN commission on Sustainable Development (2002; as cited in Zeppel, 2006, p.6):

Indigenous people comprise 5% of the world's population but embody 80% of the world's cultural diversity. They are estimated to nurture 80% of the world's biodiversity on ancestral lands and territories.

With an abundance of cultural and natural resources, indigenous communities are often popular ecotourist destinations. As a consequence, ecotourism has become a big business for indigenous communities (Johnson, 2006) and is seen as an important agent of indigenous community development since the growth in demand for cultural tourism in the 1990s (Smith, 2001a).

Given the complexities of indigenous resources for tourism, there is a range of debates about the opportunities and threats that indigenous communities may encounter when they choose to become involved in ecotourism. On the one hand, as ecotourism has the purpose of promoting natural and cultural conservation while, simultaneously, generating income and employment for local communities (Ross & Wall, 1999; Fennell, 2003; Duffy, 2002; Timothy & White, 1999; Zeppel, 2006), it is regarded as an opportunity for indigenous communities to gain economic independence, cultural rejuvenation and environmental conservation (Hinch & Butler, 2007; Zeppel, 2006; Fennell, 2003). On the other hand, when there is domination from outside interests in ecotourism development, ecotourism brings indigenous people threats such as cultural and natural degradation and unfair distribution of economic benefits (Hinch & Butler, 2007; Duffy, 2002; Fennell, 2003). These threats lead to a fear that ecotourism could be as destructive as the mainstream tourism industry (Butcher, 2007). This is because outside interests retain most of the tourism benefits and leave host communities with the negative impacts (Hinch & Butler, 2007), and they sometimes bring assimilation policies and alien programmes that change the traditional ways of life of indigenous people (Sesén, n.d as cited in Ramos, Osório & Pimenta, 2009).

In this context, indigenous community participation in, and control over, tourism was identified as an important plank in sustainable tourism (Butler & Hinch, 1996) and consistent with Agenda 21 resulting from the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 (UN, 1997), where the role of indigenous communities in development was emphasised and defined. Butler and Hinch (1996) suggested that the opportunities and threats of ecotourism are influenced by the control indigenous communities have over tourism development. In their definition of indigenous tourism, Butler and Hinch (1996, p.9) asserted that “the factor of *indigenous* control is a key one in any discussion of development and tourism development is no exception to this rule”. They emphasised that indigenous tourism is “tourism activity in which indigenous people are directly involved either through control and/or by having their culture served as the essence of the attraction” (Butler & Hinch, 1996, p.9).

While indigenous control is recognised as an important component of sustainable tourism, the community-based approach of ecotourism has gained popularity in indigenous community development as it attempts to empower host communities to have involvement and control over tourism development (Zeppel, 2006; Hinch & Butler, 2007). With these attempts, community-based ecotourism (CBE) promises to mitigate the negative impacts of tourism and to ensure net positive benefits for indigenous communities by the fair distribution of benefits (Hinch & Butler, 2007).

In recognising CBE as a tool for providing indigenous people opportunities to control tourism development, ecotourism supporters have promoted CBE for indigenous community development. Sofield (2003) asserted, however, that it is fallacious to assume that indigenous people necessarily have the capabilities to manage and control tourism once it is developed. Numerous authors have observed that indigenous people often lack the skills, resources and capabilities to become involved in, and maximise the benefits of, the tourism development process (Smith, 2001b; Sofield, 2003; Altman & Finlayson, 2003; Hinch & Butler, 2007; Sinclair, 2003). Thus, one of the key solutions to mitigating the problems of ecotourism development in indigenous communities is to transfer political and social power to these communities in order to enable them to exert greater control over development projects and so control their own destiny (Colton & Harris, 2007; Sofield, 2003; Cole, 2006; Stern, Dethier & Rogers, 2005; Van Der Dium, Peters & Akama, 2006; Timothy, 2007). The process of this devolution of power to indigenous communities is known as 'empowerment' (Timothy, 2007; Sofield, 2003).

These arguments, taken together, suggest that empowerment is an integral component of CBE for sustainable indigenous community development. Sofield (2003, p. 9) proposed that "...without the element of empowerment tourism development at the level of community will have difficulty achieving sustainability". Accordingly, in Cambodian context, the concept of CBE and empowerment of indigenous people have gained attention from the Cambodian government and tourism developers as tools to enhance local livelihoods and improve natural resource management in the country's major protected areas, one of which is Yeak Laom Protected Area (YLPA). Yeak Laom Lake and its community, Tampuan, which together form the centre of YLPA, are located in Ratanakiri Province in the remote north-eastern part of Cambodia.

The Tampuan community has long been under threat from external forces and inappropriate development policies. In the 1960s, "the development of rubber plantations and other estate crops began jeopardizing the environment and the indigenous people of [the north-eastern provinces of Cambodia]" (Brown, Ironside, Poffenberger, Stephens, 2006, p.3). Since the civil war, which began in the 1970s, and particularly during the Khmer Rouge Regime, indigenous people were treated harshly and their culture was condemned (Dupar & Badenoch, 2002). Moreover, in the mid to late 1990s, the Cambodian government considered land concessions were important for economic development and illegal logging prevention in Ratanakari Province (Danith, 2001). On the contrary, concessions for agricultural plantations were awarded to commercial interests (Ministry of Environment, 1998 as cited in Danith,

2001) and indigenous communities were confronted with land grabbing, environmental degradation and forest depletion (Hammer, 2008; Ironside, 2008).

Soon after CBE was introduced as a key approach of sustainable development at community level, various stakeholders (non-governmental organisations, the government and the Tampuan community) led by the International Development Research Centre of Canada (IDRC) worked together to establish Yeak Laom Community-based Ecotourism project (YLCBE) in 1998 to empower the Tampuan community to promote and manage their own resources. However, the processes needed to empower indigenous communities to control CBE development are complex and varied and have had different levels of success in indigenous communities. Thus, the discussion about the potential of YLCBE for empowering the Tampuan community through process and goal dimensions is the subject of interest of this research.

1.2 Research purposes and objectives

The main purpose of this study is to examine the process and goal dimensions of empowerment among the indigenous Tampuan. This analysis includes an investigation of the collaboration of key stakeholders involved in the YLCBE planning and implementation—an empowerment process dimension—and an evaluation of the involvement from and impacts on Tampuan people of YLCBE development—a goal dimension. In doing this, the study is guided by the following objectives:

1. To examine the roles of key stakeholders, including collaborative efforts to empower the indigenous Tampuan community to have control over the YLCBE project;
2. To assess the degree of Tampuan community participation in YLCBE development decision-making;
3. To evaluate the perceived impacts of YLCBE development on the economic, psychological, social and political lives of the Tampuan people.

1.3 Research questions

These objectives are addressed by the following questions:

1. How have the key stakeholders (governments and non-governmental organizations) been involved in YLCBE planning and implementation?

2. To what extent does the Tampuan community have control over, and participate in, the decision-making of the YLCBE development?
3. Has YLCBE improved the lives of Tampuan people economically, psychologically, socially and politically? If so, to what extent?

1.4 Research significance

The study outcomes will provide valuable information for stakeholders involved in the YLCBE development and can be used in two ways. First, the information sought will provide stakeholders with an understanding of the strength and weaknesses of their collaborative efforts in facilitating the empowerment of the Tampuan people. This understanding will enable key stakeholders to plan further actions that ensure their collaboration in enhancing the empowerment of the Tampuan community. Second, the study identifies and presents the impacts of the YLCBE development on the lives of the Tampuan community from the community's perspective. In doing so, the study discusses factors contributing to the perceived impacts. This discussion reflects on the implications of the sustainable tourism development strategy, so that its relevancy and efficacy can be enhanced.

As advocacy in community-based ecotourism in rural areas in Cambodia is growing, more and more stakeholders involved in CBE development will be asking what actions they can take in order to develop host communities in sustainable manner. The answer to this question depends, in part, on the process facilitating the empowerment of local communities. Hence, it appears that most, if not all, stakeholders involved in CBE development have a minimum amount of information about the empowerment process in ecotourism development.

This study will help fill the gap in the literature of CBE development from an empowerment perspective. The purpose is to discuss how stakeholders involved in empowerment—a process dimension and the subsequent involvement from, and impacts on, indigenous people—a goal dimension.

As few scholarly studies about indigenous ecotourism in Cambodia exist to help guide researchers and tourism developers, this study will provide useful and relevant information for tourism planners, tourism projects decision makers, tour operators and other tourism industry stakeholders in Cambodia who explore the needs and interests of indigenous people, with a view to involving them more fully in tourism as well as other economic and cultural developments. The intention is that such information will enable tourism developers to design

ecotourism projects that involve increased support and enhanced participation by the local indigenous communities.

Moreover, the findings from this study will be of use to the Ministry of Tourism (MOT), the Cambodian government's entity in-charge of preparing and implementing the country's tourism policy, including the provincial and rural tourism development strategy.

1.5 Thesis outline

This thesis is divided into six chapters: Introduction, Literature Review, Case Study Area, Research Methods, Results and Discussion, and Conclusions and Implications.

Chapter Two presents a review of the literature relevant to the development of the research objectives and questions. The chapter explores the concepts and theoretical frameworks of indigenous community development, ecotourism and empowerment that are relevant to the subject matter of this study as mentioned in Chapter One.

Chapter Three presents and discusses the Yeak Laom Community case study—which examines CBE and empowerment in a real-life context of Tampuan community development—in relation to wider Cambodian historical, political, social and economic circumstances. The chapter includes discussion of Cambodia's recent tragic history, Cambodian tourism and the Yeak Laom case study especially in relation to a description of the Yeak Laom Community-based Ecotourism Project planning processes and implementation.

Chapter Four outlines the type of methodology used in this research. In this chapter, the research design and a description of how the research is carried out are explained in order to answer the research questions posed in the study.

In Chapter Five, the study presents the findings and discussion of this study in relation to the research questions: stakeholder collaboration, community participation and the perceived impacts of YLCBE development. The chapter discusses the role of the key stakeholders involved in the YLCBE development and how their collaborative efforts facilitated the empowerment of the Tampuan people. The chapter also reports the level of Tampuan community participation in the YLCBE development decision making and explores whether the YLCBE development contributed to the economic, social, psychological and political empowerment of the Tampuan people.

Finally, Chapter Six presents the conclusions of the potential of the YLCBE development to empower the Tampuan people and offers implications from the theory and conceptual frameworks relevant to the research problems. The chapter also provides recommendations for further research.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

The review of literature is presented in four sections reflecting conceptual material relevant for examining the research objectives and questions. The first section introduces and examines the concepts and definitions of indigenous community development. The second section presents perspectives on the literature on tourism and indigenous community development and argues that although tourism has some drawbacks, it can be a potential strategy for indigenous community development if it is developed in a sustainable manner. The third section examines literature on ecotourism as an alternative form of sustainable tourism, including indicating that ecotourism has some limitations that lessen its effectiveness in achieving sustainable indigenous community development when community control is absent. The fourth section examines literature relating to empowerment. Following examination of empowerment as a potential strategy for developing successful community-based ecotourism, major concepts of empowerment, including empowerment as a process and as a goal of the community-based approach to ecotourism, are then described and brought together.

2.1 Indigenous community development

Development has a multi-disciplinary definition. Typically, Pinel (1996 as cited in Mitchell, 1998, p. 15) defined development as “altering the environment for the perceived benefit of human use”. Fuller and Gleeson (2007) asserted that development involves changes to social and institutional structures as well as changes in production and consumption patterns. Hettne (1990 as cited in Singh, Timothy & Dowling, 2003) commented that there may be no final definition of development; only that development is related to structural transformation that implies economic, social, cultural and political changes.

There is an assumption that development, a western construct, would yield benefits in other spheres of life and would improve the lives of indigenous people (Ramos, Osório & Pimenta, 2009). However, it has been argued that more often than not, development contributed to negative consequences for indigenous people, pushing entire societies into new conditions of poverty and, even, extinction (Ramos, Osório & Pimenta, 2009; Miller & Wards, 2005). In addition, the consequences of this type of development demonstrated the worldwide concern about the degradation of natural resources and the devastation of social and ecological well-being (Miller & Wards, 2005).

After the concept of sustainable development was set as something to strive for by the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987 (González, 2004), there have been increasing interests in development at a community level. The Brundtland Commission report entitled ‘Our Common Future’ defined sustainable development as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED, 1987 as cited in Miller & Wards, 2005 p. 7). This concept of development brought forward alternatives to achieve long-term equity, ecological well-being and equitable distribution of benefits and impacts (González, 2004; Miller & Wards, 2005). In addition, as part of the aspirations of the Rio Earth Summit on Environment and Development, in 1992, there was an implicit recognition that in order to be sustainable, a development should be located in the community that is at risk of exploitation from it (González, 2004). However, issues about incorporating the community into how the development processes are decided have much to do with how ‘community’ is defined.

2.1.1 What is community?

The definition of ‘community’ is complex and fluid as it involves many social, economic, physical and administrative factors (Mitchell, 1998). Hulme (n.d as cited in Parker & Khare, 2005) interpreted the inclusiveness of ‘community’ by using four models: the resource use model, the ecological model, the biological model and the territorial model. The resource use model identifies members of the community who gain benefits from the resources in the target area, while the ecological model recognises those who live in a specific ecosystem. The biological model recognises the boundaries of the target site in accordance to the dispersal areas of key species, while the territorial model identifies the target site’s boundaries with the existing administrative boundaries. In the same way, Jonh Urry (1995 as cited in González, 2004) conceptualized a community as having four fundamental notions: a topographic-based entity, a local social system, a feeling of togetherness and an ideology that hides power relations.

It is clear that the notion of community is broader than a mere geographical boundary enclosing some given space (Mitchell, 1998). Douglas (1996 as cited in Mitchell, 1998, p. 15) defined community as a ‘perception’, a place and an interrelated social system that is affected by communication and interaction, and characterized by structure, order, diversity, solidarity and other factors. Shaffer (1989, p. 4 as cited in Mitchell, 1998, p.14) suggested that to define a particular community comprehensively, many approaches require consideration and examination. He conceptualized community as:

... a group of people in a physical setting with geographic, political and social boundaries and with discernible communication linkages. These communication linkages need not always be active, but must be present. People or groups interact in the defined area to attain shared goals.

Sproule (1996) added that an indigenous community also refers to a group of people related by blood and who belong to the same religious or political caste.

Notwithstanding the type of definition of community used, González (2004) and Sproule (1996) stressed that the consideration of community as a homogenous social entity is erroneous. González (2004, p. 8) emphasises this by stating:

Unequal distribution of power and uneven flow of information usually characterize the existence of social groups, and therefore, not all members of a community are equally able to influence decisions, affect communal process or benefit from the 'togetherness'.

Sproule (1996) also added that communities comprise separate interest groups which may be affected by, or benefit differently from, development that is introduced.

2.1.2 Sustainable indigenous community development

The conceptualisation and understanding of indigenous community as a group of people related by blood and interact in a defined area with geographical, political, social and cultural boundaries suggests that any development associated with community covers a transformation in communal structures and resources and brings about changes in all aspects of a community. Douglas (n.d as cited in Mitchell, 1998, p.15) defined community development as:

A collective, voluntary, integrated, and democratic initiative in self-reliance, in, for, and by the community, which is characterized by a process of rational choice and action, which is both goal seeking and goal-directed, is designed to enhance the community's welfare in terms of resources and opportunities, and which may bring about transformation in structures and interrelationships as well as institutional strengthening and capacity developing.

Drawing on this definition, community development involves both desired outcomes (goals) and processes (means). It may involve not only the improvement of economic, social and ecological aspects as a result of development but also the process of enlarging the community's capacity and strengthening the community institution to control development.

Thus, the key aspects of sustainable indigenous community development cover the processes of providing a range of activities and equitable opportunities for community members and focuses on gaining the best quality of life for these indigenous people.

In considering such key aspects, the ways in which tourism can contribute to sustainable indigenous community development have been hotly debated in the tourism literature since tourism to benefit minority indigenous people living in marginal areas around protected area in Africa, Asia and South America has been a focus of attention (Goodwin, 2007). This debate aims to defined strategies for developing sustainable tourism in indigenous communities.

2.2 Tourism and indigenous community development

According to McIntosh, Goeldner, and Ritchie (1995 as cited in Weaver & Oppermann, 2000), tourism is a combination of interrelated activities among the hosts and guests to attract, transport, host and manage tourists and other visitors, who travel for reasons relating to either leisure, recreation, vacation, health, education, religion, sport, business, or family and friends. Tourism is an industry and the tourist experience is a ‘product’ (Mitchell, 1998). In addition, according to Mitchell (1998, p. 17), “since tourism is linked to the resource base and does involve business aspects, it can be considered as a renewable resource industry or sector”.

Since tourism is an industry involving host communities and tourists, it has produced impacts on the people who live at the destination. These impacts have led to a debate in the literature about whether or not tourism can be a potential strategy for indigenous community development.

2.2.1 Tourism impacts

Many studies on tourism impacts reveal that tourism can contribute to a number of negative impacts for indigenous communities. First, the distribution of income generated by tourism is recognized as being uneven and inequitable for local people, especially the poor (Jamieson, Goodwin, & Edmunds, 2004). Smith (2001b) highlighted an Indigenous Amish case study where the Amish culture is an attraction for tourists, but non-Amish entrepreneurs reap the benefits. Indigenous people are, thus, a marketable tourism resource; but the local elites and outside investors (e.g. hotel owners, tour operators and expatriate owners) are often the main beneficiaries (Swain, 2001). In addition, Singh, Timothy and Dowling (2003) argued that often local producers are not able to fulfil the growing tourist demands for luxury materials

and exotic food. They may need to import outside goods and this inevitably reduces the ability of tourism to benefit local communities (Singh, Timothy & Dowling, 2003).

Second, tourism is also blamed for the degradation of the cultural and natural heritage in indigenous communities. It is true, as an industrial feature, tourism needs a specific infrastructure, consumes resources and produces waste (Duffy, 2002) but the demand for the construction of infrastructure and the over consumption of resources can damage cultural and natural resources in indigenous communities (Greenwood, 1977). In the same way, without appropriate management, waste production generated by tourism activities can pollute the living environment of local people and destroy the ecosystem of the host destination (Weaver & Oppermann, 2000).

Third, the transformation of indigenous cultures into tourist commodities can contribute to the exploitation of indigenous customs and traditions. Greenwood (1977) perceived that indigenous cultures are destroyed if they are used as products for money. He stressed that:

... I am terribly concerned that the question of cultural commoditization involved in ethnic tourism has been blithely ignored, except for anecdotal accounts. The massive alterations in the distribution of wealth and power that are brought about by tourism are paralleled by equally massive and perhaps equally destructive alterations in local culture.

(Greenwood, 1977, p. 136)

Finally, the refinement of host cultures into tourist products may raise questions in terms of authenticity—the quality of visitor experience for the real and genuine culture of the host communities (Ryan & Huyton, 2002). Cole (2006) contended that while indigenous cultures are innovated and consumed as tourism products, they may be modernised. Without appropriate control, however, their values may be diluted and their communities become less authentic (Cole, 2006). Smith (2001b) added that the innovation of traditional art forms such as miniaturization or the creation of new styles in order to fit the demand in the tourism market is a symbol of “assumed authenticity”. Furthermore, the unacceptable and inappropriate “modernization” of the product and its presentation may not only result in unreal authentic experiences for tourists, but may also lead to the distortion of community identity (Nuzez, 1989, as cited in Sinclair, 2003) and be disrespectful of community dignity (Sinclair, 2003).

Notwithstanding these negative consequences, extensive research has suggested that tourism can be an important agent for indigenous community development (Smith, 2001a, Butler & Hinch, 1996; Fuller & Gleeson, 2007; Singh, Timothy & Dowling, 2003; Briedenhann & Ramchander, 2006). The suggestion, generally, stems from the fact that unlike most other consumer services, tourism is an export in which consumers (tourists) are transported to production places (host communities) (Law, 2002 as cited in Singh, Timothy & Dowling, 2003). As long as the production points and market points are at the same place, tourism has the potential to generate, both directly and indirectly, income and employment for indigenous communities (Fuller & Gleeson, 2007; Mason, 2003; Swarbrooke, 1999; Singh, Timothy & Dowling, 2003; Long, Perdue & Allen, 1990), including for low-skilled people (Singh, Timothy & Dowling, 2003) and disadvantaged groups, particularly women (Stronza, 2001). In the same way, tourism can stimulate the production of local agricultural supplies and consumption of other local resources (Lundgren, 1973 as cited in Singh, Timothy & Dowling, 2003). Moreover, local people can benefit from improvements in the infrastructure and tourist facilities in the destination communities as the result of tourism development (Long, Perdue & Allen, 1990). These can lead to an enhancement of the indigenous population's living standards and improve their quality of life (Singh, Timothy & Dowling, 2003). In addition, it has been argued that tourism can be an impetus for a high degree of indigenous identity and cultural pride and contribute to 'the protection and enhancement of traditions, customs and heritage, which would otherwise disappear' (Hashimoto, 2002, as cited in Briedenhann & Ramchander, 2006, p. 127). These arguments illustrate that tourism can be a potential indigenous community development strategy if it is developed in a sustainable manner.

2.2.2 Sustainable tourism

In response to concern about the various impacts of tourism, term 'sustainable tourism' has emerged. This concept has gained impetus from the ill-conceived implementation of tourism development that seriously degraded the environment and culture of host communities and contributed unfair distribution of benefits in the host communities. Sustainable tourism has been formulated to re-establish the balance between economic, social and environmental goals (Priestley, Edwards & Coccossis 1996). Budowski (1976, as cited in Weaver, 2006, p.10) defined sustainable tourism as "tourism that wisely uses and conserves resources in order to maintain their long term viability". This definition was conceptualised in keeping with the definition of sustainable development that was identified in the Brundtland Commission report entitled 'Our Common Future' (World Commission for Economic Development (WCED), 1987 as cited in Miller & Wards, 2005).

Bramwell and Lane (1993, as cited in Timothy and White, 1999, p. 226) identified the concept of sustainable tourism as having four basic elements, including:

- holistic planning and strategy formulation
- preservation of essential ecological processes
- protection of human heritage and biodiversity
- sustained productivities over the long term of future generations

These elements suggest that the focus of sustainable tourism at the community level is to maintain ecological well-being, to improve community capacity and to distribute adequate and impartial economic benefits to community members. This paradigm suggests that tourism development is not about one sector: ecological sustainability, social sustainability, or economic sustainability, but is about the sustainability of all aspects of the host communities. Development and conservation, therefore, are both crucial principles which must be integrated in tourism planning and implementation.

Since the concept of sustainable tourism was discussed in literature, the criticism of mass tourism, capitalist and large-scale industrialization, has increased. Miller and Wards (2005) argued that tourism has been an impetus leading to environmental degradation and a growing gap between rich and poor in developing countries rather than the improvement of quality of life. It is because transnational companies left developing countries with economic leakage, debt and dependency (Miller & Wards, 2005). As a result, alternative tourism, a philosophy which develops a rather different policy from mass tourism, focuses on maintaining a life-long preserved environment and catering to local people's need (Krippendorf, 1982 as cited in Fennell, 2008). This concept aims to ensure benefits to the local community and the environment as a whole.

2.3 Ecotourism

Ecotourism, one of the alternative forms of tourism, was introduced in the 1960s and has been widely discussed, together with the concept of sustainable tourism, since the 1980s (Fennell, 2008; Higham, 2007; Björk, 2007). This form of tourism has been considered positively, while mass tourism have been criticised as providing a shallow and degraded experience for 'South' host communities (Munt, 1994, as cited in Stronza, 2001). Therefore, it has developed and grown rapidly in many host communities, particularly in indigenous communities (Zeppel, 2006; Björk, 2007).

Ecotourism has been defined in different ways. The Ecotourism Society defined ecotourism as:

... purposeful travel to natural areas to understand the culture and natural history of the environment; taking care not to alter the integrity of the ecosystem; producing economic opportunities that make the conservation of the natural resource beneficial to local people

(Epler Wood et al., 1991 as cited in Ross & Wall, 1999, p. 124)

In this definition, cultural and environmental conservation are part of ecotourism and local development is integrated into the ecotourism activity (Scheyvens, 1999). In addition, local populations and natural resources are connected in a symbiotic relationship with ecotourism (Ross & Wall, 1999). Yet this definition has been criticised as being a vague concept as it leaves too much room for interpretation and presents uncertain guides for its management and implementation.

Fennell (2003), after comparing and carrying out an analysis on a set of ecotourism definitions, formulated his own interpretation of ecotourism definition, as follows:

Ecotourism is a sustainable form of natural resource-based tourism that focuses on experiencing and learning about nature, and which is ethically managed to be low-impact, non-consumptive, and locally oriented (control, benefits, and scale). It typically occurs in natural areas, and should contribute to the conservation or preservation of such areas.

(Fennell, 2003, p.25)

This definition suggests that ecotourism is not just tourists experiencing natural attractions but involves natural conservation, income generation, local involvement, and ecological and cultural education (Ross & Wall, 1999; Fennell, 2003, 2008). The integration of the education element in ecotourism has led to the promotion of ecotourism as a sustainable form of tourism development because it can enhance awareness about the importance of culture and ecological conservation (Ross & Wall, 1999; Duffy, 2002; Higham, 2007).

Timothy and White (1999) and Duffy (2002) asserted that ecotourism is more environmentally and locally sensitive than mass tourism, which is large-scale industrialization and mostly involves capitalist (Miller & Wards, 2005), because ecotourism focuses on a small-scale and locally owned enterprises. These authors argued that small-scale development is typically more innocuous than large-scale development since the small-scale causes less

stress on social systems and the physical environment and increases local involvement. This type of tourism development offers conservation with an optimistic perception of the role of tourism and indigenous community development as ecotourism can help local communities to protect the environment and to meet their economic needs (Barkin, 1996 as cited in Stronza, 2001). For these reasons, various organizations have become interested in using ecotourism for indigenous community development (Cusack & Dixon, 2006).

2.3.1 Ecotourism and indigenous community development

Ecotourism can contribute to development for indigenous people in two respects. First, ecotourism can complement existing opportunities and community assets and diversify alternative economic activities for indigenous people from extractive land uses such as logging and farming (Zeppel, 2006; Colton & Harriss, 2007). This is because ecotourism allows indigenous people to earn income from their own lands and resources by activities such as traditional dances and rituals, language, production of handicrafts, architecture and the views from their living areas. Ecotourism, then, can enhance an awareness of their culture and ecological significance (Hinch, 2001 as cited in Zeppel, 2006) and the importance of environmental conservation of the raw materials for handicraft production and ecotourism sites (Slinger, 2000). Hence, developing ecotourism in indigenous communities constructs a pathway for indigenous people to become economically independent (Altman & Finlayson, 2003); to be able to improve their quality of life (Mundine, 2007); to be capable of escaping from poverty conditions (Butler & Hinch, 1996; Ashley, Roe & Goodwin, 2001); and to enhance their cultural and ecological pride and identity (Butler & Hinch, 1996; Stronza, 2001).

Achieving such outcomes however may be easier in theory than in practice. Björk (2007) emphasised that ecotourism is neither a form of mass tourism but nor is it a solution for sustainable tourism. Recent research revealed a number of considerable issues with ecotourism development in indigenous communities (Timothy & White, 1999; Altman & Finlayson, 2003; Smith, 2001b, 2003; Swain, 2001; Butler & Hinch 1996; Robinson, 1999; Fagence, 2001; Zeppel, 2006; Cusack & Dixon, 2006).

One of the major issues is that few promised benefits from ecotourism accrue to local people (Higham, 2007; Cusack & Dickson, 2006). The limited infrastructure and access in many indigenous communities, located in rural and remote areas, makes investments in recreation and tourism activities costly (Zeppel, 2006). The high cost, along with the lack of capital and available resources of indigenous people, prevents many of them from participating in

ecotourism activities (Timothy & White, 1999). More importantly, the lack of power and ecotourism-related skills and knowledge of indigenous people, in particular, also limits the participation of indigenous people in ecotourism activities and employment (Altman & Finlayson, 2003; Mundine, 2007; Cole, 2006; Timothy & White, 1999; Zeppel, 2006; Sofield, 2003). In developing countries, as a consequence, it is the norm that private investment as opposed to community investment is the dominant sector in tourism (Timothy & White, 1999). In many cases, indigenous people are not the beneficiaries of ecotourism development although their cultural and natural resources are core attractions (Swain, 2001; Higham, 2007). Cater (2006) also argued that where benefits do accrue to indigenous people, it is typically through low-skilled and low-paid employment.

A critical issue is the overshadowing conservation promise of ecotourism. The development of ecotourism promises to contribute to cultural and natural conservation of local communities. However, by definition, ecotourism involves travel to pristine and unmodified natural areas in the host communities. In most cases, ecotourism may be more culturally and environmentally demanding than traditional mass tourism as ecotourists may desire to visit delicate and fragile areas, visit endangered species and seek the real lifestyles and cultures of local communities (Timothy & White, 1999; Fennell, 2008; Zeppel, 2006). Without appropriate monitoring and regulatory systems, visits into indigenous communities may spoil and disturb both the indigenous people and the wildlife (Begley, 1996 as cited in Stronza, 2001; Farrell & Marion, 2001 as cited in Cusack & Dixon, 2006). Ecotourism can cause destructive intrusion that may devastate the living environment of indigenous communities (Smith, 2003, Fuller & Gleeson, 2007). In addition, this intrusion can lead to the failure of relationships or antagonistic behaviours between hosts and guests of different cultures and socio-economic situations (Sinclair, 2003; Fagence, 2001; Fuller & Gleeson, 2007; Smith, 1977).

Another issue that has been found and discussed in relation to the development of ecotourism in indigenous communities is social conflict. This conflict can be exacerbated due to inequalities in the distribution of economic benefits derived from ecotourism development. Smith (1977) contended that non-participants in ecotourism activities were envious of participants in ecotourism development. Stronza (2001) suggested that this issue derives from increased wealth stratification as the result of ecotourism development in the host communities. In addition, this jealousy can lead to a failure in community relationships and intensification of distrust and mutual antagonism among community members (Sinclair, 2003).

An inadequate policy response to these issues hinders the effectiveness and sustainability of ecotourism development in indigenous communities (Higham, 2007; Hinch & Butler, 2007; Fennell, 2008). Furthermore, Higham (2007) argued that the critical lack of meaningful policy may result from the absence of a clear statement of ecotourism definition applicable to local communities. Björk (2007) stated that diverse definitions of ecotourism create contradictions and constraints in the implementation process. Narrowly conceived definitions may be regarded as a useful guide for developers but may not be applicable in a few situations (Björk, 2007). In contrast, shallow and inadequately operationalised definitions create vague policy without certain thresholds that need to be met (Björk, 2007).

2.3.2 Community control in ecotourism

Although ecotourism has been criticised as unsustainable tool for community development due to the vagueness or the shallowness of the existing definitions, the challenge may not to present a homogenous picture of ecotourism through formulating another better definition (Björk, 2007; Briedenham & Ramchander, 2006). Rather than focusing on definitional issues, a more fundamental challenge for developing indigenous ecotourism in a sustainable manner is to identify ‘who should be involved in policy making and making decisions about ecotourism development’ or ‘who should direct, control and decide goals, processes and desired outcomes of the development plans’ (Smith, 2001a; Timothy, 2007), because policy makers mainly decide the answers to seven questions when developing ecotourism:

- 1 WHO needs to be involved in ecotourism policy?
- 2 WHICH are the principles we want to guide our development of ecotourism?
- 3 WHY will individuals and organizations want to be involved in ecotourism?
- 4 WHERE do we want ecotourism to take place?
- 5 WHAT kind of activities should make up ecotourism?
- 6 HOW should we deliver ecotourism, if at all?
- 7 SO WHAT are the intended outcomes we want from ecotourism and to whom or what should they accrue?

(Björk, 2007, p. 31)

Butler and Hinch (1996), Zeppel (2006), Smith (2001a, 2001b) and Swain (2003) argued that as long as the development of ecotourism is for indigenous communities, these communities should have a substantial say in ecotourism policy making. Their voice can result in

appropriate decisions, enhanced local motivation and support for environmental protection (Cole, 2006) and more sustainable use of resources (Timothy, 1999). It can also ensure that the benefits of tourism development accrue to local communities and, as a result, promote the development and conservation goals for sustainable tourism (Tosun, 2000). Furthermore, Brandon (1993 as cited in Ross & Wall, 1999, p. 127) mentioned that local control and participation in tourism development influences the achievement of the following objectives:

- maintenance of a dialogue to permit understanding of, and to address, local needs and concerns;
- avoidance of decisions which may impact negatively on local residents;
- encouragement of a form of empowerment or decentralization which allows people some control over the decision-making that affects them;
- creation, clarification and consolidation of stakeholders
- encouragement of the development of sympathetic community leaders;
- strengthening links between conservation and development goals, for local benefit;
- facilitating the local distribution of benefits and providing a local capacity to monitor and evaluate the progress of projects.

These internal development benefits suggest that the development of ecotourism in indigenous communities will be unsuccessful if it is implemented inappropriately without sufficient thought being given to the aspirations of the people in these communities. Many researchers suggested that promoting community control over the tourism development process can be an imperative for facilitating the principles of sustainable tourism (Tosun, 2000; Scheyvens, 1999, 2009; Miller & Ward 2005; Zeppel 2006; Hinch & Butler 2007; Simmons, 1994; Timothy, 1999; Smith 2001a, 2001b; Perkins, Brown & Taylor, 1996).

2.3.3 Community-based ecotourism

Community-based ecotourism (CBE) emerged in accord with the concept of community control and participation in tourism development. It aims to enhance economic development, to facilitate community participation, to provide experiences for visitors and to maintain long term conservation of the natural and cultural resources through community control and participation (Regina, 1999 as cited in Gui, Fang & Liu, 2004). In its fundamental form, “CBE refers to ecotourism enterprises that are owned and managed by the community”

(Sproule, 1996, p. 235). In this approach to ecotourism development, a community manages and maintains ecotourism sites and infrastructure, makes decisions on ecotourism planning and implementation, utilizes resources to generate income through operating ecotourism activities and uses the operating profits to enhance the lives of community members (Sproule, 1996). Hence, community conservation, community business enterprises, and community development are the major components of CBE (Sproule, 1996).

In the context of indigenous community development, the development of CBE can facilitate and enable indigenous communities to control tourism development in different ways. First, indigenous people have the opportunity to learn and to decide whether they wish to proceed with ecotourism development or to reject it (Sofield, 2003; Cole, 2006). Second, they can choose how to engage with tourists and obtain power for decision-making in regard to what resources they wish to portray and what they wish to conceal for ecotourism development (Crouch, 1994 as cited in Briedenham & Ramchander, 2006; Altman & Finlayson, 2003). This power allows communities to avoid the matter of acculturation and destructive intrusion. Third, they have opportunities to enhance their capabilities, resources and skills to participate and challenge entrepreneurial activities and to avert dominance by forces outside ecotourism (Cole, 2006; McGettigan, Burns & Candon, 2006; Van Der Duim, Peters & Akama, 2006). Finally, they can gain power to retain the rights to own, protect and develop their lands, culture, spiritual properties and traditional values (Stern, Dethier & Rogers, 2005; Battiste & Henderson, 2000). This ownership and control of cultural and natural resources can sustain traditional practices and the expression of their cultures in authentic ways despite innovations or changes (Sofield, 2003). This is because they are the qualified innovators who can make changes in ecotourism sites, objects, images and even in how people reflect on past events and their previous ways of life (Sofield, 2003; Taylor, 2001).

Although CBE presents considerable potential to improve the economic, social and ecological well-being of indigenous communities, in practice, the development of CBE rarely achieves all of these goals, given the limitations of the resources, skills and capacity of indigenous people to participate in tourism development (Sproule, 1996). As such, it is argued that to be successful, indigenous community empowerment is the key challenge in developing CBE in indigenous communities.

2.4 Empowerment

The concept of empowerment has been a mainstay of alternative development approaches since John Friedmann's book, entitled 'Empowerment: the politics of alternative

development', was published in 1992. The concept is supported by those tourism developers who inspire to a bottom-up and participatory approach for development and those who are concerned about the western conduct of development that has been destroying indigenous resources and values (Scheyvens, 2002; Cater, 2006). In the tourism literature, empowerment has been discussed in the context of endorsing the significance of indigenous community participation and sovereignty in sustainable ecotourism (Butler & Hinch, 1996; Scheyvens, 1999; Zeppel, 2006; Sinclair, 2003). For example, Southgate and Sharpley (2002 as cited in Briedenham & Ramchander, 2006) asserted that community empowerment is a particularly pertinent principle for tourism in South Africa's black townships.

Empowerment is "... a process by which people acquire the ability to act in ways to control their lives" (Gauthier, 1993, p.108). In the indigenous community development and tourism context, empowerment refers to a process enabling local communities to obtain the authority to muster resources to meet their needs, make decisions, take action and control changes, to achieve social justice (Timothy, 2007; Rowsland, as cited in Okazaki, 2008; Cole, 2006; Sofield, 2003, Scheyvens, 2002, 2009; Cornwall & Brock, 2005; Colton & Harris, 2007; Van Der Dium, Peters & Akama, 2006; Timothy, 2007). Empowerment can be viewed as either a precursor to, or as both a cause and effect of community participation (Sofield, 2003; Perkins, Brown & Taylor, 1996; Scheyven, 1999). In addition, it can be viewed as both a process (means) and as a 'goal' (ends) of CBE development (Timothy, 2007; Scheyvens, 2009; Sofield, 2003).

2.4.1 Empowerment as a process (means)

According to Scheyvens (2009, p. 469), as a process, empowerment refers to:

... the process of coming together and engaging in collective action [that] can enable people to discover that they have shared interests and aspirations with those living around them and that, together, they can work to enact positive changes in their communities.

This definition suggests that the process of empowerment in CBE development involves stakeholder collaboration because collaboration is the process whereby all interested and affected stakeholders come together and work collectively to solve planning issues and to identify policies and actions for development.

Sofield (2003) highlighted that stakeholder collaboration in tourism planning is a fundamental step towards empowerment of indigenous communities in CBE development as the effects of

collaborative efforts nurture empowerment (Sofield, 2003). It is commonly suggested that the act of involving those affected by the proposed tourism development is a significant mechanism to address problems in a tourism development process and to identify and attain common goals (Jamal & Getz, 1995, Selin & Chavez, 1995; McGettigan, Burn & Candon, 2006). In addition, the involvement of key stakeholders and interested groups can enhance the capacity of indigenous communities as well as enable these communities to exert greater control over tourism development (Murphy & Murphy, 2008).

2.4.1.1 Stakeholder collaboration

Collaboration is the process that the community, the public sector, non-governmental organizations, the private sector and others at tourist destinations meet and work together in a partnership to “seek to optimize the potential contribution of tourism to human welfare and environmental quality” (Gray, 1987 as cited in Timothy, 1999, p. 371). Jamal and Getz (1995, p. 188) defined collaboration, as follows:

... a process of joint decision-making among autonomous, key stakeholders of an inter-organizational, community tourism domain to resolve planning problems of the domain and/or to manage issues related to the planning and development of the domain.

Working on this definition, stakeholder collaboration acts as a tool to enhance stakeholders’ understanding of common goals and to help these stakeholders solve problems in the tourism development processes (Ladkin & Bertramini, 2002).

Collaboration in tourism planning has been conceptualized by a number of authors. Bramwell and Sharman (1999) presented an analytical framework to assess the extent to which a local arrangement is inclusive, has collective learning and consensus-building, and provides a mechanism for evaluating the power relations between stakeholders. In this framework, three sets of issues are proposed to measure the collaboration process: scope of the collaboration, intensity of the collaboration, and the degree to which consensus emerges among participants. Jamal and Getz (1995) put forward a three-stage model of the collaboration process including: problem-setting, direct-setting and implementation (see Table 2.1). In this model, key facilitating conditions and actions are proposed to address power imbalances between stakeholders.

Table 2.1 Collaboration process in tourism planning

Stages	Facilitating conditions	Actions/steps
Problem-setting	Stakeholder identification and legitimacy	Defining problems
	Power sharing	Balancing power differences
Direction-setting	Coincidence of values	Organizing rules and agenda for setting direction
	Dispersion of power among stakeholders	Sharing vision and plan
Implementation	Power redistribution	Selecting suitable structure for institutionalizing the process

Source: Excerpted from Jamal & Getz (1995, p. 190).

Building on this model, Selin and Chavez (1995) included an antecedent stage at the beginning and a partnership outcome stage at the end and present their new model as an ‘evolutionary model of tourism development’. This model has five stages in the collaboration processes including antecedents, problem-setting, direction-setting, structuring and outcome (see Figure 2.1). In this model, the process of collaboration is cyclical. The ‘outcome’ stage of collaboration process can feed back to the ‘antecedents’, and some stages can be skipped as the cycle repeats itself, especially when the collaboration process address and endeavour to solve the same problem (Okazaki, 2008).

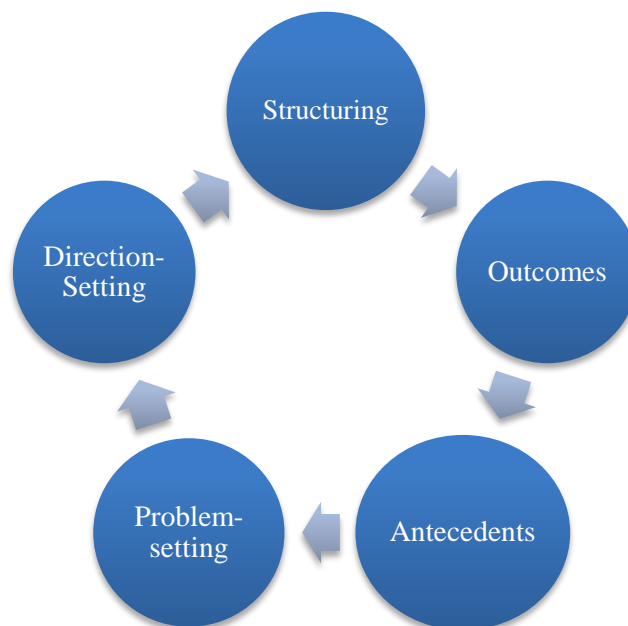


Figure 2.1 An evolutionary model of tourism partnerships

Source: Adapted from Selin and Chavez (1995).

Antecedents are catalysts for collaborative action. They include ‘crisis, brokers, mandates, common vision, existing networks, leadership and incentives’ (Selin & Chavez, 1995). They are initiatives for collaborative formation. For example, the devastation of cultural and natural resources resulting from an inappropriately planned development is a crisis that calls for collaboration among stakeholders to address the problem. Another example is the mutual recognition that tourism is important to revitalize the economic, social and environmental values of a rural area among stakeholders (i.e. local people, private sector, government agencies, and other interested organizations), so tourism development becomes a common vision for collaborative efforts.

Problem-setting is the next step in the collaboration process and involves recognizing interdependence, building consensus among legitimate stakeholders and defining a common problem (Selin & Chavez, 1995). In this stage, Selin & Chavez (1995) explained that stakeholders begin to recognize the interdependencies existing among themselves and acknowledge the common problems that bring them together. Legitimate stakeholders are then identified to build consensus. They also argued that collaboration in this stage will not be successful unless all stakeholders have common perception of the outcomes that will result from their collaborative efforts (Selin & Chavez, 1995).

Direction-setting precedes the collaboration process by identifying a common purpose. It is the step of establishing goals, setting ground rules, sharing information, exploring options and organizing sub-groups (Selin & Chavez, 1995). In this step, the identification of common operational goals is the main focus. These goals should be achievable and after ground rules have elaborated (Selin & Chavez, 1995). Stakeholders then engage in sharing information, selecting options for collaborative actions and organizing group works to examine specific issues (Selin & Chavez, 1995).

Structuring involves formalizing relationships, assigning roles, elaborating tasks and designing monitoring and control systems (Selin & Chavez, 1995). In this phase, a regulatory framework is formalized to control and monitor collective actions, and legal forms of organizing are instituted to assign roles to stakeholders and to manage stakeholder interactions and inputs (Selin & Chavez, 1995). Development plans are formulated in this phase to “proceed from the conceptual to the operational stage” (Selin & Chavez, 1995, p. 850).

Outcomes are the result of collaborative implementation. These outcomes include programmes, impacts and benefits (Selin & Chavez, 1995). In a CBE development process,

for example, the outcomes from collaboration in planning are improvements in the necessary infrastructure and provision of other materials needed to implement the project, the improvements in community capacity and relationships that bring community stakeholders together.

The collaboration process, however, can be undermined by power imbalances between stakeholders (Reed, 1997). Inequality in power relations can result from insufficient knowledge of, and expertise about, tourism planning, lack of funding, conventional political structures and conflicts of interest among stakeholders (Okazaki, 2008; Ladkin & Bertramini, 2002). To address power relations between stakeholders, power redistribution must be incorporated at all stages of the collaboration process to empower stakeholders, especially the community members and their representatives (Okazaki, 2008; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Reed, 1997).

2.4.1.2 Power redistribution

Jamal and Getz (1995) contended that power redistribution is necessary throughout the collaboration process. Sofield (2003) added that if power redistribution is not facilitated, the empowerment of indigenous people, who lack resources and skills, is not possible to be achieved.

Fundamentally, to redistribute power to an indigenous community is to provide them with basic health, education, social protection services and rights to access a wide range of information, assets, networks and to give legal standing (Stern, Dethier & Rogers, 2005). These elements are necessary to build indigenous communities' understanding, knowledge, confidence and self-belief so they are able to participate and make effective decisions about tourism development (Sofield, 2003; Timothy, 1999; Cole, 2006). Moreover, the successful implementation of power redistribution does not only depend on the outcomes of those provisions but also relies on actions across a range of sectors, including infrastructure services such as sanitation, clean water, electricity and roads (Stern, Dethier & Rogers, 2005). These basic services build and develop the ability and effectiveness of other resources in indigenous communities.

To be effective in the process of empowerment, power redistribution needs to be addressed between powerful and powerless stakeholders. Sofield (2003) suggests that in the empowerment process, the focus should not only consider how the 'powerless' (community) takes power, but also how the 'powerful' (government agencies, private enterprises, NGOs, and other interested entities) release power. Jamal and Getz (1995) and Bramwell and

Sharman (1999) added that the successful implementation of power redistribution depends on the inputs of the power holders involved in the collaboration process, because there is a pool of multiple perspectives and various resources (i.e. labour, money, information, expertise, skills and social capital).

Of the powerful entities, governments and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are critical stakeholders in the empowerment process of CBE development (Sproule, 1996). Governments play a vital role in making policies, laws and regulations that protect the indigenous rights of ownership and participation in decision-making (Sofield, 2003; Sproule, 1996). They also provide technical and financial assistance, through transparent and accountable organizations, to indigenous people in order to build and develop indigenous people's capabilities (Robinson, 1999). In the same way, NGOs can be an important source of technical and financial assistance and advocacy at national and regional levels (Sproule, 1996).

2.4.2 Empowerment as a 'goal' (an end)

The commitment to facilitate empowerment of indigenous communities to have control over CBE development is fundamental in order to achieve the goals of empowerment. There are two significant empowerment goals found in the tourism literature. The first reflects the extent of community participation in decision-making for CBE development (Timothy, 2007; Choguill, 1996). The second is improvement in four dimensions of empowerment: economic, psychological, social and political empowerment (Scheyvens; 1999; Friedmann, 1992; Hill, 2003).

2.4.2.1 Degree of community participation

Community participation can be seen as "either an integral component of empowerment or as both a cause and an effect of empowerment" (Perkins, Brown & Taylor, 1996, p. 86-87). It is usually recognized as being akin to local participation, in which local people are empowered to mobilize their own capacities, make decisions, control their resources and manage activities that affect their lives (Sofield, 2003; Scheyvens, 2009). According to Sproule (1996, P. 236), The African Charter for Popular Participation operationalised a community participation definition in the following statement:

We believe strongly that popular participation is, in essence, the empowerment of the people to effectively involve themselves in creating the structures and in designing policies and programs that serve the interests of

all as well to effectively contribute to the development process and share equitably in its benefits.

Sewell and Phillips (1979 as cited in Simmons, 1994) suggested three fundamental objectives, with associated criteria, to measure community participation after their review of twenty-one case studies.

Degree of citizen involvement. There are two important aspects to measure this criterion: the number of citizens involved and the degree of individual participation. In practice, to involve a large number of participants is difficult to achieve. Instead, different techniques have been used to observe public contact, the degree of two-way communication, the public consultation process, user sophistication and participation costs (Sewell & Phillips, 1979 as cited in Simmons, 1994).

Equity in participation. This refers to “the extent to which all potential opinions are heard” (Sewell & Phillips, 1979 as cited in Simmons, 1994, p. 99). It is contended that citizens’ viewpoints are not usually heard but opinions of interested groups are typically voiced. Thus, the central resolution is to balance the different viewpoints of participants.

Efficiency of participation. The measure of this criterion lies in the amount of time, personnel and other agency resources spent to attain the community participation goal. An appreciation of public opinion of how their views have incorporated in planning decisions is also another measure.

Simmons (1994) commented that these elements cannot be achieved simultaneously by a sole participation technique because a high level of efficiency is incompatible with high degrees of citizen involvement and equity. Consequently, various participation techniques are required to attain these objectives.

Measures relating to these objectives and criteria suggest that community participation is not a static or fixed condition. It is, implicitly, a dynamic process that can fluctuate to a high and low degree of community participation. A high degree of community participation shows that a community is empowered to exert control over resources and make decisions to shape their fate while a low degree reflects the disempowerment of a community and the dominance of external force over resources.

Over the years, a number of authors have developed various concepts and typologies to delineate different degrees of community participation (e.g., manipulative, passive, coercive,

induce, spontaneous) in development studies (Timothy, 2007; Tosun, 2006). These typologies range from complete disempowerment at one end to complete empowerment at the other end. A pioneering typology of community participation which has been affiliated in development studies is the 'ladder of citizen participation', introduced by Arnstein in 1969 (see Figure 2.2). Three decades later, Tosun (1999 as cited in Tosun, 2006) specifically developed a typology of community participation for the tourism context (see Figure 2.2). This typology is categorized into three levels of participation: coercive participation, induced participation and spontaneous participation (Tosun, 2006) with coercive participation is the lowest rung of the ladder. At this level, communities are not helped to participate in the decision making of tourism development but are 'cured' and 'educated' by power holders to accept tourism development in their communities (Tosun, 2006). In some cases, community leaders may be consulted to meet some fundamental needs of communities in order to alleviate social and political constraints in this development (Tosun, 2006). At the next level of Tosun's typology, induced participation, host communities' voices are allowed to express their opinions and are heard, but people have no power to ensure their voices are taken into account by other powerful groups. This type of community participation is an indirect and passive top-down approach in which host communities are offered some benefits from tourism but not allowed to make decisions about its development (Tosun, 2006). At the top end of the model is spontaneous participation, representing the ideal type of community participation in tourism development. At this point, host communities have full control and managerial authority for tourism development in their communities (Tosun, 2006).

Although Tosun's typology of community participation was designed with special reference to tourism development, Arnstein's typology provided a better understanding of the relationship between community participation and citizen control (Hung, Sirakaya-Turk & Ingram, 2010). Arnstein's ladder of community participation explains the coercive participation of Tosun's level as the non-participation level, the induced participation as the tokenism level and the spontaneous type as a degree of citizen control. The explanation of the three levels in Arnstein's ladder is similar to those in Tosun's model. The importance of the Arnstein ladder is that these three categories are divided into eight specific rungs and each rung describes a different degree of external involvement and local control and reflects the power relationships between them. In addition, Arnstein (1969) contended that citizen power increases as the hierarchy progresses from the bottom rung to the top rung (see Figure 2.2).

At the non-participation level, Arnstein sees the real intention of the power holders not to enable host communities to participate but to provide education and the local people

(Arnstein, 1969). The real intention can be either manipulation or therapy. Manipulation of the power holders will only put the name of community participation on a rubberstamp to signify the distorted power relations between the powerful and powerless participants (Arnstein, 1969). In meetings, it is the power holders who advise and persuade community participants to follow and support their decisions and not the reverse. At the end of meetings, community participants are requested to sign to prove that diverse community groups did participate in the development planning (Arnstein, 1969). For the therapy community participation is both dishonest and arrogant (Arnstein, 1969). Power holders play the role of doctors or experts to cure host communities. They help host communities to engage in some activities of the development process so that communities understand and support their development programmes.

Tosun's Typology (1999) of Community Participation	Arnstein's Typology (1969) of Community Participation			
<u>Spontaneous Participation</u> Bottom-up approach; Direct participation	←	Degree of citizen power	8	Citizen control
			7	Delegated power
			6	Partnership
<u>Induced Participation</u> Top-down approach; Indirect participation	←	Degree of tokenism	5	Placation
			4	Consultation
			3	Informing
<u>Coercive Participation</u> Top-down approach; Passive participation	←	Non-participation	2	Therapy
			1	Manipulation

Figure 2.2 Typologies of community participation

Source: Adopted from Tosun 2006

When participants have opportunities to speak although they have no power to ensure that their views and feedback are taken into consideration in decision making about development programmes, community participation can be described as tokenism (informing, consulting and placating). Informing is the first step towards legitimate community participation when host communities are provided with information about their roles, rights and options in development programmes (Arnstein, 1969). True community participation, however, has not yet existed as it is a one-way communication. For example, in meetings host communities are provided with detailed information but are not encouraged to raise questions and give feedback (Arnstein, 1969). As a consequence, host communities still have little opportunity to influence the decision making of the development programmes that benefit them. Another

step of tokenism is consultation. Community participation is still distorted since the community are consulted but their inputs are not considered. Consultation methods usually used in this type of participation are attitude surveys, neighbourhood meetings and public hearings (Arnstein, 1969). In these methods, Arnstein (1969, p. 219) contents that host communities are seen as statistical abstractions, so they can only participate in participation. For power holders, they can claim that “they have gone through the required motions of involving those people”. The top level of tokenism, placation, delivers some power to community participants. Some community representatives, who are not from the community constituency, have been given a few seats on the management boards of development programmes (Arnstein, 1969). However, the power holders are still powerful and obtain the majority of seats and that means they can easily outvote and outfox those representatives (Arnstein, 1969).

Where host communities have decision-making clout, Arnstein claims they have reached a Degree of Citizen Participation. Communities can fall onto three categories at this level: partnership, delegated power and citizen control. Partnership signifies abilities of communities to negotiate and engage in trade-offs with the power holders through the structure of joint policy boards and planning committees (Arnstein, 1969). Community-represented leaders are accountable and community groups obtain enough resources to fund their operational activities, including staff wages. The groups also have bargaining influence over the decision making of development planning and outcomes (Arnstein, 1969). Delegated power degree, to a higher level, enables host communities to gain more bargaining authority. Host communities hold the majority of seats on the management boards and they have a dominant decision-making authority over the development programmes that benefit them (Arnstein, 1969). In the case of resolving differences, the bargaining starts from power holders groups rather than from community groups (Arnstein, 1969). The authority of host communities will have the ultimate power when they participate up to the citizen power level, the top level of citizen control. Host communities are empowered to gain full managerial control over development programmes or institutions (Arnstein, 1969). They have full charge of policy making and decision making of the development process that assures the accountability of the development to them (Arnstein, 1969).

Mitchell (1998) stressed that Arnstein’s typology can be a useful tool to examine the mechanisms and effects of the host community participation process in decision making of ecotourism and other economic development programmes. In addition, France (1998, as cited in Tosun, 2006 p. 495) suggested that this ladder “accords well with the superimposed nature

of tourism activity that is frequently grafted on to an economy and society in a top-down manner”. However, Arnstein’s typology may not be wholly applicable to developing country contexts as it “...looks at participation from perspective of those on the receiving end” (Cornwall, 2008, p. 270) without taking into consideration how external forces influence the participation (Choguill, 1996). Choguill (1996) contended that, for low-income communities, the degree of effective community participation is based on the degree of external support (inputs from governments or NGOs) in terms of carrying out community mutual-help projects.

While Arnstein’s ladder has less application for developing world, Pretty (1995 as cited in Cornwall, 2008) adopted and reduced Arnstein’s typology to more explicitly reflect the concern of community participation in developing country contexts. Pretty’s typology of participation is divided into seven levels ranging from ‘manipulative participation’, where participation is a pretence and people’s representatives have no power, to ‘self-mobilisation’, where communities take initiatives independently of external institutions (see Table 2.2). The first four levels, including ‘manipulative participation’, ‘passive participation’, ‘participation by consultation’ and ‘participation for material incentives’, were manipulation rather than participation as community has no power influencing over decisions concerning their well-being. ‘Functional participation’ captures the form of participation as people participate to achieve project goals and to share some decision making of predetermined objectives related to projects. The last two categories of Pretty’s typology, including ‘interactive participation’ and ‘self-mobilisation’, represent the highest forms of participation, where communities take control of decisions and retain power to determine how resources are used.

These typologies are not without their limitations. Arnstein (1969) herself noted three limitations with her ladder and those are seen in other models. One limitation is that these typologies do not consider the number of power holders and citizens to be included. Second, they do not include an analysis of significant roadblocks (paternalism, racism, gender discrimination, etc.). Another limitation is that, in reality, there may be more than the seven or eight levels, some of which may be less distinct, and there may be different combinations of rungs applied to a given situation. Additionally, Mitchell (1998) and Tosun (2006) asserted that there is no overt reference to the ownership of services except the process and type of community participation. As a consequence, community participation may be placed at a high level of these typologies in terms of decision-making process, but if external investors and the local elite own the majority of the industries and land areas in the community, this high participation represents little gain in terms of economic benefits. Another shortcoming of

these typologies is that these models do not properly solve the intensity and longevity of citizen participation. This means that the typologies of participation do not consider the enthusiasm of host communities over time and the community control on a permanent nature (Mitchell, 1998; Tosun, 2006).

Table 2.2 Pretty's typology of participation (summarized)

Type	Characteristics of each type
7- Self-mobilisation	People take initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems. They seek external support, but retain control over resource use. This level of participation can be achieved if government and NGOs provide an enabling framework of support.
6- Interactive participation	People participate in joint decision making of development plans and institution. Participation is seen as a right, not just the means to achieve project goals. Multiple perspectives are sought and learning process is systematic and structural. Local groups take control of local decisions and determine how they can be implemented.
5- Functional Participation	Participation is seen as a means to achieve projects goals especially reduced costs. Local groups are formed to meet predetermined objectives. Some decision making may be shared, but tends to arise only after major decisions have already been made by external agents.
4- Participation for material incentives	People exchange labour, in return for food, cash or other material incentives, yet people have no shake in prolonging technologies or practices when incentives end.
3- Participation by consultation	People are consulted or answer questions. External agents define problems and information gathering processes, and so control analysis. People have no obligation to take on board people's views.
2- Passive participation	People are told what has been decided or has already happened. This is related to one-way communication where people's responses are not heard. The information being shared belongs only to external professionals.
1- Manipulative participation	Participation is simply a pretence, with 'people's' representatives on official boards but who are unelected and have no power.

Source: Excerpted from Pretty (1995 as cited in Cornwall, 2008, p. 272)

2.4.2.2 Empowerment dimensions

Another significant goal of empowerment is illustrated through the impact of CBE development on the lives of community members (Timothy, 2007; Scheyvens, 2002). Scheyvens (1999) proposed an empowerment framework for assessing the effectiveness of ecotourism initiatives on local communities (see Figure 2.3). The framework determines the impacts of ecotourism under four dimensions: economic, social, psychological and political empowerment (Scheyvens, 1999).

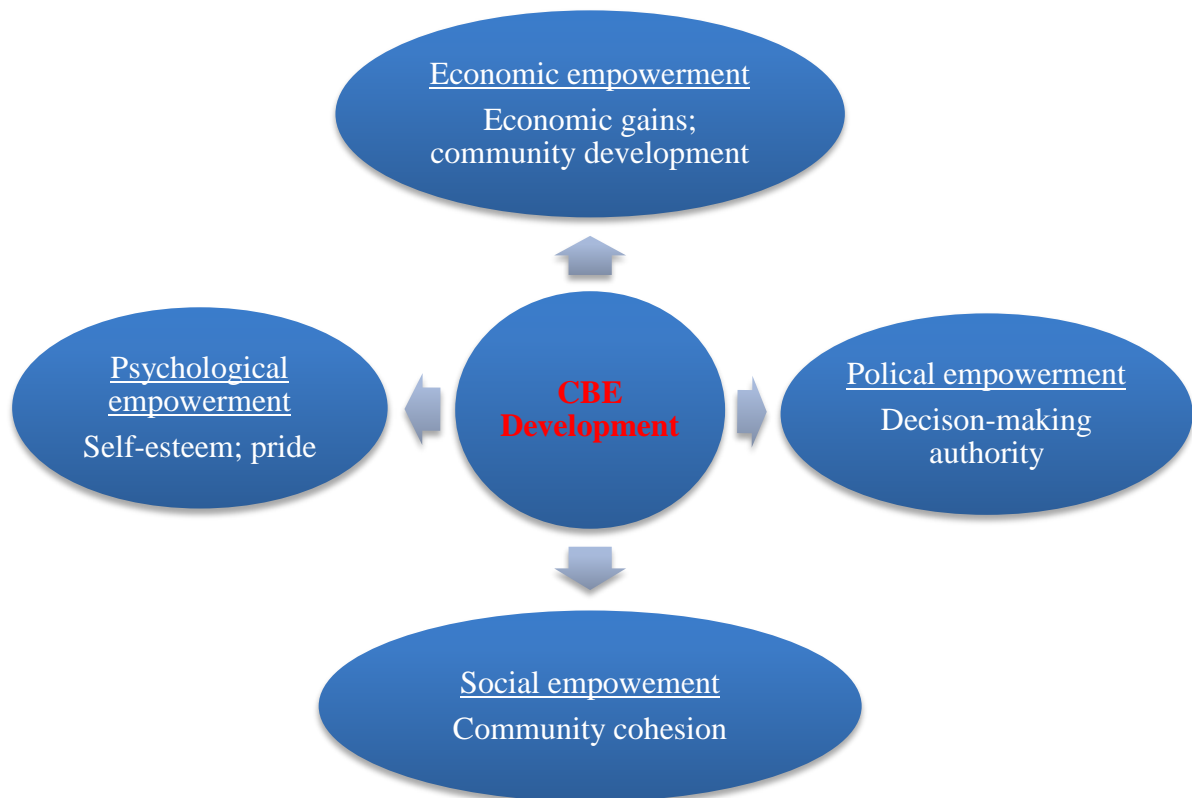


Figure 2.3 Community empowerment in CBE development

Source: Adopted from Scheyvens (1999)

The economic dimension considers the extent to which a host community is economically empowered by ecotourism development and, in order to do this, it is necessary to consider the long-term fiscal benefits reaped by community members in terms of direct and indirect economic advantages (Scheyvens, 1999; Timothy, 2007). Economic empowerment is achieved when the money earned is shared among many community households through community distributional networks (Scheyvens, 1999; 2009) and economic gains are widely distributed in indigenous communities and, in particular, to disadvantaged groups, including women and poor of these communities, rather than to the local elite and external investors (Timothy, 2007; Scheyvens, 1999). This form of empowerment is also achieved when indigenous community members are able to be involved in ecotourism activities in their

communities, and/or their agricultural products and handicrafts are consumed by tourism enterprises and tourists. This is often referred to as 'pro-poor tourism', wherein all community members reap direct and indirect tourism benefits (Timothy, 2007; Ashley, Roe & Goodwin, 2001). In addition, economic empowerment is achieved when funds from CBE activity are used for community development projects including the improvement of the infrastructure (i.e. roads, electricity, water supplies, sewage system) and other community services (i.e. schools, social welfare and health care) (Timothy, 2007; Scheyvens, 1999).

The social empowerment dimension in Scheyvens' (1999) framework refers to the condition where social cohesion and integrity is recognized and strengthened (Scheyvens, 1999). It involves the existence of strong community groups including women's, youth and elderly groups (Scheyven, 1999). This dimension of empowerment also refers to community members having a sense of solidarity and a sense of social obligations for the common good (Timothy, 2007). The sense of communality can contribute to the growth of confidence in a collective social identity and stewardship over resources (Timothy, 2007). In other words, the reinforcement and preservation of cultural traditions and the conservation of natural resources may increase social empowerment of host communities.

Psychological empowerment appears when community members have self-esteem and pride in their cultural traditions and natural values and have an optimistic faith about their future (Scheyvens, 1999). Psychological empowerment is visible when there is outside recognition and respect of the value of cultural traditions and natural heritage of indigenous communities as this recognition may increase pride among community members and makes them enthusiastic about sharing their traditional knowledge and experience with visitors (Timothy, 2007). This enhanced pride and enthusiasm can lead to a growth of confidence among community members to participate in social activities and engage with other people. In contrast, frustration and confusion about access to resources important to livelihoods, such as lands, among community members in CBE initiatives are signs of psychological disempowerment (Scheyvens, 1999).

The final dimension of political empowerment contends that a community is politically empowered when all community stakeholders have a substantial voice in the decision-making over the development process, from its conception to its implementation (Scheyvens, 1999; Timothy, 2007). Political empowerment involves all community stakeholder groups, including ethnic groups, women and the poor, having equal opportunities to decide their own future by expressing their concerns and points of views about decisions that affect their lives (Timothy, 2007; Cusack & Dixon, 2006). To provide these stakeholders with opportunities,

implementing agencies should invite them to provide suggestions, concerns and opinions through various public participation methods (Timothy, 1999). However, Arnstein (1969) contended that these public participation methods (i.e. public hearing, attitude survey, meetings) may represent a degree of tokenism (see Section 2.5.2.1). Consequently, political empowerment of local communities is considered when community stakeholders' views are incorporated into decision making for CBE development (Scheyvens, 1999; Sofield, 2003), and when these decisions are made in accordance with the interests and needs of community members (Sofield, 2003; Cusack and Dixon, 2006).

These four dimensions of empowerment are critical indicators for evaluating the effectiveness of CBE development within indigenous communities. However, evaluating the actual extent of the effectiveness of CBE in these four dimensions can be complicated, given the complexity of the variables of the impact of CBE development. As such, many studies on the impacts of tourism development use community perception as the main method to investigate those impacts (Liu & Var, 1986; William & Lawson, 2001; Lankford & Howard, 1994; Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996; Husbands, 1989; Ap, 1992; Tosun, 2002; Long, Perdue & Allen, 1990)

While evaluating actual impacts of CBE development is complex and time-consuming, community perception of the impacts of CBE is a crucial reference for investigating the real significance of the four dimensions of empowerment in CBE. Since indigenous communities are all such persons who are potentially empowered or disempowered by the development of CBE, they are the only persons who can tell which impacts will provide acceptable benefits and which have serious problems (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf & Vogt, 2005). Furthermore, Stronza (2001) argued that to analyse rigorously the pure effects of tourism development in facilitating empowerment of indigenous people, indigenous perceptions about these effects are indispensable. The perceptions of those impacts are "likely to be an important planning and policy consideration for the successful development, marketing and operation of existing and future programmes and projects" (Ap, 1992, p. 665).

2.5 Summary

The increased interest in tourism as a development strategy for indigenous communities is part of a global awareness of the potential of indigenous cultural and natural resources for generating income. These resources are attractive tourist products. Thus, it is expected that tourism can contribute to the economic growth of an indigenous community and also diversify the community economies by helping indigenous people move away from an over

reliance on traditional agriculture. It is also argued that tourism can be a tool to reinforce and maintain indigenous cultures and knowledge that may have been buried for many years. However, when tourism is developed in indigenous communities, tourism can degrade indigenous cultures, destroy the destination's environment and create other problems in the communities.

These controversial issues in tourism have led to an effort to create alternative forms to mass tourism that are able to sustain development and conservation goals. Ecotourism which is a result of this effort aims to address issues of community poverty and environmental degradation through responsible travel activities. To achieve these objectives, ecotourism typically promotes small-scale activities to enhance local involvement and promote public awareness of the host cultures and their environments. However, as identified by Cater (1993, p.85), "in practice, there is a very real danger of viewing ecotourism as the universal panacea, and ecotourists as some magic bread, mitigating all tourism's ills". The imbalance of power between the powerful and the powerless and the lack of resources, skills and capabilities of the indigenous communities excludes community involvement in the development process. In addition, without appropriate policies and monitoring systems, ecotourism may result in more destructive intrusions into indigenous communities than mass tourism due to the increased demand by ecotourists for what is called the 'real authenticity' of these communities.

Addressing the problems of tourism is not dependent on tourism itself but on who controls and manages it. CBE has been introduced as a sustainable form of tourism as it promotes community control and participation in the tourism development process. In addition, empowerment is advocated as an integral component of CBE development in indigenous communities as it enables these communities to have control over their resources and to shape their own lives.

Although extensive research has discussed the importance of empowerment for sustainable tourism, little research has focused on both the process and the goals of empowerment in either the context of CBE or indigenous community development. In addition, within the empowerment process, most research focuses only on the involvement of communities in the collaboration process. In contrast, the inputs of powerful stakeholders, governments and NGOs, in particular, are critical to investigate because power holders are the key stakeholders for re-distributing power to balance power relations between stakeholder groups and pushing collaborative efforts to achieve common goals. Furthermore, as a 'goal', empowerment is not only about the extent of indigenous community participation in decision making during the

development process but also the improvements in the economic, social, psychological and political empowerment of indigenous communities.

This study of empowerment of Tampuan Community in the development of the Yeak Laom Community-based Ecotourism (YLCBE) aims to address such gaps in literature where there is (1) little focus on the process and goals of empowerment in CBE and indigenous development study; (2) limited detail about how each collaborative input and the role of government and NGO influences the local community; and (3) little assessment on CBE based on empowerment perspective, particularly, in Cambodia. Using the concept of empowerment as a process, the study investigates both the inputs of powerful key stakeholders in facilitating empowerment of the Tampuan community and the participation of the Tampuan community itself in decision-making of the YLCBE development. In addition, the study observes conflicts that can hamper the collaborative efforts among the stakeholders involved in the YLCBE development. Using the concept of empowerment as a 'goal', the study assesses both the degree of community participation in decision making in the YLCBE development and the effectiveness of the YLCBE for improving the economic, social, psychological and political lives of the Tampuan people.

Chapter 3

Case Study: the Yeak Laom Community Development, Cambodia

This chapter is divided into four main sections. First, it begins with an introduction to the four successive upheavals in Cambodian recent history (1970-1993) and the destruction of the country's economy and society. Second, it presents the three main strategies the Cambodian government is using to rebuild the country's economic and social well-being, of which tourism is one. that. The third section focuses on the significant growth of tourism in Cambodia; and also the importance of ecotourism development in protected areas for tourism policy. The final section describes the case of the Yeak Laom Community-based Ecotourism project, the case study investigated in this research.

3.1 Cambodian history (1970-1993)

According to Cambodian history, in the Angkor Empire Era, from the ninth to the 13th centuries, Cambodia had a highly developed civilisation with a rich culture, a well-developed economy and political power over Southeast Asia (Chum, 2010). However, Cambodia turned from the '*Golden Age*' of Angkor into the '*Dark Age*' in the 14th centuries because of internal conflicts and a series of wars with its neighbour countries: Thailand and Vietnam (Chum, 2010). Cambodia was invaded by both countries until the arrival of French Protectorate in 1863 (Chum, 2010). When France's power became weak after World War Two, "Prince Sihanouk proclaimed Cambodia's independence from France and set up his own government after winning the first national democratic election in 1953" (Esterlines, 1986 as cited in Chum, 2010, p. 54). From 1953 to 1970, Cambodia was an important primary product exporter and, as a result, become the fastest developing country in Southeast Asia (Chun, 2010). Unfortunately, four successive turbulent political upheavals occurred in this country during 1970 to 1979.

After gaining independence from France in 1953, Cambodia was re-named the People's Republic of Cambodia and was ruled by an authoritarian, conservative and paternalistic monarchy (Sorpong, 2000 as cited in Torres Mendoza, 2006). According to Deth (2009), Prince Norodom Sihanouk directed the country to the left and cut off relations with the United States, in 1965. As he believed that the communists would win the Indochina war, he made a

secret alliance with the North Vietnamese. Chandler (1992 as cited in Deth, 2009, p. 48) reported this alliance in the following way:

Under the terms of the alliance, the North Vietnamese were allowed to station troops in Cambodian territory and to receive arms and supplies funnelled to them from North Vietnam and China via the Cambodian port of Sihanoukville. In exchange, they recognized Cambodia's frontiers, left Cambodian civilians alone, and avoided contact with the Cambodian army. South Vietnamese and U.S. officials soon knew about the presence of North Vietnamese troops in Cambodia, and the movements of weapons and supplies, without knowing the details of the agreement Sihanouk had reached. Sihanouk denied for several years that any Vietnamese troops were in Cambodia, which angered the United States and South Vietnam but enhanced the image of injured innocence that the prince projected to the outside world.

As a result of this alliance, in the first half of the 1970s, approximately 540,000 tons of bombs were dropped by the U.S. on Cambodian territories, killing from 150,000 to 750,000 people (Tully, 2002 as cited in Deth, 2009). In addition, the alliance with the communist east rather than the capitalist west resulted in the coup against the Prince's political system (Deth, 2009). As a consequence, Prince Sihanouk was removed from power on 18th March 1970 by the 86-3 vote of the National Assembly of Cambodia; he was abroad at the time (Deth, 2009).

After Prince Sihanouk was disposed, another political regime called the Khmer Republic emerged. This regime was supported by the U.S.; General Lon Nol was the Prime Minister (Deth, 2009). Cambodia was trapped in internal political chaos during this regime, because the move to the capitalist west by the Khmer Republic angered Cambodian communists and those who were still in favour of Prince Sihanouk. Consequently, a Cambodian communist guerrilla force, known as the Khmer Rouge, joined with supporters of Prince Sihanouk and went into the jungles to fight against Lon Nol's regime (Deth, 2009). Thus, Lon Nol's forces fought against both the Khmer Rouge guerrillas and the Vietnamese troops, who had been based in Cambodian territories since the Vietnam War (Deth, 2009). On 17th April 1975 the Khmer Republic collapsed when the Khmer Rouge defeated Lon Nol and took over Phnom Penh. According to Deth (2009), the withdrawal of the U.S. troops from Indochina when the U.S. lost the Vietnam War had weakened Lon Nol's forces.

When the Khmer Rouge took control of the country in 1975, Cambodia was renamed Democratic Kampuchea under the leadership of Saloth SAR—widely known as Pol Pot. Pol

Pot claimed to be initiating peace among Cambodians but instead created the horror of mass executions (Torres Mendoza, 2006). During this regime 1.7 million people died from mass execution, overwork and starvation (Deth, 2009). However, this figure remains controversial as the death toll is unknown (Chum, 2010). Cambodia was transformed into a ‘*Dark Age*’, ‘*Killing Fields*’ and ‘*Prison without Walls*’ (Chum, 2010). Deth (2009, p. 49) commented:

The development of collectivism, the breaking of family ties, and the abolition of the market economy along with a variety of civilian rights (abuse) highlights the main characteristics of Democratic Kampuchea.

Martin (2007) added that people were forced to leave towns and cities to work collectively in rural areas where there were no markets, education, media and communications, private ownership, investments, private enterprises or human rights.

At that time, territorial disputes contributed to the Khmer Rouge continuing to fight against its former comrade, Vietnam (Deth, 2009). On 7th January 1979, Vietnamese troops in conjunction with the Kampuchean United Front of Nation Salvation (KUFNS), a group of former Democratic Kampuchea’s officials and those who escaped to Vietnam during the Khmer Rouge’s rule, pushed the Khmer Rouge groups to the Thai-Cambodian borders and took over the capital city—Phnom Penh (Deth, 2009).

When the Khmer Rouge lost control over the country, the regime of the People’s Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) emerged, in 1979. This new regime was a centralised and socialist government and adopted a centrally planned economy (Chum, 2010). During the rule of this regime, Cambodians still struggled with civil war and devastation plans (Deth, 2009). The Khmer Rouge still continued to fight against the Phnom Penh government along the Thai-Cambodian borders (Deth, 2009). To combat the Khmer Rouge force, many people were conscripted into jungles for the “K5 Plan” (*Phenka Kor Bram* in Khmer), which was presumably building a “Berlin wall” along the Thai-Cambodian border (Deth, 2009). The PRK government claimed that this plan could protect the people from Khmer Rouge attack. In fact, this plan contributed to the death of thousands of people due to malaria and landmines (Deth, 2009). In addition to the Khmer Rouge force, two other main groups, including a royalist group known as the National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia (FUNCINPEC) which was led by Prince Sihanouk, and a republican group which was led by Son San (Deth, 2009), worked on the international stage to resist the PRK regime. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and China also opposed the Vietnam backed People’s Republic of Kampuchea.

After two decades of conflict, the civil wars ended and peace emerged in Cambodia. Peace talks among leaders of the resistance groups and the Phnom Penh government led to the Paris Peace Agreement of 23rd October 1991. As a result, Cambodia had its first peaceful National Election in 1993 organized by the peacekeeping force, the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) (Deth, 2009). After the election, Cambodia was officially named the “Kingdom of Cambodia” governed by the Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC). This regime adopted democracy and opened up the economy through adopting market liberalisation (Chum, 2010).

3.2 Strategies for rebuilding Cambodia

The physical, psychological, social and economic deprivation suffered by the Cambodian people from the civil wars during the 1970 to 1993 resulted in the current regime giving a high priority to policies which address poverty reduction and empower the Cambodian people. Over two decades of civil wars resulted in Cambodia being one of the poorest countries in the world (Chum, 2010). Cambodia faced serious destruction of its social and economic infrastructure and a lack of human capital. Transportation and communication systems and physical infrastructure were cut off. Public and private facilities such as schools, hospitals and commercial buildings were damaged or destroyed. As a consequence, according to the Poverty Profile 1993/94, 39% of Cambodians lived in poverty (Ministry of Planning, 2010a). In addition, the poverty rate increased to 51%, in 1999, as reported by the 1999 Cambodia Socio-economic Survey (CSES), which was conducted in two rounds, i.e. January-March and June-August (Nicita, Olarreaga & Soloaga, 2001). Thus, the central government of Cambodia (RGC) struggled with desperate economy when the country achieved peace, stability and safety. It was a challenge for the RGC to establish political and legal frameworks and development strategies to rebuild the country’s social and economic well-being.

In establishing political and legal frameworks, decentralisation has been part of the RGC’s reforms “to promote democracy, improve development opportunities, reduce poverty and ensure sustainable development” (Oberdorf, 2004, p. 7). The decentralisation reform was first designated by donors, especially the UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) Seila Programme in 1996 to test systems for planning, financing, managing and implementing local development at provincial and commune levels (Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia (CAMFREL), 2007). However, the RGC considered the decentralisation policy out of political rationale, thus there was no any policy document of this reform approved by the RGC (Oberdorf, 2004). In 2001, the political decentralisation reform was covered by two major laws: the Law on the Election of Commune Councils and the Law on the

Administration and Management of Communes/*Sangkats* (CAMFREL, 2007). These laws were enacted to devolve power to governments at commune and *Sangkat* level that were first elected in 2002 (Oberdorf, 2004). After realizing that effective process of decentralisation can increase transparency and accountability of public service delivery and contribute to poverty reduction, the RGC has focused on the decentralisation reform, and as a result, the Strategic Framework for Decentralisation and Deconcentration Reform was approved by the Councils of Ministers on June 17, 2005 (CAMFREL, 2007). According to Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia (2007, p. 9), this decentralisation policy document suggests that:

...the Cambodian government develop management systems at provincial, district, khan and commune levels, based on the principle of ‘democratic participation’. The system is to operate with transparency and accountability in order to promote local development and delivery of public services to meet the needs of citizens and contribute to poverty reduction within the respective territories.

Apart from political reforms, to rebuild the country’s economy and social well-being, the RGC has channelled revenues into three policy strategies. The first and primary strategy was agriculture. Agriculture is regarded as the most imperative tool for poverty reduction and empowering poor people in Cambodia. It has been the leading sector for Cambodian economic growth and employment, contributing to around 30% of the country’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per annum (Sok, 2005). For example, crop production contributed 18.8% of the GDP in 1993; fisheries 13.6%; and livestock and poultry contributed 8.9% share to GDP (see Figure 3.1). In addition, agriculture has been the main source of Cambodian livelihoods. A Poverty Profile of Cambodia, in 1999, reported that approximately 80% of the Cambodian poor earned a living from agriculture, especially from rice cultivation, fisheries and livestock (Sok, 2005).

Figure 3.1 illustrates, however, that the potential of agriculture has steadily declined. The poor management of natural resources resulted in the destruction of forestry and fish stocks (Sok, 2005). Rice production, which depends on rain, also decreased due to droughts (Sok, 2005). As a result, there was a sharp drop in agriculture of 18%, in 2004 (Sok, 2005). Furthermore, the contribution of crop production to the GDP, in 2005, dropped to 14.2%, while fisheries’ contribution decreased to 9.3%. Therefore, incomes generated by the agricultural sector could not fully support rural livelihoods (Sok, 2005).

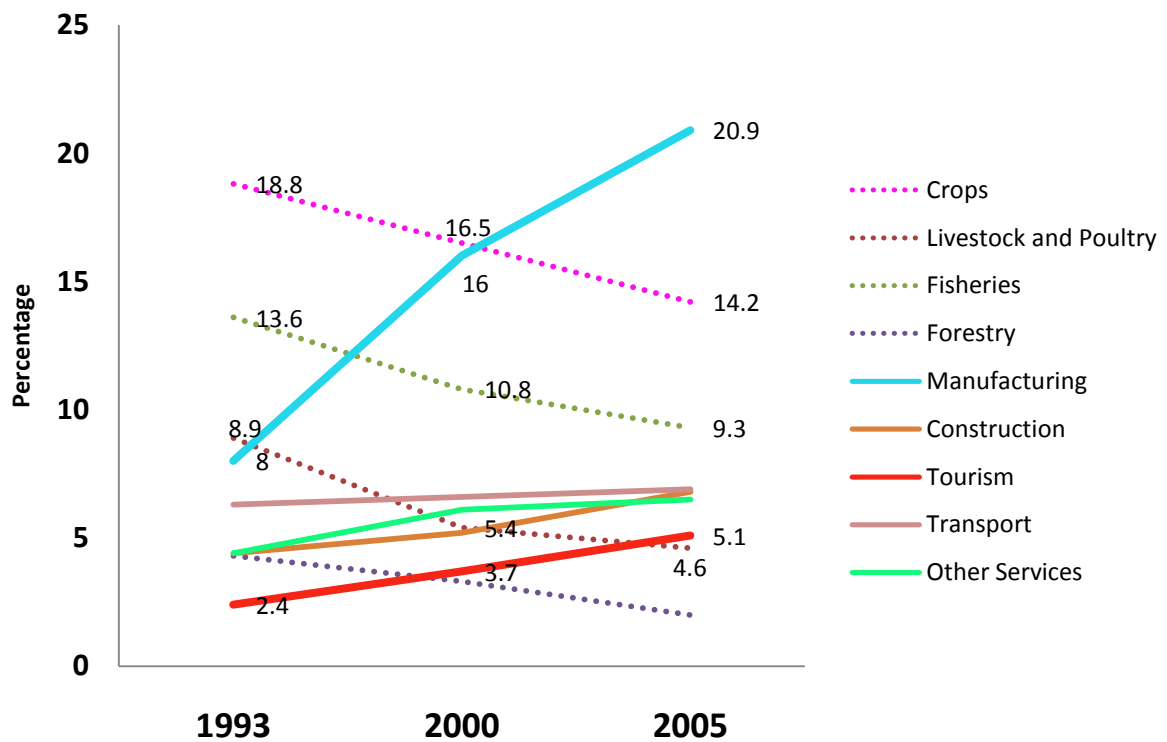


Figure 3.1 Shares in GDP by Sectors

Source: National Strategic Development Plan 2006-2010 (the Ministry of Planning, 2010a)

While agriculture was declining, the manufacturing sector has captured the RGC's attention. Since 2000, the manufacturing sector has replaced agriculture in terms of its contribution to GDP and has become the leading industry. Figure 3.1 indicates that the contribution of the manufacturing to the GDP in 2000 was double that of 1993 and rose to 20.9% in 2005. In addition, garment exports alone contributed to nearly 16% of the GDP in 2000 (Ministry of Planning, 2010a) and increased by 14.3% in 2002 (Sok, 2005). In addition, the garment industry employed about 330,000 people, of which over 90% were women, who generated about 80% of the total exports of Cambodia, in 2004, equal to US \$ 1,986 million (Ministry of Planning, 2010a).

Despite the tremendous contribution of the manufacturing sector to economic growth and employment, the boom has not contributed to development in rural areas, where most of the poor people's lives. This was because the manufacturing factories were established in urban areas rather than in rural areas. In addition, the boom added to the impoverishment experienced by those in rural areas. According to the World Bank (2006 as cited in Chen, 2006), 85% of garment factory workers were from rural provinces, whose families were poor. The movement of young adults away from rural areas has led to urbanization and failed to ignite the economy in those places. Therefore, the capacity of the manufacturing sector to contribute to the development in remotes areas was limited.

With the potential of agriculture to contribute to local livelihoods having decreased and the limited capacity of manufacturing sector to enhance rural development, the RGC gave increased attention to tourism as one of its policy strategies for poverty reduction. The concentration of tourism was derived from the recognition that the growth of tourism not only contributed to the country's economy but can also provided appropriate benefits to local people living in tourist destinations (Ministry of Planning, 2010a); this was because Tourism in Cambodia had increased dramatically. As shown in Figure 3.1, the contribution of tourism to the GDP increased from 2.4% in 1993 to 5.1% in 2005 and up to around 16% in 2007 (International Finance Corporation, 2008).

3.3 Tourism in Cambodia

Cambodia tourism had been unevenly promoted since the country was a French colony, although, not surprisingly, the tourism industry did not exist during the Khmer Rouge Regime. Tourism had grown remarkably since Cambodia gained full peace in 1993, particularly in the four prioritized areas: Phnom Penh and periphery, Tonle Sap Region, Northeastern Region and the Coastal Region. Tourism has become the second largest sector, after the garment industry in boosting economic growth and in providing employment to a large number of Cambodians in many related fields, i.e., hospitality and transportation (Ministry of Planning, 2010b). According to the National Strategic Development Plan 2009-2013, tourism comprised 90% of all small and medium enterprises and provided 300,000 jobs, in 2008 (Ministry of Planning, 2010b). Moreover, the increased direct foreign investment, from US \$ 142 million, in 2001, to US \$ 216 million, in 2005, in tourist service industries such as hotels, guesthouses and restaurants and created many jobs and enhanced incomes for the local population (Chen, Sok & Sok, n.d). Hence, the RGC included tourism as one of the leading strategies supporting Cambodia's economic growth and as a tool to enhance political, cultural and economic integration of local destinations (Neth, 2008).

3.3.1 Tourism statistics

After a long period of political unrest, tourism has increased with an average annual rate of 21.3% (Neth, 2008). Table 3.1 outlines the number of tourist arrivals in Cambodia from 1995 to 2008. The table showed that when the country gained full peace in 1993, only 118,181 tourists visited to Cambodia. The number of international tourist arrivals reached to 1,055,202, in 2004, an increase of 50.53% compared to 2003, and up to 2,125,465, in 2008 (Ministry of Tourism, 2008a).

Table 3.1 International tourist arrivals in Cambodia from 1995-2008

Year of Arrival	Number of Tourists	Growth Rate (%)
1993	118,183	-
1995	219,680	-
1997	218,843	-
1999	367,743	-
2000	466,365	26.82
2001	604,919	29.71
2002	786,524	30.02
2003	701,014	-10.87 ¹
2004	1,055,202	50.53
2005	1,425,615	34.72
2006	1,700,041	19.59
2007	2,015,128	18.53
2008	2,125,465	5.48

Source: Ministry of Tourism, 2008a, retrieved from www.mot.gov.kh

The Asian Region was the main tourist market for Cambodia. Of the top ten tourist markets in 2008, six of these were Asian countries including Korea, Vietnam, Japan, China, Thailand, and Taiwan (see Table 3.2). Korea provided a 12.54% share (266,525 visitors) of inbound tourists, in 2008, followed by Vietnam (9.86%), Japan (7.71%) and the USA (6.83%).

Table 3.2 Top ten tourist markets of Cambodia in 2008

No	Markets	Number of Visitors	Share (%)
1	Korea	266,525	12.54
2	Vietnam	209,516	9.86
3	Japan	163,806	7.71
4	The United States of America	145,079	6.83
5	China	129,626	6.10
6	Thailand	109,020	5.13
7	The United Kingdom	98,093	4.62
8	France	97,517	4.59
9	Australia	118,180	4.00
10	Taiwan	83,000	3.91

Source: Ministry of Tourism, 2008a, retrieved from www.mot.gov.kh

¹ It appears a big decline in 2003, but, in average, the growth was consistent between 2002 and 2004 with the growth rate of 30%.

The growth in numbers of visitors resulted in increased income from tourism. Tourist income receipts gradually increased from US \$100 million, in 1995, to 379 million, in 2002 (Note: US \$ is a common currency in Cambodia). Although there was a small decline in 2003, tourism income rapidly grew up to US \$ 1,595 million by 2008 (see Figure 3.2).

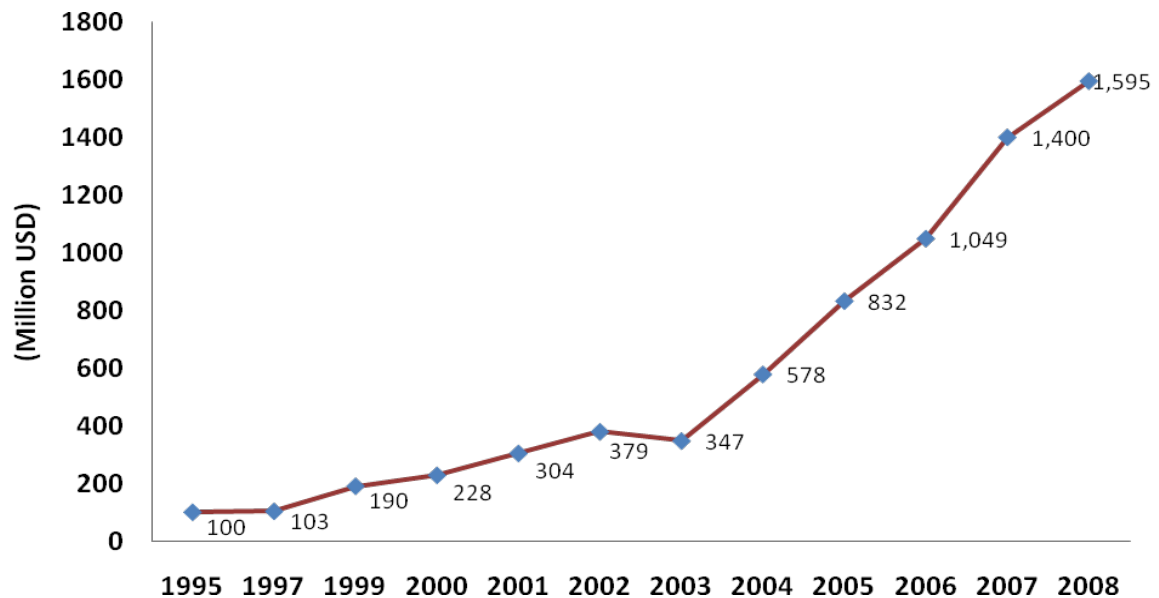


Figure 3.2 Cambodian Tourist Receipts (1995-2008)

Source: Ministry of Tourism, 2008a, retrieved from www.mot.gov.kh

Despite this initial potential, tourism development in Cambodia has faced a number of serious challenges (Yin, 2003). First, there were serious environmental and local cultural threats and unequal distribution of benefits from tourism (Yin, 2003). Second, the physical infrastructure necessary for the development of tourism was inappropriate and insufficient (Yin, 2003). Another challenge was that tourism products supplied to international markets were underdeveloped (Yin, 2003). In addition, the performance of some private companies whose investment projects in the tourism sector were approved the government has been poor (Ministry of Planning, 2010b). Yin (2003) contended that these challenges arose from factors that included a lack of human resources, a lack of community participation and, most importantly, unplanned tourism developments (Yin, 2003). These constraints have required the RGC to place increased emphasis on reinforcing and promoting tourism policy.

3.3.2 Tourism Policy

Tourism policy in Cambodia is based on three basic principles (Ministry of Planning, 2010a). Sustainable tourism development was the first and major principle. According to the National Strategic Development Plan, the RGC considered tourism as a key tool in enhancing the

national economy through employment and the creation of job opportunities. Importantly, the RGC also incorporated tourism development into poverty alleviation strategies and cultural and environmental conservation. Thus, the growth of tourism is intended to not only contribute to the country's economy and national revenue but also to poverty reduction, cultural and environmental conservation and the equal distribution of tourism benefits for the local people living in tourist destinations and neighbouring areas.

Promoting the exquisite nature and the rich cultural and historical heritage was another principle (Ministry of Planning, 2010b). The RGC has increased its promotion and marketing of Cambodia as a preferred "cultural and natural" tourist destination in the region and around the world. The philosophy behinds this promotional policy is regarding tourism as a tool for enhancing the dignity of Cambodian cultural and historical heritage and the abundance of natural resources.

Another principle of tourism policy is boosting tourist arrivals and expenditure and diversifying tourist destinations (Ministry of Planning, 2010b). The RGC has continued to improve the physical infrastructure (roads and airports) and has endeavoured to create a climate of peace and security in order to stimulate the growth of tourism in both urban and rural areas (Ministry of Tourism, 2005). This aim of these attentions is to attract more tourists and to facilitate tourists visiting a wide variety of destinations around the country.

In order to achieve these three principles the development of ecotourism in protected areas became one of the RGC's primary strategies for rural communities. In 1993, 23 protected areas were created and managed by the Ministry of Environment (Torres Mendoza, 2006). According to Neth (2008), the National Protected Areas (PAs) system of Cambodia was first established, in 1952, by the French administration. The main function of PAs was to provide recreational luxury for the rich (Neth, 2008). When the country gained independence, the strategy for natural resource management was the key function of PA establishment (Neth, 2008). However, illegal encroachment by rural poor, who have been denied access to livelihood resources and the illegal extraction of natural resources by concession activities have threatened the natural resource management function of PAs (Neth, 2008). To prevent these actions and diversify local economies, the RGC has promoted ecotourism in PAs in order to generate employment and additional income for the rural poor population in these areas (Neth, Reth & Knerr, 2008) and, simultaneously, to enhance natural resource management (Torres Mendoza, 2006).

3.3.3 Ecotourism

In the Cambodian context, ecotourism is defined as “a form of nature-based tourism that aims to conserve the natural environment and local cultures and enhance the livelihoods of Cambodian people as well as visitors” (Ministry of Tourism, 2008b, p.3). This aim is to make optimal use of environmental resources while conserving natural resources and biodiversity, maintaining cultural heritage and traditional values of host communities, strengthening the quality of life in local communities and ensuring equitable and viable socio-economic benefits to local people. Although ecotourism development has already introduced into local communities, there is no clear ecotourism policy to affiliate the national and local levels (Yin, 2003). Nevertheless, according to the ecotourism policy draft of the Ministry of Tourism (2008b), which has not been yet adopted, the development of ecotourism should follow these targets in order to achieve its aims.

- Enhance management efficiency to create a balance between conservation and development by minimizing negative impacts and maximizing long-term benefits;
- Intensify conservation awareness and environmental education of the host communities and visitors in order to change their attitudes about conservation and ecotourism development;
- Empower local communities to participate in decision making for ecotourism planning and implementation, in consultation with other stakeholders, and to benefit from the development of ecotourism in order to support the efforts towards poverty reduction;
- Diversify and improve the quality of ecotourism products through capacity building and quality control;
- Enhance visitor satisfaction and experience.

Furthermore, since participation of local residents in ecotourism planning, implementation and evaluation has been emphasised and advocated for by the International Year of Ecotourism and the World Tourism Organization, the RGC has regarded local control and participation in ecotourism development as a significant tool for local community development (Neth, 2008). As a consequence, the RGC, with the cooperation of donor agencies, has made various efforts to promote many Community-Based Ecotourism (CBE) projects in three major regions: Northeast Region, Tole Sap Multiple Use Area, and Coastal and Cardamom Mountain Region (Cambodian Community-based Ecotourism Network, 2002

as cited in Ministry of Tourism, 2008b). Of all the CBE projects in Cambodia, the Yeak Laom Community-based Ecotourism project (YLCBE) was the first project to be implemented in 1998 in the Yeak Laom Commune, Ratanakiri, Cambodia (See Figure 3.3).

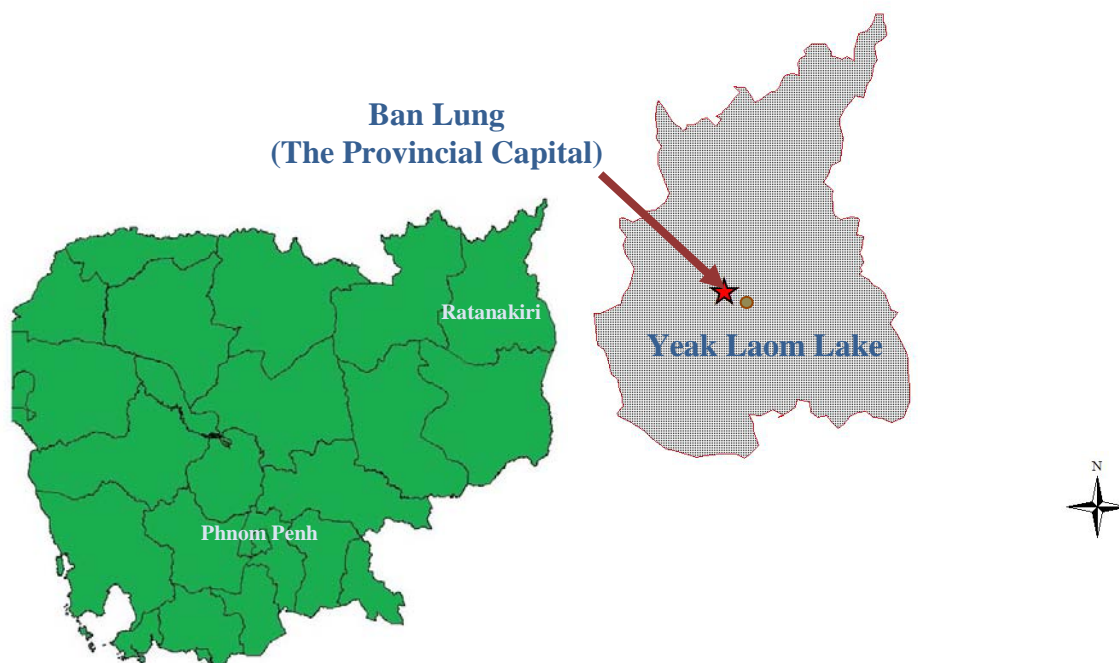


Figure 3.3 Map of Ratanakiri Province

3.4 The Yeak Laom Community

Yeak Laom Commune is one of the 49 communes of Ratanakiri Province, the north-eastern province of Cambodia (Yin, 2003) (see Figure 3.4). This commune is about three kilometres from Banlung, the provincial capital of Ratanakiri. There are three possible travel routes to Banlung and to the Yeak Laom Commune, from Phnom Penh; land, river and air. Of these three routes, travelling by land is regarded as the most convenient and safest way as the road conditions have improved.

The Yeak Laom Community has a total population of 2,273 comprising 472 households (see Table 3.3). The community is divided into five villages namely: Chri, Lapou, Sil, Lon and Phnum. Of the five villages, Lapou is the most highly populated village with 130 households (630 people), compared to 42 households (189 people) for Phnum Village. The indigenous people, known as Tampuan, are the majority population comprising 90% of the total population. They live adjacent to the Yeak Loam Protected Area (YLPA). Most Tampuan people in the Yeak Laom Community are farmers who cultivate rice, cashew nuts, beans and corn for a living (Yin, 2003). However, some people still earn their living by undertaking traditional activities such as hunting, fishing and collecting non-forest timber products (NFTPs) (Yin, 2003).

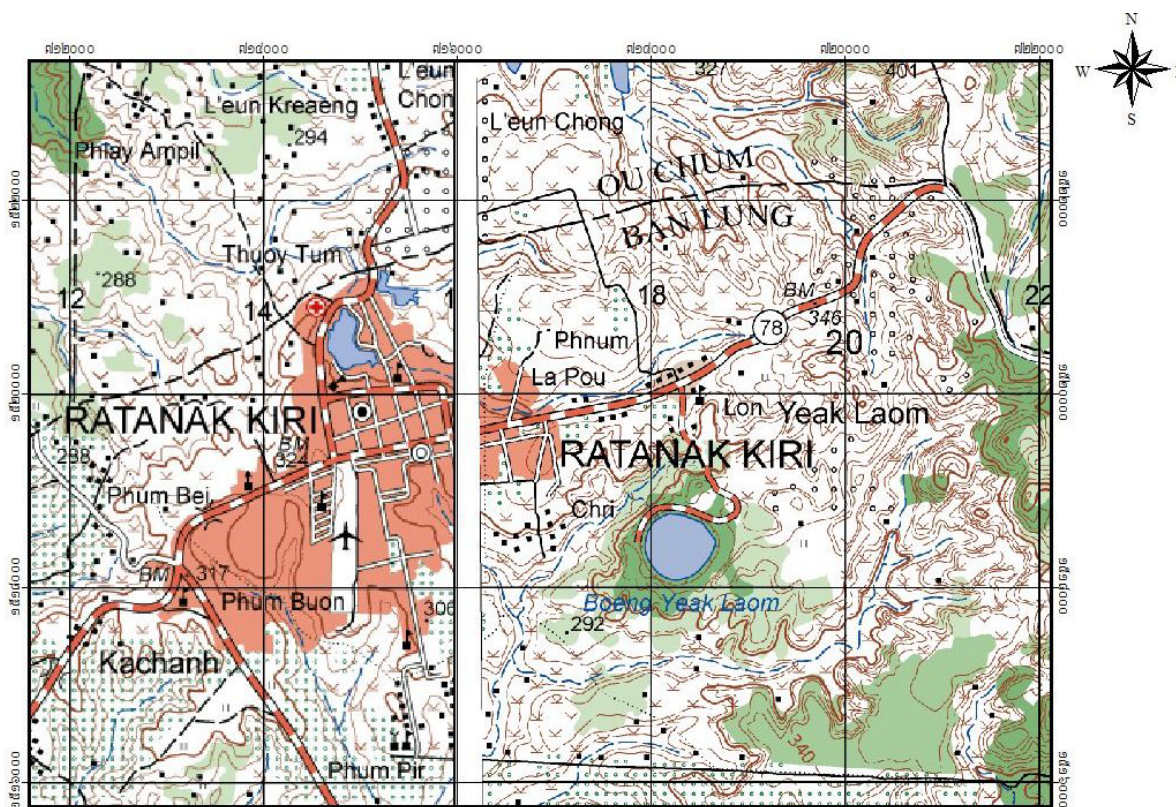


Figure 3.4 Map of Yeak Laom Commune

Table 3.3 Population statistics of the five villages of the Yeak Laom Commune

No	Villages	Number of Households	Population		
			Male	Female	Total
1	Lapou	130	304	326	630
2	Lon	128	318	263	581
3	Chri	105	268	261	529
4	Sil	67	157	187	344
5	Phnum	42	95	94	189
	Total	472	1142	1131	2273

Source: Yeak Laom Commune/District, 2010

Tampuan people have unique identities and rituals dictated by their mythology and folklore (Waddington, 2003). They have their own language, which is different from the majority of people in Cambodia, who use the Khmer language. Previously, barter was the only method of trading goods among Tampuan people as money was not accepted as a form of exchange. In addition, Tampuan people practised traditional shifting agriculture, as they moved from one place to another. According to Waddington (2003), Tampuan people hold a traditional belief that spirits exist in forests, water and on land and, so, for Tampuan people, the Yeak Laom

Protected Area is a sacred place and a symbol of their ancestral heritage. Thus, trees in this forest cannot be harvested.

3.4.1 Yeak Laom Protected Area

The Yeak Laom Protected Area (YLPA) was designated by His Excellency, Governor Kep Chuk Tema, in May 1995. It covers about 5,067 hectares (Riebe, 1999). A central geographical and cultural focus of this area is Yeak Laom Lake. The lake is a result of volcanic activity which took place approximately 700,000 years ago. For the Tampuan people, however, it is a gift from the spirits (Leisure Cambodia, 2002). The Yeak Laom Volcanic Crater Lake has a depth of 50 m, a diameter of 800 m and a circumference of 2.5 km (Cambodia in Focus, May 2005). In addition, the lake is located in the midst of dense tropical forest of the YLPA that accommodates abundant biodiversity (Riebe, 1999). In addition, the lake and the crest of the crater rim surrounding the lake provide an exceptionally attractive landscape with stunning views (see Figure 3.5). Thus, the YLPA is a place with high potential for tourism development (Yin, 2003).



Figure 3.5 The Yeak Laom Protected Area

However, Yin (2003) reported that unplanned tourism development in the YLPA did not benefit Tampuan residents economically and also degraded their cultural and natural resources. Most tourism activities were dominated by non-Tampuan. These activities included small hotels and brothels. Litter and waste from tourism activities were widespread in the lake and surrounding area and illegal logging could not be prevented (Riebe, 1999). Contributing to these problems were the lack of an administrative and management structure, limited stakeholder participation and the unclear boundaries of the protected area (Riebe, 1999).

In response to the negative impacts of unplanned tourism and illegal encroachment which predated 1993, the main objective in designating the YLPA was to protect the forest, vegetation, wildlife and watershed in order to develop the area for recreation, education and ecotourism (Yin, 2003). This objective is consistent with the promotion of ecotourism development in protected areas, as pursued by the Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC), which recognised that ecotourism can promote linkages between conservation and community development. To establish a sustainable development policy in the YLPA, in 1996, the stakeholders and the consultative group of International and Non-Governmental Organisations (IO/NGO), the RGC, the provincial government and the Tampuan community began a collaboration to formulate a work programme in the YLPA. This led to the establishment of the Yeak Laom Community-based Ecotourism project (YLCBE), in 1998, under the administration and management of the locally-based organisation, the Yeak Laom Lake Conservation and Recreation Committee (YLLCRC).

3.4.2 Project planning process

An international seminar entitled “Sustainable Development of Northeast Cambodia” held in early 1996 in Banlung was the start of the YLCBE project plan (Riebe, 1999). The main objectives of the seminar were to understand the richness of the indigenous cultures and their values and to develop a vision of sustainable development that considered the perspectives of the indigenous communities and promoted appropriate natural resource management (Riebe, 1999). In addition, the purpose of the seminar was to formulate recommendations to support decision making for the local communities in regional and provincial development and management (Riebe, 1999). This seminar was hosted by Ratanakiri Province and organised by the consultative group of the National Task Force, in which the International Development Research Centre of Canada (IDRC) was the leading agency. It was also sponsored by the Inter-Ministerial Committee on Highland Peoples’ Development and the Ministry of Rural Development (Reibe, 1999). The importance of this event was reflected in the fact that the meeting was attended by over 200 participants from every sector including high-ranking

government officials, including the First Prime Minister Norodom Ranariddh, His Excellency Sok An (the representative of the Second Prime Minister Hun Sen), the Governor of Ratanakiri, the Minister of Rural Development and the Chairman of the Inter-Ministerial Committee.

A draft policy and action plan for the development in the Northeast was prepared and approved at this meeting. The draft policy statement stated that participation of Khmer Leu (indigenous people) leaders in various committees are responsible for development planning at the central, provincial and local levels needed to be included in the institutional structure. International Organisations and Non-government Organisations (IO/NGOs), in which the International Research Centre of Canada (IDRC) was the lead agency, were requested to provide technical assistance and facilitation through this structure (Riebe, 1999).

According to Riebe (1999), as the lead agency, the aim of IDRC RMPR (Resource Management Policy-Ratanakiri Project) was to support stakeholders in identifying key issues and principles of sustainable development in Northeast Cambodia. The policy debate communicated by IDRC was about local participation in the development of environmentally sustainable natural resource management (Riebe, 1999). In particular, a discussion about management responsibility of the Tampuan community was the significant point for the involvement of IDRC in the Yeak Laom community development.

In August 1996, IDRC sponsored a Cambodian Policy Makers' Study Tour to Chiang Mai, Thailand, including the Governor of Ratanakiri, His Excellency Kep Chuk Tema. Upon his return to Ratanakiri, the Governor requested IDRC's help in organising the community-based management project of the YLPA (Riebe, 1999).

At the beginning of the first phase of the project (January 1997) staff were employed from government agencies in Ratanakiri to work on the project including: the Department of Environment, the Department of Agriculture/Office of Forestry, the Department of Tourism and the Department of Culture (Riebe, 1999). The Yeak Laom Commune Chief and the representatives of the Banlung District were also included in the project working team (Riebe, 1999). In that phase of the project, the Yeak Laom Lake Cultural and Environmental Centre was built and the parking lots, the stairs leading to the lake and the swimming platform were improved (IDRC/CARERE, n.d). Furthermore, according to Riebe (1999), the team worked on planning exercises to:

1. Develop the Yeak Loam Commune as a model for protected areas and community management in the region;

2. Secure community access to natural resources;
3. Make decisions about the use of resources.

In June 1997, RMPR was transitioned to the IDRC/CARERE Community-based Natural Resource Management (NRM) Project when IDRC merged with the Cambodian Area Regeneration and Rehabilitation (CARERE) Project (Riebe, 1999). This merger was a consequence of the IDRC's funds being limited and CARERE expanding its support from the local level to the entire Yeak Laom Commune. This merger was the start of the second phase of the Yeak Laom community-based management project planning.

The continued support of the IDRC/CARERE to the Tampuan Community in the second phase led to the development of the community-based management programme. In August 1997, agency project staff was reduced, but new Tampuan community-based staff was employed and trained to take over the project activities. Importantly, on 15 September 1997, elections were held in the five villages to elect the Yeak Laom Lake Management Committee (YLLMC), in which one Tampuan person was elected from each village, plus a Tampuan woman (Riebe, 1999). The aim of including Tampuan women in the Lake Management Committee was to promote women's participation in the YLCBE development. The term of office for the committee members was two years. By August 1998, the YLCBE was established. The Yeak Laom Lake Conservation and Recreation Committee (YLLCRC) was given full rights to have control over their traditional land, the Core Zone of the YLPA, which is approximately 300 hectares, and to manage the YLCBE activities through a 25 year lease agreement signed by Governor Kep Chuk Tema (Riebe, 1999).

3.4.3 Project implementation

Although, the YLLCRC was fully authorised to control the Core Zone of the YLPA and manage the YLCBE activities, CARERE still continued to provide technical and financial support to develop the YLLCRC's capacity to manage and administer the Core Zone including income generation, financial planning and accounting, community-based natural resource management and eco/cultural education activities (Riebe, 1999). According to the lease contract, the YLLCRC was responsible for developing the YLCBE and protecting the natural resources in the Core Zone. In addition, in the Lake Management Plan 2010, the YLLCRC envisioned the Yeak Laom Lake as a pure natural lake that is biologically diverse and clean and argues that its values will benefit future generations. In order to achieve the YLCBE goals and vision, a range of YLLCRC management activities and YLCBE income generation have been adopted (YLLCRC, 2010a).

3.4.3.1 Project management structure

The YLLCRC is a joint body of the Yeak Laom Commune Council (YLCC) and the Yeak Laom Lake Management Committee (YLLMC). The YLCC is the top management body of the YLLCRC (see Figure 3.6). It is a legal organisation recognised by law and funded by the RGC. It consists of five councillors elected by a District and Commune Election held every five years. Generally, the YLCC is responsible for the administration of the Yeak Laom Commune and community development including agriculture, forestry, fisheries and tourism. In addition, in the context of the YLLCRC management structure, the YLCC plays a role as advisor to the YLLMC. It also provides consultancy to the YLLMC and takes actions about all reported illegal activities in the Core Zone.

The YLLMC is the active management body of the YLLCRC. It is the representative institution for Tampuan villagers. The YLLCM is in charge of YLCBE management, including development planning, income generation, financial management, conservation promotion, improvements in all infrastructures in the lake area and the protection of natural resources in the Core Zone. It consists of 18 full-time community staff including one chairman, one deputy-chairman, two administrators, four security guards, three parking guards, four cleaners, two salespersons and one exhibitor.

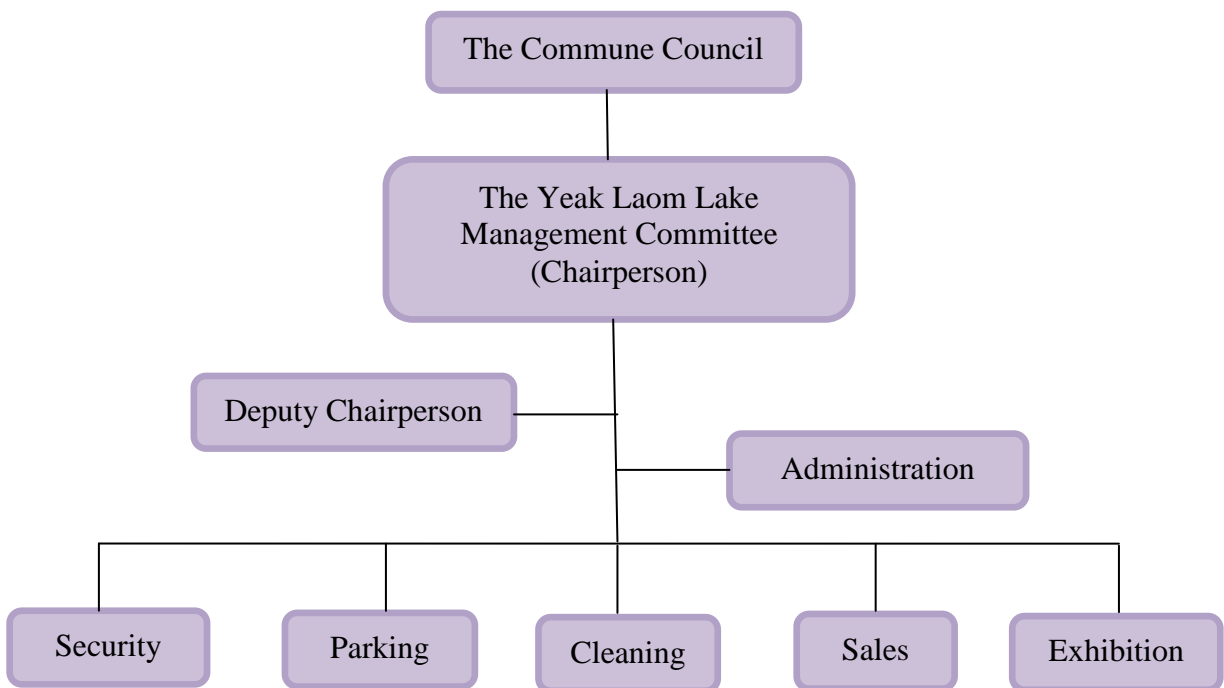


Figure 3.6 Management structure of the YLLCRC

Source: Lake Management Plan 2010 (YLLCRC, 2010a)

3.4.3.2 Project income generation

YLCBE project income is generated from a range of activities including entrance and parking fees, hiring out kiosks to visitors and business stores to sellers, hiring out swimming equipment and traditional costumes, selling handicrafts and beverages. The project income is also supplemented by live cultural performances by the Tampuan on holidays or special days and a Tampuan led a guiding service to villages that involve explorations along jungle trails.

With the agreement of all stakeholders including the Provincial Rural Development Committee (PRDC), the YLLCRC and community representatives, the project income is divided into five categories. According to Chea (2007), the project income would first be used as an operational fund in order to cover costs of the annual operation, including salaries and small maintenance. Any remaining income would be kept as a reserve fund of US \$5,000. This fund would be used in the case of a shortage of funds for the annual operation. After the budget for the reserved fund was earned, the surplus income would be invested for YLCBE infrastructure improvement. In addition, once all the above budgets are met, the PRCD would receive 25% of the total amount of surplus and the remaining 75% would be allocated to the community development fund.

The development of the YLCBE has substantially increased the financial returns from the Yeak Laom Lake area. At the beginning of the project, in 1998, only USD 705 was earned; however, this had increased to USD 6,763.20 by 2003 (Chea, 2007). That was a productive year for the YLCBE as, for the first time; the income earned was enough to support the project's operational expenditure. In addition, it was the time that IDRC/CAREERE withdrew their support, and the YLCBE thus was self-managed by the YLLCRC. By 2005, the reported income was USD 16,368, which enabled the YLCBE project to earn a surplus income for distribution to the community development fund (Chea, 2007).

The increase in income partly resulted from the increased numbers of visitors to the Yeak Laom Lake, which was a consequence of the increased tourist arrivals in Cambodia. The total number of tourist arrivals to the lake had increased gradually from 13,367, in 2003, to 51,513, in 2008, although there was a small drop of 2,362, in 2009 (see Table 3.4). Furthermore, of three different kinds of tourist markets, domestic tourism was the leading market for the YLCBE. In 2009, there were 45,226 domestic tourists, compared to 3,440 international tourists and 285 local tourists in 2003. In addition, the number of domestic tourists has substantially increased from 9,610, in 2003, to 46,981, in 2008, while there was no significant increase in the numbers of international tourists.

Table 3.4 Tourist arrivals to the Yeak Laom Lake 2003-2009

Year	International	Domestic	Local	Total
2003	3,420	9,610	337	13,367
2004	4,404	17,277	273	21,954
2005	3,562	22,743	252	26,557
2006	3,000	27,050	275	30,325
2007	3,389	35,205	304	38,898
2008	4,086	46,981	446	51,513
2009	3,640	45,226	285	49,151

Source: Yeak Laom Conservation and Recreation Committee, 2010b

3.5 Summary

Tourism development was one of the RGC's primary policy strategies for rebuilding the Cambodian economy following the cessation of conflict in 1993. The RGC has recognised that tourism can not only contribute to the national economic growth but also to the poverty reduction goals of the National Strategic Development Plan. Although ecotourism policy at both national and local levels has not yet formulated, since community participation in ecotourism has been advocated by the International Year of Ecotourism and the World Tourism Organization as a significant tool for local livelihood improvement and conservation protection, the RGC, with IOs/NGOs support, promoted community-based ecotourism projects in protected areas. For instance, with IDRC/CARERE support and advocacy, the YLCBE was established and, in 1998, the YLLCRC, the community-based organization, was given right to manage the YLCBE activities and control the Core Zone of the YLPA.

Since the YLLCRC has had control over the Core Zone area and the YLCBE, conservation and income generation activities have been placed and implemented. As a consequence, YLCBE has generated increased income from these activities and from the growth in visitor numbers to the Yeak Laom Lake. While the increased income for the YLCBE has enhanced the capacity of the project to contribute to community development, income measures did not indicate that the YLCBE had the potential to empower the Tampuan people. The degree of Tampuan participation in decision-making in the YLCBE and the impacts of the YLCBE on the lives of Tampuan people were, however, the main indicators of the potential of the YLCBE for empowering Tampuan people. In addition, in order for Tampuan people to be able to engage in, and benefit from, the YLCBE the involvement of the stakeholders should be in place in order to build the community capacity. With these latter indicators in mind, this

research was designed to investigate stakeholders' collaboration in the planning and implementation of the YLCBE, to assess the degree of Tampuan community participation and to evaluate the perceived impacts of the YLCBE on the economic, social, psychological and political lives of Tampuan people.

Chapter 4

Research Methods

This chapter explains how the research was designed and conducted and is divided into five sections. The first section presents the research design that used a mixed-methods approach involving both qualitative and quantitative methods. The second section introduces two techniques: key informant interviews and secondary data collection that were used to collect the qualitative data, followed by the introduction of survey technique that was used to collect the quantitative data in the third section. The fourth section presents how both qualitative and quantitative data were analysed and interpreted. The final section presents the scope and limitations of the study.

4.1 Research design

This study was exploratory in nature since the concept of empowerment as both a process and a goal has been rarely discussed in CBE context and specific elements for facilitating empowerment of indigenous people have not been reported in Cambodia. Therefore, this study aimed to explore both the process and the goals of empowerment and the linkages between these two dimensions in the CBE and indigenous community development context.

For the purposes of this research, a case study of the Yeak Laom Community in Cambodia was selected to examine the potential of community-based ecotourism in empowering indigenous people. Yin (2003) contended that a case study can be an essential element for an exploratory study to understand the social object being studied. This approach can reflect the contemporary phenomenon of a real-life context to unknown phenomenon when there was no clear evidence between the phenomenon and the context (Punch, 2005). In addition, according to Mitchell (1998, p.91), a case study approach can be the most appropriate and effective alternative research method because:

...a case study approach helps to understand the complex intertwining of social-cultural, political, economic and environmental factors that might be ignored or misinterpreted by another methodology.

Thus, a case study is more a strategy than a method as it gives a unitary character to the social data being studied (Punch, 2005). For this study, the use of the Yeak Laom Community as a case study was a strategy that aimed to provide the real-life context of the YLCBE

development and the Tampuan community in order to reflect the potential of CBE for empowering indigenous people.

Recognizing that a single method alone may be an incomplete mechanism for understanding complicated research problems, the study used a mixed-methods approach (qualitative and quantitative methods) in order to explore the case study in depth (see Figure 4.1). Creswell and Plano Clark (2007, p.9) contended that “mixed-methods research provides more comprehensive evidence for studying a research problem than either qualitative or quantitative research alone”, because in mixed-methods research, the findings from one method can help inform the other method. Another significant advantage of a mixed-methods research was that it allowed researchers to provide answers to research problems in words, numbers, trends and statistical results (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). In addition, since both qualitative and quantitative approaches have biases, a mixed-method approach can facilitate one method neutralizing the biases of the other method(s) (Creswell, 2003).

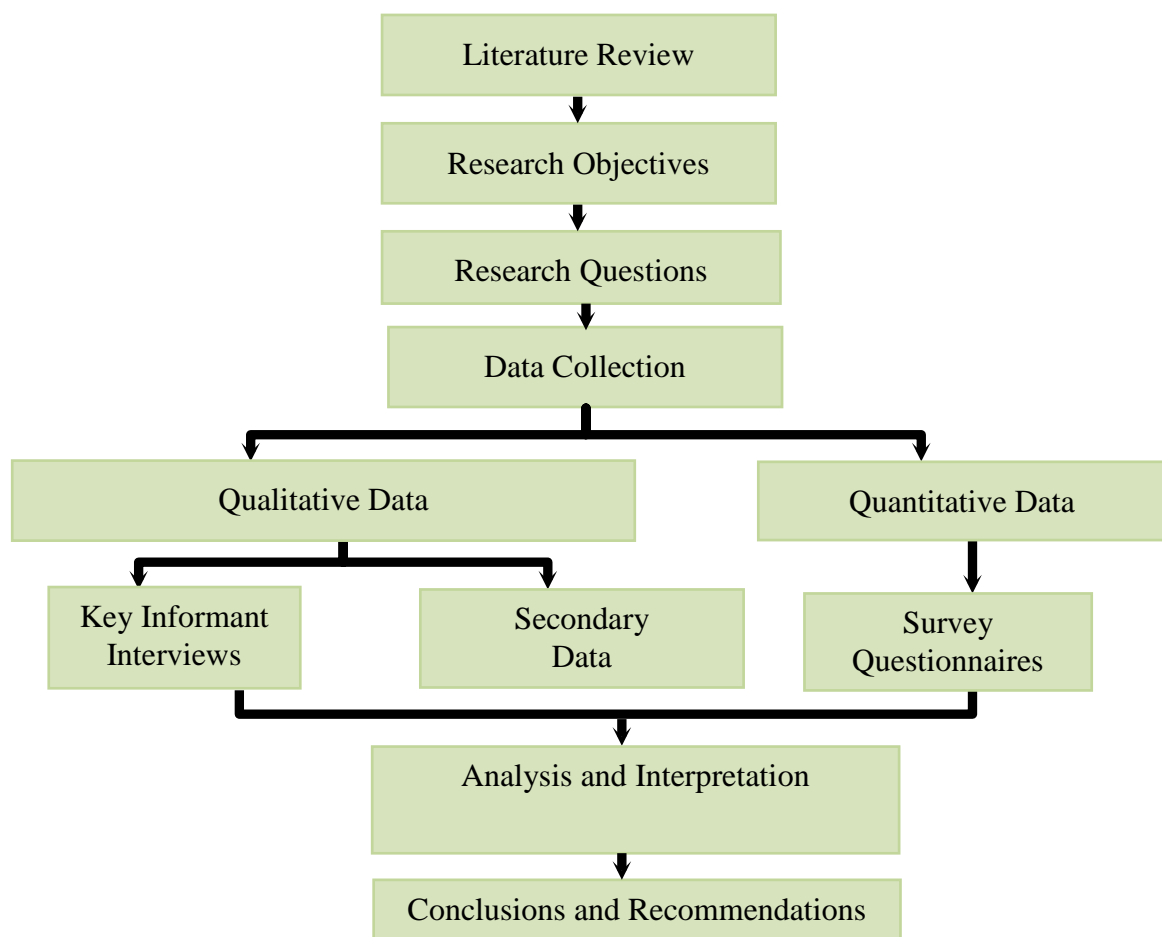


Figure 4.1 Framework of research design

As each approach has its own strengths and weakness, the research was initially guided by an interpretivist paradigm approach (qualitative approach) (see Babbie, 2008) in order to obtain information on (1) stakeholders' collaborative efforts in YLCBE planning and implementation, (2) the mechanisms for Tampuan community participation in decision-making of the YLCBE, and (3) the effects of the YLCBE on the lives of Tampuan people. Subsequently, a positivist paradigm approach (quantitative approach) was applied to ascertain Tampuan residents' assessment of their participation in, and the impact of the YLCBE.

The purpose of applying this strategy was to elaborate the effect of the findings from the quantitative method on the qualitative method. In beginning with the qualitative method, the aim was to learn about the research problems and to identify study variables such as collaborative inputs of stakeholder involved in, mechanisms for community participation in, and impacts of, the YLCBE development. Following this, the quantitative method was used to ascertain how these variables were distributed in a larger population and to gain a better understanding of the research problems (Creswell, 2003). In addition, the quantitative method was used to limit the biases inherent in the qualitative method.

4.2 Qualitative data collection

Following standard social research guidelines, efforts were made to use a combination of both primary and secondary data. As such, two techniques: key informant interviews and secondary data collection, were used to collect the qualitative data.

4.2.1 Key informant interviews

The key informant interview is a useful qualitative data collection technique for gaining a clear understanding of the research problems. Mitchell (1998) suggested that interviews were useful for understanding the research questions and identifying the study variables. In addition, key informant interviews were valuable in accessing the in-depth knowledge and experience of people involved in a given theme and to highlight issues related to social reality, cultural meaning and existing and explicit values (Chum, 2010).

4.2.1.1 Interview guide

An interview guide was prepared to ask questions around four key themes: the context of YLCBE planning and implementation, the community participation procedures, the impacts of the YLCBE on the lives of Tampuan people and community satisfaction with the YLCBE development. In the interview guide (see Appendix A), a variety of questions were used including introductory questions, follow up and probing questions, specifying questions,

direct and indirect questions, structuring questions and interpreting questions. This guide helped to structure the interviews and to keep capturing the context of the research questions (Reid, 1995 as cited in Mitchell, 1998).

4.2.1.2 Interview procedures

Interview data collection was conducted from 30 April to 04 June 2010 in the Yeak Laom Commune, Ratanakiri Province, Cambodia. Key informants were stakeholders with past or present involvement in the YLCBE project or those in a coordinating position that had frequent communication with community members. Initially 18 key informants were identified via the comment of one YLLMC informant about key stakeholders involved in the YLCBE development. These identified informants were government officials, members of the YLLCRC, NGO staff, community authorities, ecotourism businesses and villagers. They were from various groups representing the following interest areas in the Yeak Laom area: ecotourism management, natural conservation, cultural preservation and community development. Information sheets (in a Khmer version) were distributed to prospective participants prior to the interviews that described the purpose of the research, the project objectives and other relevant information relating to the research and the anonymity of participants (see Appendix B). The research project was reviewed by the Human Ethics Committee at Lincoln University prior to commencement and ethics approval was granted.

Some key informants were recruited by personal face-to-face contact, others by mail and for those whose mailing addresses were not available, by telephone. After being informed about the research objectives and the study process, those approached were asked to meet with the researcher to be given the research information sheets. The 18 prospective key informants were contacted again one or two days later to seek their agreement to participate in the research and to obtain permission to record the interviews. Five of the potential key informants declined to be interviewed with reasons for their unavailability including being too busy, with missions outside the community and being in ill health. Of the 11 people who agreed to participate, two were government officials; two were members of the Yeak Laom Lake Management Committee; two from the Yeak Laom Commune Council; two NGO staff; two community residents and one a private ecotourism business representative in the community (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 List of interviewed key informants

No	Code Number	Type of organization	Position	Gender
01	G01	Government institution	Department director	Male
02	G02	Government institution	Deputy department director	Male
03	C01	Commune council	Member	Male
04	C02	Commune council	Member	Male
05	Y01	Yeak Laom Lake Management Committee	Member	Male
06	Y02	Yeak Laom Lake Management Committee	Member	Male
07	N01	Non-governmental Organization	Senior programme officer	Male
08	N02	Non-governmental Organization	Programme coordinator	Female
09	M01	Community members	Resident	Male
10	M02	Community members	Resident	Female
11	P01	Private ecotourism business	Executive director	Male

Of the 11 key informants, only five gave consent an audio recording of the interviews. It is fairly common for Cambodians, especially those in decision-making positions, to refuse being taped as they want to avoid any unnecessary responsibility on their opinion. In addition, it is because that they want to feel free to express their own opinions. The recorded conversations were transcribed using a pseudonym. The terms of ‘G’ for government officials, ‘C’ for informants from the Commune Council, ‘Y’ for the YLLMC staff, ‘N’ for Non-Government Organisations staff, ‘M’ community members and ‘P’ for private business representative were used with “coding numbers”, for example G01, C02 and Y01. These pseudonyms were used throughout the Research Findings chapter in order to identify individuals but to protect them from any potential harm. Six other interviewees did not permit recordings. Thus, the important points of these interviews were written down in the form of notes.

The length of the interviews varied. Some interviews were more than one hour and others were less than 30 minutes, with an average of about 45 minutes. This was because of the different knowledge, interests and experiences of the informants in the particular themes of

the study. In addition, the majority of interviews were carried out in the office of key informants; all interviews were conducted in the Khmer language.

4.2.2 Secondary data

Another important source of data collection was secondary data. Secondary data were used to provide additional information and verify the data collected from other techniques (Mitchell, 1998). Secondary data (sources), mainly in the form of reports and strategic plans, were generated from the YLLCRC, NGOs and Cambodian government agencies. These data and documents were sourced to provide a wider understanding of Cambodian history and economy, Cambodian tourism policy and, specifically, the local context of the study area. The data and documents of the Cambodian economy and tourism policy were obtained from the Ministry of Planning (www.mop.gov.kh) and the Ministry of Tourism (www.mot.gov.kh) websites. They were also available at other related ministry websites including the Ministry of Environment (www.moe.gov.kh) and the National Institute of Statistics website (www.nis.gov.kh). A number of NGO websites, including the NGO Forum on Cambodia (NGOF) (www.ngoforum.org.kh), the International Development Research Centre (www.idrc.org) and Cambodia Community-based Ecotourism Network (www.ccben.org), provided useful information about the community under investigation and for project planning. In addition, other important data and documents relevant to the research project were collected from the Ratanakiri offices of the Department of Tourism and the Department of Environment, the YLCC and the YLLMC.

4.3 Quantitative data collection

The quantitative data was collected by a single technique—survey. As a survey is a useful technique to measure attitudes and perceptions in a large population (Babbie, 2008), a survey was used in this research to assess the Tampuan residents' attitudes toward the YLCBE development and the perceptions of the Tampuan community participation in the YLCBE and the impacts of the YLCBE development on the lives of Tampuan people.

4.3.1 Survey questionnaire

A questionnaire for the survey was first drafted based on the theoretical framework arising from the literature. Later, it was reviewed after the study variables of the Tampuan community participation and the impacts of the YLCBE on the lives of the Tampuan residents were identified after the content of the qualitative data were examined. The questionnaire (see Appendix C) was then translated into Khmer by the researcher. Its content was divided

into five sections: respondents' involvement in ecotourism in the community, their community participation in the YLCBE, their perception of the impacts of the YLCBE; their satisfaction with the YLCBE development and their personal profiles.

The questionnaire was constructed using mainly closed-ended questions. However, a few areas were linked with open-ended questions in order to seek some critical opinions and attitudes of respondents that were meaningful to them. The survey was structured using a matrix question formatting and Likert response categories (Babbie, 2008). The researcher chose to use the seven-point Likert scale, which ranged from 1= 'completely disagree' to 7= 'completely agree', for three important groups of questions: 1) perceived community participation in the YLCBE, 2) perceived impacts of the YLCBE, and 3) attitudes toward the YLCBE development. A Likert scale can obtain statistical information that accurately portrays the extent to which participants agreed or disagreed with given statements (Babbie, 2008).

4.3.2 Sampling design

A random systematic sampling method was employed to ensure the representativeness of the study population (Babbie, 2008). At the beginning, a map of the location of the five villages in the Yeak Laom Commune was obtained from the Yeak Laom Commune Council. Then, all resident blocks in each village were identified and confirmed by the Deputy Commune Chief. After the resident blocks were identified, every 5th household of each block starting from the first randomly selected household that the researcher reached was selected to recruit participants from. All eligible members of each selected household, who were Tampuan people aged 18 or over residing in one of the five villages of the Yeak Laom Commune, Ratanakiri, Cambodia, were asked to participate in the survey. The selection of all eligible members of each selected household was to ensure the representatives of all social groups/segments in the community were involved in the survey. In addition, recognizing that the sample could be biased if the same corner or side of each resident block in a village was surveyed (Babbie, 2008); the researcher chose different directions to go to each block.

4.3.2.1 Survey data collection procedures

As in any survey research, the given case study determined the survey design and data collection procedures. Due to the distinct ethnic, historical, socio-cultural and economic backgrounds of the chosen case study, special consideration was required in relation to communication methods. Realizing that certain research questions were delicate and complex and, more importantly, as many Tampuan people cannot read or write, the survey was

administered using a face to face interview technique. Although time-consuming, an interviewer administered questionnaire was an effective technique for attaining high response rates, decreasing the numbers of 'do not know' and no answers, and obtaining relevant responses (Babbie, 2008).

The survey was conducted from 20 June to 20 July 2010 in the Yeak Laom Commune, Ratanakiri, Cambodia. During the first visit, all eligible adult members of the selected households, who were at home at the time the recruitment conducted, were verbally explained the research objectives, given an assurance of anonymity, participants' right and other relevant information about the research project (see Appendix D). Only a few participants declined their invitation to participate. The surveys with each participant were conducted independently of other household members. All interviews were conducted outside the participants' houses: in front and back yards. Interviews ended varied from 20 to 30 minutes.

Of the 124 respondents approached, 115 agreed to participate, a response rate of 93%. This response rate is considerably high as the suggestion of Babbie (2008) that a face to face interview-administered questionnaire effectively attained high response rates. Of the 115 remaining, 51 participants were male (44.3%) and 64 were female (55.7%) with ages ranging from 18 to 85 and a mean of age of 35.43 years. Almost all participants (97.4%) were born in the Yeak Laom community. Thus, the majority of participants' length of stay in the community was similar to their age, with a mean of 35.17 years.

4.4 Data analysis

The procedures of data analysis of this mixed methods research were related to a sequential data analysis approach since the qualitative data were collected before the quantitative data (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). The qualitative data, therefore, were the first database to be analyzed before the subsequent analysis of the quantitative data. On the one hand, the research design was mainly embedded the quantitative data within the qualitative data so that the quantitative data could inform the qualitative data in a large population in order to develop complete pictures of stakeholder collaboration and Tampuan community participation in the YLCBE decision-making process. On the other hand, in some part, the qualitative data was embedded within the quantitative data in order to provide additional information and explanations about the impacts of the YLCBE development on the lives of the Tampuan people. Moreover, both quantitative and qualitative data sets were integrated in order to reveal the findings in relation to the research objectives, to draw conclusions and to identify recommendations.

4.4.1 Qualitative analysis

The qualitative data set was analyzed using qualitative data analysis techniques, based on Creswell's and Plano Clark's (2007) procedures in qualitative data analysis. The interviews were transcribed (for audio recorded conversations) and summarised (for non-recorded conversations) into word-processing files for analysis. Key contents and concepts were searched for within each file and in the secondary data documents. These contents and concepts were then categorised into main themes. The key themes were identified as following:

- stakeholder collaboration: inputs of stakeholders involved, perceived conflicts in collaboration
- community participation mechanisms: opportunity to participate, encouragement to participate, incorporation of views into decision making
- effects, both positive and negatives, of YLCBE: economically, socially, psychologically and politically

4.4.2 Quantitative analysis

The questionnaire results were coded and entered into a SPSS data matrix for statistical analysis. The quantitative information was analyzed first using descriptive techniques. In particular, the frequency distribution, mean and standard deviation were used for data analysis. Frequency distribution and the corresponding responses to demographic profiles were presented in a tabulated and graphical format. Bivariate statistical analysis, including chi-square statistics and Pearson's correlation, were also used to show the correlation between the dependent variables. Much of the quantitative data was analyzed with the aid of *SPSS Analysis Without Anguish* by Coakes, Steed and Dzidic (2006).

4.5 Study limitations

As with other research studies, the data collection phase of the research was not without its limitations. Given the complexity of the cultural context of the case study, the sampling criteria were modified while in the field. During the survey period, there was a recognition that a large number of men in the Yeak Laom community were absent from homes during the day and spent their time on farms or workplaces. As a result, many more women than men were interviewed. Thus, several different techniques were utilized when it became obvious early on that a gender imbalance was occurring. For example, the interviews were conducted late in the evenings and at weekends. Moreover, as a large number of residents went out to

work, several return visits to some selected households were made in order to reach the target number of participants.

Notwithstanding these attempts to address the bias, more women (55.7%) than men (44.3%) were surveyed in this research. Although this sample did not match the actual proportion within the general population in the Yeak Laom Commune (49% female, 51% male), key informant interviews on the particular issues of community participation in, and the impacts of, the YLCBE, could help to interpret the key roles of men and women in the YLCBE activities and allow the drawing of conclusions, wherever appropriate, with respect to gender differences.

Another limitation is the small number of key informants. Since some informants refused to take part in the research and some could not be reached due to that they had missions outside the study area, the study just tried to obtain as much information as possible from the key informants who agreed to take part in the project. However, this was not expected to post any concern to the result of the study, given that these informants were key stakeholders involved in the YLCBE development and who actively interact in the project planning and implementation process. Thus, the information obtained was important to reveal the research problems.

4.6 Summary

The methodology chapter explores the types of method used in this research. The research design used a mixed-methods approach involving both qualitative and quantitative methods. The approach followed a sequential procedure that involved began with the qualitative methods and followed by the quantitative methods. Key informant interviews and secondary data collection techniques were employed to collect the qualitative data, while survey questionnaire was the quantitative method data collection instrument. The key informants were selected using convenience method. That is 18 active stakeholders involved in the YLCBE were identified and contacted by mail. However, only 11 key informants who agreed to take part in the research were interviews. Additional secondary data were also collected, including reports, action plans and working papers. The survey participants were sampled using a random systematic sampling method, where the first household was randomly selected and thereafter every fifth household was visited to recruit eligible Tampuan participants, who aged 18 years living in the Yeak Laom Commune. The qualitative data were transcribed (for audio recording interviews) and summarised (for non-recording

interviews) and analysis by contents and themes related to the research problems. The quantitative data were analysed using SPSS programme.

Chapter 5

Results and Discussion

The findings resulting from the qualitative and quantitative data sets have been integrated and are presented in two main parts. First, the stakeholder collaboration in the YLCBE planning and implementation is presented in order to trace the significant findings about the processes facilitating empowerment of the Tampuan community. Then the second section discusses the perceived impacts of the YLCBE development on the economic, social, psychological and political empowerment of the Tampuan people.

5.1 Stakeholder collaboration

In order to gain an understanding about stakeholder collaboration in the process of facilitating empowerment of the Tampuan community to control the YLCBE development, the findings in relation to the following three issues were presented: i) collaborative inputs from powerful stakeholders involved in YLCBE planning and implementation; ii) community participation in the YLCBE development decision-making; and iii) perceived conflicts in collaboration.

5.1.1 Collaborative inputs from powerful stakeholders

Two key powerful groups of stakeholders were involved in the collaborative process of the YLCBE planning and implementation to facilitate the empowerment of the Tampuan community in tourism development: the government (public sector) and the non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Riebe (1999) commented that these stakeholders worked in the form of a partnership to build a strategic consensus about the character of the YLCBE development in purpose for Tampuan people to be able to have control over, and benefit from, the development. According to informants G02 and Y01, the government stakeholders that provided direct assistance and support for the Tampuan community to get involved in the YLCBE include the Ratanakiri offices of the Department of Tourism, the Department of Environment and the Forest Administration. In addition the Ratanakiri Provincial Rural Development Committee and the Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC) provided indirect assistance when it is necessary. The non-governmental organizations relating to tourism and other activities linked to tourism, such as poverty reduction, environmental and cultural conservation that have increased their involvement since the YLCBE was initiated, including the International Development Research Centre of Canada (IDRC), Cambodian Area Regeneration and Rehabilitation (CARERE), the Seila Programme,

Forum Syde, Ockenden Cambodia, Cambodian Community-based Ecotourism Network (CCBEN), Asia Development Bank (ADB) and the World Bank. It is important to note that the inputs from the key stakeholders in developing the YLCBE policy making were described in Chapter 3 in this study, but were enunciated most clearly in the key informant interviews and from the survey questionnaire in this section.

5.1.1.1 Inputs from the government

Given the process of the YLCBE project planning, the public sector played a significant role in achieving a redistribution of power to the Tampuan community and in exerting greater control over the YLCBE development. The critical contribution of the government was by transferring rights to the YLLCRC to have control over their own resources, the Core Zone of the YLPA, and to manage the YLCBE activities. This policy was consistent with the decentralisation policy of the RGC. In depth interviews revealed that this policy gave a significant opportunity for the Tampuan people to have a stake in the development of tourism that was responsive to their needs and interests, as informant M01 described:

“We have the right to control our land, so we can decide what we should do and what we should not do...[the right] provides us the opportunity to get involved in tourism development and manage it according with our needs and interests”

Informant G01 added:

“The community is the owner ... they have the right to protect their land ... and utilise their resources in accordance to their interests.”

In addition, in the process of project implementation, the results suggested that the government was involved in the YLCBE plan designation, the YLCBE promotion and the improvement of the road to the Yeak Laom Lake. First, the provincial public agencies such as the Department of Environment, the Forest Administration and, in particular, the Department of Tourism in Ratanakiri provided critical advices and technical supports for the YLCBE development plans. Informant Y01 mentioned this, saying:

“At present, we received advices and technical supports from the Department of Environment and the Forest Administration, and, in particular, the Department of Tourism... [the Department of Tourism] is the provincial ecotourism administrator ... and has authority to promote ecotourism.”

Second, public key informants were also aware of their role in designing (the) Master Plan of YLCBE and in tourism promotion. An informant from a government organization mentioned:

“The knowledge of the YLLCRC management board is limited they do not know what to do this year and what to do next year..... [the Department of Tourism] have to lead and advise [the YLLCRC] to design the Master Plan and other strategic plans ... and help prepare brochures to promote the YLCBE”

Taking the perspectives of the YLLCRC key informants, the public agencies were considered to have the technical competence, thus, they were asked for technical advice, as well as being the primary decision makers of the YLCBE development. Informant Y01 explained this, by saying:

“The Department of Tourism have experience in ecotourism development and management ... The public agencies know the law. ... They know what [they] can do, what they cannot do. We [the community] do not know the law, so before we want to do something, we need to consult with, and seek permission from, them.”

The results showed that as a result of the participation of the government in providing advice and technical assistance, the capacity of the YLLCRC in implementing some plans were seen to be improved, as mentioned by informant G02:

“At the beginning, the Department of Tourism needed to push and lead [the YLLCRC] in order to design strategic plans and implement those plans ... But, later, the committee can implement some tasks on their own ... for example, kiosks, toilets, security signals and changing rooms were built according to the environmental standard.”

Another significant input of the government in the YLCBE implementation process was the improvement of the road from Ban Lung Provincial Capital to the Yeak Laom Lake. The improved road provided an important means of access to this destination and contributed to the increased numbers of visitors. Informant G02 reported:

“We see that the increased number of tourists is due to the improvement of the road to the Yeak Laom Lake. Before, we needed to spend a day to travel from Banlung to the lake... [Since] the provincial government cooperated with the Ministry of Rural Development, and with World Bank funding, this

helped to improve the road from Banlung to the Yeak Laom Lake...our travel is much easier than before.”

The above findings indicate that the redistributive policy of the government enabled the Tampuan community to have control over tourism development in the YLPA. In addition, technical assistance and advice from the government officials were crucial to push YLCBE development and to support the YLLCRC to implement some YLCBE activities on its own. Nevertheless, the findings reveal that the YLLCRC still had limited capacity to design the YLCBE development plans and was unable to make decisions about those plans alone, thus consultation and decision making from related government agencies were needed and, thus, the related government agencies were considered to be the primary decision makers.

5.1.1.2 Inputs from non-governmental organizations

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have worked in partnership with the government to redistribute power among the Tampuan community. The findings suggested that NGOs performed three significant roles in their collaborative efforts: advocacy, networking and community capacity building. In the process of the YLCBE planning, as the lead agency of the IOs/NGOs consultative group, IDRC first advocated community control over tourism in order to achieve sustainable tourism development in the Yeak Laom Protected Area at both national and regional levels (Riebe, 1999). Second, in relation to networking, IDRC/CARERE worked closely with the Tampuan community to bring all stakeholders together to work on tourism policy-making in the YLPA through provision of information, training and financial incentives (Riebe, 1999; Chea, 2007). As a result of these efforts, IDRC/CARERE successfully convinced the government and other stakeholders to establish the YLCBE project. According to informant G01:

“IDRC/CARERE played very important role ... in bringing related government officials and community members to work on sustainable development policy-making in the Yeak Laom community from 1996 to 1998 ... as a result, the YLCBE was established because all stakeholders found that the YLCBE had an appropriate policy for the Tampuan community development.”

In addition, in-depth interviews suggested that IDRC/CARERE helped Tampuan people to understand the importance of their resources and to be in solidarity about conserving these resources. Informant Y01 expressed the importance of the role of IDRC/CARERE as follows:

“IDRC/CARERE supported the community both physically and mentally; they worked hard to involve the community and take into account the community’s interests and opinions ... and bring all community members together”.

Finally, in the project implementation process, the role of NGOs in community capacity building was evident. According to Riebe (1999) and Chea (2007), at the beginning of the YLCBE implementation phase, CARERE provided the YLLCRC staff and community members with financial and technical support that included formal and informal training, financial rewards and allowances, technical assistance and advice. Later, Informant Y01 reported that several other NGOs and interest groups were involved in the YLCBE development through the provision of training and technical assistance. These NGOs and interest groups included the Cambodian Community-based Ecotourism Network (CCBEN), Asia Development Bank (ADB), Ockenden Cambodia, Forum Syde, Partnerships for Local Governance (PLG), and the Seila programme. As a consequence of the support from NGOs, Yin (2003) reported that the YLLCRC staff learned English and other significant skills such as administration, accounting, communication skills, computer skills, facilitation, planning, guiding and problem solving. Thus, from January 2003, the committee staff and members were able to manage the YLCBE activities and deal with financial issues and management problems without the NGOs’ assistance (Yin, 2003; Gilsing & Oosten, 2005). One YLLMC informant (Y01) also added:

“Since IDRC/CARERE withdrew their support and funding, we have managed the YLCBE activities by our own ... we can deal with most problems.”

These findings suggested that NGOs were very significant partners of the government in empowering the Tampuan people. The advocacy role of NGOs allowed them to enforce the decentralization policy at both national and the regional levels. Their networking role was able to bring all stakeholders together to establish the YLCBE project that was a consensus for empowering the Tampuan community to control their resources. In addition, NGO support for the YLLCRC capacity building enabled the committee to manage the YLCBE activities and resolve management problems.

Comments obtained from community informants indicated that the Tampuan community was satisfied with the involvement of the NGOs. Informant M01 commented that the Tampuan people were happy with the inputs of the NGOs in facilitating community support and helping the community to address their concerns. Informant M01 said that:

“We are satisfied with the involvement of NGOs ... they have patience and provide us time for capacity building ... they help us to solve problems”.

These findings suggest that NGOs were significant partners of the government in empowering the Tampuan people. The success of NGOs in enabling Tampuan people to have control over their land and manage the YLCBE was reflected in the involvement of the Tampuan community in the YLCBE project planning process and in forging partnerships with the community. Thus, they were able to take the community views into account, help address the community concerns and increase a sense of communality among Tampuan people. In contrast, the involvement of NGOs in empowering the poor would have, in fact, been a process of disempowering the poor if NGOs had ignored opinions and expectations of their poor members and did not involve the people in the policy making (Haque, 2004, p. 283).

5.1.2 Community participation in decision-making

In investigating community participation in decision-making of the YLCBE development, the study focussed on two issues: i) community participation mechanisms and ii) degree of community participation in decision making.

5.1.2.1 Community participation mechanisms

Key informants were asked a series of questions that sought to explore the mechanisms used to involve Tampuan residents in decision-making for the YLCBE development. In addition, the perceptions of the Tampuan residents had of these mechanisms were also sought in the survey questionnaire. As a result, three points were predominated: opportunity, encouragement and awareness about participation.

5.1.2.1.1 Opportunity

The in depth interviews suggested that there were two ways that Tampuan people were given chances to participate in the YLCBE decision making process: one-to-one consultation and meetings. For-one-to-one consultation programmes, informant C01 reported that these programmes were conducted to inform about, and collect feedback from, the Tampuan people regarding conservation issues and the proposed YLCBE development plans:

“One to one consultations were conducted to inform local residents about conservation issues and the proposed YLCBE development plans ... and to collect ... feedback [from consulted residents]”.

This type of consultation was conducted by *“the YLLMC staff, village chiefs, deputy village chiefs and village elders”* (Informant Y01). Informant G01 suggested that all Tampuan

people had chances to participate in one to one consultation programmes since these programmes were conducted in their households. He said that “*one to one consultation programmes were conducted with all villages ... and to all people in their households*”.

Another consultative method was meetings. Informants Y01 and C01 reported that on, average, all community members were given two chances a year to participate in the YLCBE-related meetings. These meetings were held at the Yeak Laom Cultural and Environmental Centre and Beng Farm, located near the Core Zone of the Yeak Laom Protected Area. The representatives of the Yeak Laom Conservation and Recreation Committee (YLLCRC) including village chiefs, village deputy chiefs and elders were responsible for inviting community members to the meetings. As such, among those respondents who were invited to the meetings, 93.4 % (n=82) were by the YLLCRC representatives; 9.2% (n=8) were by friends or workmates and only 4.6 % (n=4) were invited by mail (see Figure 5.1). This would suggest that 75.7 % of survey respondents (n=87) said that they were invited to the meetings (see Figure 5.2), with a quarter of respondents (24.3%) indicating that they had never been approached to attend such meetings. This was because the method usually used to call for meetings was ‘word of mouth’.

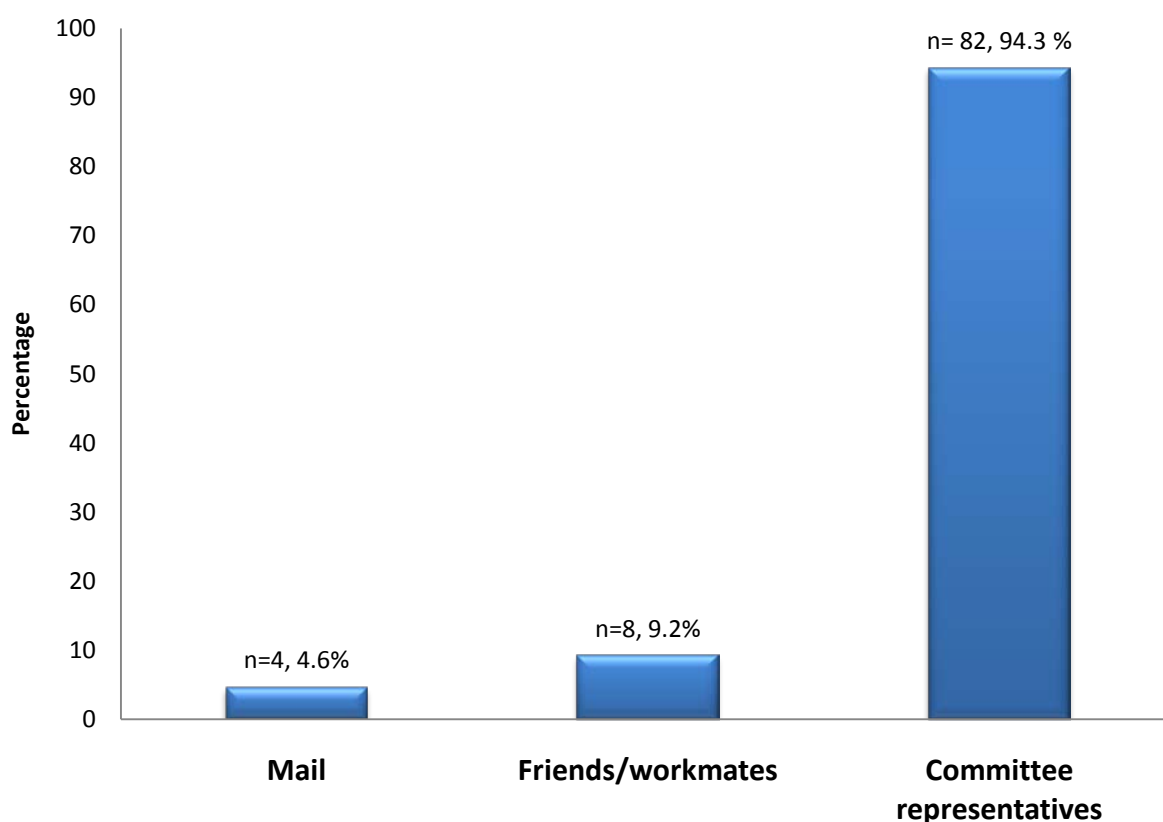


Figure 5.1 Methods used to invite the community members to YLCBE-related meetings

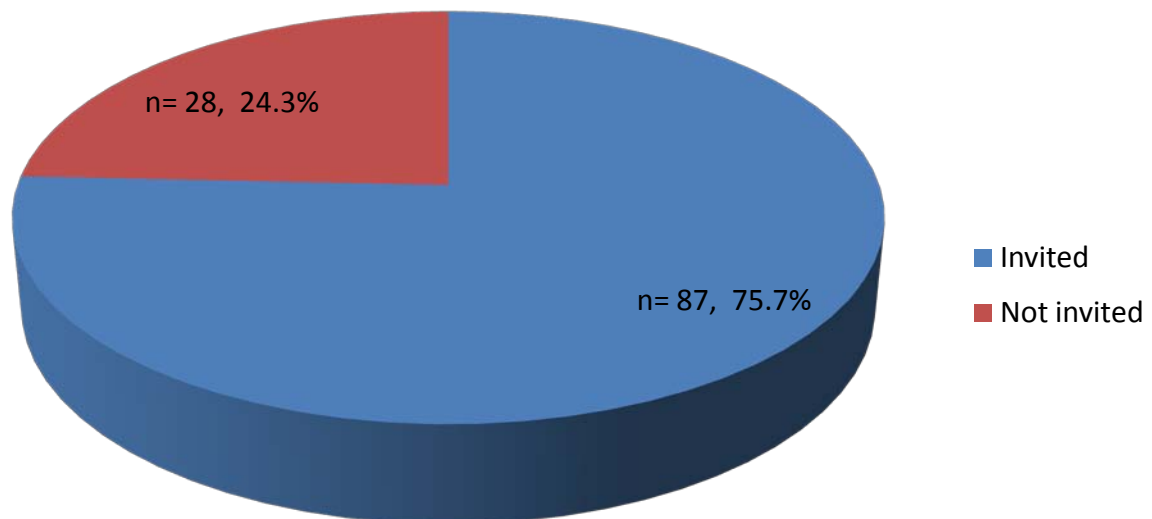


Figure 5.2 YLCBE-related meeting invitation

As empowerment usually includes freedom and equality of choice, measuring differences in outcomes for people of different gender, income, language, ethnicity and other characteristics was an imperative indicator to measure empowerment (Stern, Dethier & Rogers, 2005). Thus, to investigate whether all community members were given equal opportunities to participate in the YLCBE-related meetings, some correlations between variables were analysed. In this study the differences in gender, age, personal income and proficiency in speaking Khmer were the main indicators measured.

First, a cross-tabulation (crosstab) was used to analyse the relationships between two nominal variables, invitations to meetings and gender. Meanwhile, a chi-square test was also run to determine whether there was a significant difference in being approached about meetings between men and women. The results show that of the men surveyed, 72.5% were invited, compared with 78.1% of women (see Table 5.2). These data, confirmed by a chi-square test, showed that the difference between male and female respondents who were approached to attend meetings was not found to be statistically significant, $X^2(1, N= 115) = 0.479, p > 0.05$.

Next, to investigate differences in invitations to meetings among respondents who had different incomes, age and proficiency in speaking Khmer, three independent-sample t-tests were run to compare the means of these scale variables across the invited and not invited groups. The test results, illustrated in Table 5.1, showed that the 82 respondents who were invited to meetings had a mean of 5689.02 riel personal income, while the 26 respondents

who were not invited had a mean of 1923.08 riel. These means differed significantly at the $p < .05$ level, $t(106) = 3.258$. There was also a significant difference between respondents who were and were not approached to meetings against their age, $t(113) = 3.296$, $p < .05$. The results indicated that those who invited had a mean age of 37.85, compared to 27.93 for those who were not invited. However, a significant difference was not found between respondents who had different proficiency in speaking Khmer, $t(113) = 1.249$, $p > .05$. As shown in Table 5.2, the 87 of those who were invited had a mean of proficiency in speaking Khmer of 4.76 (1=very poor, 7= very good), compared with 4.46 score for those who were not invited to meetings.

Table 5.1 Independent sample t-test of invitation to meetings against personal income, age and proficiency in speaking Khmer

	Invitation to meetings	N	Mean	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Personal income	Yes	82	5689.02	3.258	106	.002
	No	26	1923.08			
Age at last birthday	Yes	87	37.85	3.296	113	.001
	No	28	27.93			
Proficiency in speaking Khmer	Yes	87	4.76	1.249	113	.214
	No	28	4.46			

The comments of key informants suggested the reason for the significant difference in inviting respondents in meetings against age was that “*elders are powerful people in the villages ...young people always listen to them*” (informant C01). This would be likely that once elders agreed with the decision making of the YLCBE development, young people would agreed with the decision too. Thus, the targeted participants invited would be older people in the households.

5.1.2.1.2 Encouragement

As the question of encouragement to participate in decision making of the YLCBE development was also expected to be another significant mechanism for community participation, the key informants were asked ‘Have Tampuan people been motivated to express their opinions and concerns about ecotourism in their community? If they have, how?’ Results here showed two driving forces influenced the Tampuan community participate in decision process of the YLCBE development.

The first was an internal driving force. Interview results suggested that self-motivation was the main catalyst encouraging Tampuan people to participate in the YLCBE development

because they wanted to maintain their land and conserve their resources. According to informant G01:

“Most people have the self-motivation to participate in the YLCBE development ... they want this development to sustain their resources ... here is their homeland; they want to maintain it”.

Another survey respondent added:

“I love to live in my community because our people work collectively and help each other ... we fight for our land to the benefit of the whole community”.

The above interview results were supported by the survey respondents. Respondents agreed that ‘many community members were keen to get involved in the YLCBE development activities’ (mean= 5.85; St. Deviation= .971)² (see Table 5.4). The reason for this would be the strong community attachment as respondents expressed a strong agreement (mean=6.24, St. Deviation= .721) on the statement ‘I like living in my community’. This finding confirms the literature on the relationship between community attachment and local inputs in tourism development (Williams, Mcdonald, Riden & Uysal, 1995). Stern, Dethier & Rogers (2005) also explained that individuals have internal constraints on their actions.

Another determinant encouraging Tampuan people to participate in the YLCBE development was external driving force. According to the survey results, survey respondents agreed (mean=5.21; St. Deviation= .674) (see Table 5.2) that ‘local authorities had created an environment conducive to their community participation in the YLCBE development’.

Table 5.2 Tampuan community perceptions about encouragement to participate

Statements	Mean	St. Deviation
1. Many community members are keen to get involved in the YLCBE development activities.	5.85	.971
2. I like living in my community	6.24	.721
3. Local authorities have created an environment conducive to Tampuan community participation in the YLCBE development	5.21	.674

Scale: 1 = completely disagree, 7 = completely agree

² The scale used was Likert scale, where 1= completely disagree and 7= completely agree

5.1.2.1.3 Awareness

Within the section of community participation in decision making of the YLCBE development in the interview guide and the survey questionnaire, community awareness of the issues related to the YLCBE development was a concern.

The survey results show that in the YLCBE-related meetings, conservation issues were the main focus; in contrast, tourism development issues were rarely mentioned. Of the respondents who attended the YLCBE-related meetings, 98.6% reported that natural resource conservation issues were discussed at the meetings they attended (see Table 5.3), while 72.6% mentioned that cultural issues were discussed. In contrast, of those attending the meetings, 8.2% and 11%, respectively reported that tourist needs and satisfaction issues and marketing/promotion issues were discussed in the meetings, although 34.2% mentioned about the discussion of ecotourism product improvement issues in the meetings.

Table 5.3 Issues discussed in the YLCBE related meetings

Issues	Frequency (N)			Percentage (%)		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
Natural resource conservation	72	1	73	98.6	1.4	100
Cultural resource conservation	53	20	73	72.6	27.4	100
Tourist needs and satisfaction	6	67	73	8.2	91.8	100
Marketing and promotion	8	65	73	11	89	100
Ecotourism product improvement	25	48	73	34.2	65.8	100

In addition, the in-depth interview findings suggested that community members were not well-informed about the YLCBE development progress and management issues related to YLCBE development because information about these issues was not widely distributed. Informants N01 mentioned that:

“Local people are not fully aware of the progress of the YLCBE development and issues related to the YLCBE management ... reports are only sent to the tops”.

These findings would suggest low agreement (mean= 3.96; St. Deviation= 1.353), in which 1=completely disagree and 7= completely agree, of respondents for the statement that ‘the goals and objectives of the YLCBE development were clearly defined and understood by community members’ (see Table 5.4). Respondents even disagreed (mean= 2.07; St.

Deviation= 1.049) that ‘my community members know how the YLCBE development funds are allocated’.

Table 5.4 Community awareness of the YLCBE-related information

Statements	Mean	St. Deviation
1. The goals and the objectives of the YLCBE development are clearly defined and understood by community members	3.96	1.353
2. My community members know how the YLCBE development funds are allocated	2.07	1.049

Scale: 1 = completely disagree, 7 = completely agree

5.1.2.1 Degree of community participation in decision making

In response to the question ‘who do you believe actively participate/not actively participate in the YLCBE development’, key informants quickly answered that “most community members participated” (informant G01), “both men and women, both old and young people” (informant G02) and “80% to 90% [of people who were invited for meetings] come to the meetings” (informant Y02). These results support by the quantitative findings. Of 86 who were invited to the YLCBE related meetings, 72 respondents (83.7%) claimed that they attended the meetings, while the other 14 respondents (16.3%) had not attended (see Figure 5.3).

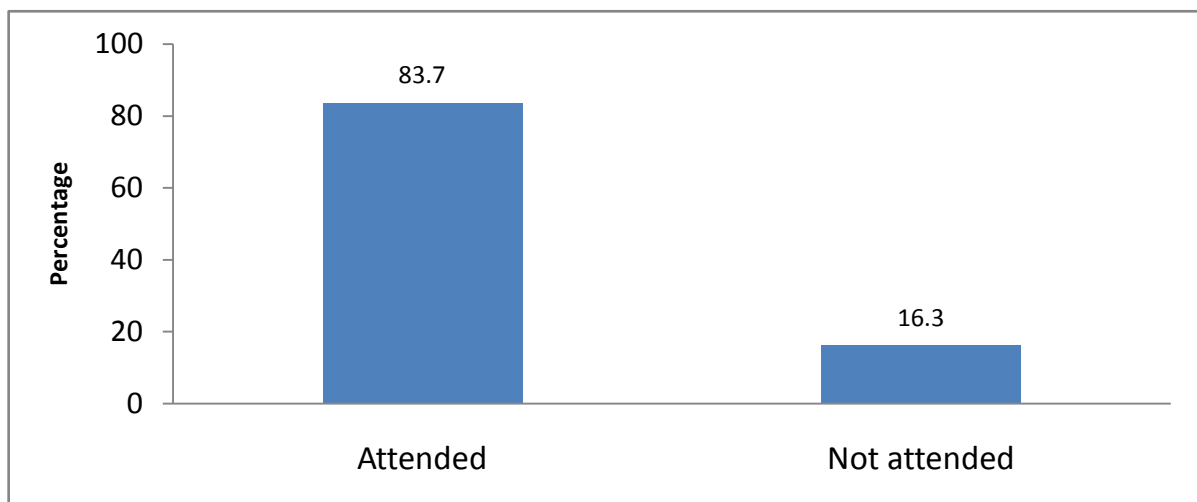


Figure 5.3 Community attendances at the YLCBE-related meetings

Furthermore, to seek significant differences in the meeting attendances of respondents who have different gender, age, personal income and proficiency in speaking Khmer, a correlation analysis between variables was used.

A crosstab was used to find the relationships between two nominal variables, attendance at meetings and gender. The results showed that of the men invited to the meetings, 83.3% attended, compared to 84% of the women (see Table 5.7). A chi-square analysis found no significant difference between male and female attendees, $X^2(1, N= 86) = .007, p > .05$.

Although women's attendance at meetings was not an indicator of women's contribution to decision making of the YLCBE development, it was partly an indicator that women and men had even intention to participate in the YLCBE development. This result would suggest the significant policy change that an extra woman was elected in the YLLMC management board. It also confirmed a study by Chattopadhyay and Duflo (2001 as cited in Stern, Dethier & Rogers, 2005) on the impact of seat reservations for women in the village government in the state of West Bengal. Chattopadhyay and Duflo (2001 as cited in Stern, Dethier & Rogers, 2005) also found that such reservations contributed to greater female participation in policy making.

Another crosstab was run to compare attendances at meetings between participant and non-participants in ecotourism activities. The results show that 85.7% of respondents who were involved in ecotourism activities were meeting attendees; while 83.3% of respondents who were not involved in ecotourism activities attended the meetings (see Table 5.8). A chi-square analysis show no statistically significant difference (at $p < .05$ level) between those who were involved or not involved in ecotourism activities in their attendances at the meetings, $X^2(1, N= 86) = .046, p > .05$.

Independent-sample t-tests were also run to compare the means of personal income, age and proficiency in speaking Khmer variables across meeting attendance and non attendance groups. The results show that the 67 respondents who attended the meetings earned a mean of income of 5425.37 riel, while the 14 respondents who did not attend the meetings had a mean of 7000 riel (see Table 5.5). These means did not differ significantly at the $p < .05$ level, $t(79) = -.929$. No significant difference found between attendees and non-attendees against their age, $t(28.632) = 1.741, p > .05$. The results indicated that attendees had a mean age of 38.67, compared to the mean age of 33.29 of non-attendees. There was also no statistically significant difference between attendees and non-attendees who had different proficiencies in speaking Khmer, $t(84) = 1.687, p > .05$. The 72 of those who attended at the meetings had a mean of proficiency in speaking Khmer of 4.86 (1=very poor, 7= very good), compared with 4.36 score of those who did not attend.

Table 5.5 Independent-sample t-tests of attendance at meetings against personal income, age and proficiency in Khmer speaking

	Attendances at meetings	N	Mean	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Personal income	Yes	67	5425.37	-.929	79	.356
	No	14	7000.00			
Age at last birthday	Yes	72	38.67	1.741	28.632	.092
	No	14	33.29			
Proficiency in speaking Khmer	Yes	72	4.86	1.687	84	.095
	No	14	4.36			

These findings indicate that Tampuan people, regardless of gender, age or degree of involvement in ecotourism, were willing to participate in the YLCBE development via meetings. This result would suggest the reason was that Tampuan people shared a common sense of communality, as discussed in section 5.1.2.1.1. This sense motivated them to be willing to participate in any decision making process that affected their community.

A high attendance rate at the meetings does not assure the degree of contribution by respondents to the meeting discussion as well as consultation programmes. When another question asked ‘do they all actively contribute ideas and opinions in consultation programmes?’ some key informants paused and answered “not all” (G01), “some” (C02), “most are elders” (C01). On a 7 point scale (1=complete disagree and 7=completely agree), survey respondents offered only moderate agreement with the statement ‘many community members actively contribute ideas and opinions in every consultation programme of the YLCBE’ (mean= 4.60; St. Deviation= .894). This was likely because Tampuan people had limited tourism related knowledge and information about the YLCBE development process, as discussed in section 5.1.2.1.3. As a result, they would not fully understand the context of the YLCBE implementation and development. Informant C02 indicated this issue by saying:

“Most community members do not get enough information about the YLCBE development process ... It is hard for us to think of any ideas and opinions to contribute to meeting discussions.”

These results revealed that awareness was a factor influencing the degree of community contribution to the decision making of the YLCBE. This finding would agree with the study of Hung, Sirakaya-Turk and Ingram (2010) who found that a lack of awareness leads to a low level of community participation.

Although not many community members actively contributed to consultation programmes, the views and opinions that had been expressed by the community members were considered in the decision making of the project planning and implementation. Informant YO1 explained this by saying:

“Firstly, meetings among the YLLCRC members, village chiefs and elders are held when we plan to do something. Then community views are collected and considered. Most of their views are taken into account ... and are usually supportive of our ideas.”

The incorporation of community views into the ideas of the YLLCRC was not the end of the decision making process. The final decisions about the project plan and implementation needed to be made in consultation with, and the agreement of, related government agencies, as discussed in section 5.1.1.1.

Although consultation and permission was needed from related government agencies, informant Y01 mentioned that *“the negotiation process [between the YLLCRC and government agencies] goes smoothly ... every party mostly accepts the final decisions about the plans”*. In addition, informant N01 reported that the voices of the community were strong and that was why, he suggested, they were confident to engage with government officials and bargain with them when their interests were in conflict. This was due to the fact that the community was given a right to control this area and the national government and the civil society supported the community. Informant N01 explained community power, as follows:

“The community has a great voice because it is the owner ... the community has power to bargain with government agencies and provincial authorities over the control of this community ... the government at top level values the community control ... the civil society, in particular, NGOs, support the community”.

The above findings reveal that although not all community members participated in decision-making, the community views were taken into account and incorporated into the decision-making of the YLCBE development. Moreover, although the community did not hold full decision-making power, the community had a large voice and some genuine power to engage and bargain with government agencies. Applying Pretty’s (1995 as cited in Cornwall, 2008) typology of participation, the level of Tampuan community participation found in this study corresponding closely with the concept of ‘functional participation’, the fifth to top level on

his typology. Using Arnstein's (1969) ladder of community participation, the degree is presumably the 'partnership', the sixth to top rung on her ladder of community participation.

5.1.3 Perceived conflicts in collaboration

The in-depth interviews reveal that stakeholders did not share a common vision in their collaborative efforts. Key informants mentioned that for the provincial government, the main goal of the YLCBE development was to develop the local and regional economy. In contrast, the community and NGOs envisioned that community conservation was the most important outcome for the YLCBE. Informant M01 stated:

“For the provincial government, economic gain is the main focus [of the YLCBE development]... they think that the development should contribute to local and regional economic growth ... but for us, we would like to see our community resources conserved and maintained forever... and NGOs are on our side.”

These differences in perceived vision for the YLCBE suggested that each stakeholder group made different judgements on the project outcomes and that resulted in potential conflicts. For the judgement about project outcomes, informant N01 mentioned that from the provincial government perspective, the YLCBE development was not successful. He said:

“The provincial government strongly criticized the development of YLCBE. They said that the YLCBE development was slow or made no progress”

In addition, in response to the question 'is there any improvement since the YLCBE was implemented?' one informant from a public agency (G02) also perceived that *“the YLCBE development has not provided improvement for the community; ask 100 people get 100 'No' answers”*.

In contrast, informant N01 mentioned that from the perspective of the community and NGOs, the YLCBE development was making good progress because the development contributed to environmental conservation. He said:

“For NGOs and community members, this form of tourism development is good ... If we look at the tangible impacts of the YLCBE, they are low. But, if we look at the intangible impacts, there are ... the community resources are conserved and maintained ...”

In addition, informant Y01 commented that the Tampuan people were supportive of, and satisfied with, the current management of YLCBE because they wanted to maintain the originality of their resources. He commented as following:

“People support YLCBE development ... they said the current management is very good as it maintains the originality of their resources. If there is any innovation, they are afraid that it affects the spiritual things as those things are intangible but magical.”

The community satisfaction with the project implementation is suggested in the survey results. On a 7 point scale (1=completely disagree, 7=completely agree), respondents agreed (mean=5.25, St. Deviation= .897) with the statement ‘I am satisfied with the current YLCBE management and strongly agreed (mean= 6.33, St. Deviation= .710) with the statement ‘I support the YLCBE development’ (see Table 5.6).

Table 5.6 Tampuan Community attitudes toward the YLCBE development

Sign of Empowerment	Mean	St. Deviation
1. I am satisfied with the current YLCBE management activities	5.25	.897
2. I support the YLCBE development	6.33	.710

Scale: 1 = completely disagree, 7 = completely agree

As a result of the different judgements, the findings from the interviews indicate that the provincial government was reluctant to continue its support for the YLCBE development and was considering having private companies develop tourism in this area. Informant Y01 reported that *“the provincial government is not supportive of our control over this area”*. Informant N01 added:

“[A provincial authority] strongly criticized that the YLLCRC makes very slow progress with the YLCBE development ... The capabilities of the YLLCRC in managing tourism is low ... private companies would be better ... giving controlling power of the area to private companies can also contribute to sustainable tourism development”.

According to the key informants, this issue concerned all community members because they were afraid that they would lose their rights to control their resources and manage the YLCBE. This perception derived from the realisation that two private companies had proposed to develop tourism at the lake area. Informant N01 mentioned the concern of the Tampuan community, as follows:

“There have been two private companies proposing to take control over the Yeak Laom area ... the proposal has concerned all community members ... they are afraid that they will lose the YLCBE management right to private companies ... they fear that they will lose the traditional ways of the YLCBE management”.

Interview results also suggest that the community was afraid that their natural resources would be degraded and their traditions would be destroyed if private companies took control over tourism development in this area. Moreover, they would lose their present benefits from the YLCBE. Informant N02 believed that *“if private companies control and manage the area, the community will lose their profits, culture and nature”*. Informant G01 added that if private companies take over the control of tourism development in the Yeak Laom Lake area, the local people will automatically quite their involvement in ecotourism because they are not capable to work for those private companies. He mentioned that:

“If private companies control tourism development in this area, it definitely affects local people. [Local people] will run away by themselves, because their educational levels are low ... [they] are not capable to work”.

However, informant N01 stressed that *“conflicts will happen if private companies control this area”*.

It is possible that the difference in perceived vision by stakeholders about the YLCBE development stemmed from the absence of a clear CBE policy at both national and regional levels. Yin (2003) asserted that the lack of a specific CBE policy allowed varied interpretations of success.

5.2 Perceived empowerment

The effectiveness of the YLCBE in facilitating empowerment of the Tampuan people is a central concern in this study. In the key informant interviews, a series of questions were asked in order to trace key informants' perspectives about the impact of the YLCBE on the lives of the Tampuan people. Additionally, realizing that the perception of the host community concerning the outcomes of the YLCBE was an important indicator of its effectiveness in facilitating empowerment of Tampuan people, on a 7 point scale (1=completely disagreed and 7= completely agree), survey respondents were asked to express their agreement or disagreement about a series of statements relating to the impacts of the project (see Table 5.7).

Furthermore, secondary data was also used to add more information. Consistent with Scheyvens' (1999) four dimensions of empowerment, results were clustered into economic, social, psychological and political empowerment.

5.2.1 Economic empowerment

The findings suggest that the capacity of the YLCBE in generating income for Tampuan people was limited. Key informants reported that the YLCBE provided only 18 jobs for the YLLCRC staff and involved only about 10% of community members in tour guiding, motor taxis and handicrafts such as sewing skirts, scarves, handkerchiefs and baskets. This finding is supported by the quantitative results. Survey respondents disagreed that 'the YLCBE is a means of income for many households in the community' (mean=3.09; St. Deviation= .875). In addition, they strongly disagreed with the statement 'most important ecotourism services (accommodation, food and beverage, transportation, and tour operation) are provided by Tampuan people' (mean=1.43, St. Deviation= .549). The results would suggest the qualitative findings that Tampuan people were lacking skills and resources to get involved in ecotourism activities. Informant P01 explained:

“Tampuan people still lack tourism related skills and resources to provide standard accommodation and food services for tourists ... Tourists stay and eat in hotels and restaurants in Ban Lung [the provincial capital of Ratanakiri province] or in motels around this area [which are owned by Khmer people]”

In addition to the inability of Tampuan people to generate direct income from the YLCBE development, the qualitative findings suggest ecotourism enterprises in this area rarely bought products from Tampuan people in this community. These enterprises usually purchased from the market in Ban Lung because those products were cheaper than the local products. Informant M02 suggested:

“Most enterprises in this destination use imported goods and products. They say our products are expensiveOf course our products are hand-made or made naturally. They must be more expensive than the imported products which are factory-made and chemically produced”.

This qualitative result is confirmed by the quantitative results. Respondents disagreed that products produced by Tampuan people were used in ecotourism ventures in this area (mean= 2.67, St. Deviation= .797), suggesting the potential for economic leakage was considerable.

Table 5.7 Perceived empowerment

Sign of Empowerment	Mean	St. Deviation
Economic		
1. The YLCBE is a means of income for many households in my community	3.09	.875
2. Most important ecotourism services (accommodation, food and beverage, transportation and tour operation are provided by Tampuan people	1.43	.549
3. Products produced by Tampuan people are used in the YLCBE ventures	2.67	.797
4. The YLCBE funds have been significantly used to improve basic infrastructure in the community	4.02	1.084
5. The YLCBE development funds allocated for my community development are sufficient	2.85	.799
Social		
6. Natural resources in the Yeak Laom Protected Area have been conserved as a result of the YLCBE	6.07	.835
7. Tampuan traditions and culture have been reinforced and maintained by the YLCBE development	4.96	1.327
8. Community members have enjoyed living in a greater social cohesion and integrity as a result of the YLCBE development	5.68	1.155
Psychological		
9. Tampuan people in my community are proud of the outside recognition of the value of their culture	5.64	1.153
10. Many community members have increased confidence to get involved in social activities in the community following their participation in the YLCBE development	5.31	.959
Political		
11. All community members have equal opportunities to express opinions and ideas on the YLCBE development related issues	5.30	1.045
12. The views of the community are incorporated in all planning decisions of the YLCBE development	5.10	.938
13. Tampuan people are motivated to make decisions on the YLCBE development in accordance to their needs and interests	4.87	1.109

Scale: 1= completely disagree, 7= completely agree

Although the YLCBE development contributed limited incomes for Tampuan people, informant N02 reported that *“roads and wells in each village have been improved since the YLCBE has been developed”*. The survey results also reveal that respondents showed a higher agreement (mean= 4.02, St. Deviation= 1.084) with the statement that ‘the YLCBE funds have been significantly used to improve basic infrastructure in the community’ than with the above statements. Informant G01 expressed the improvement roads by saying:

“You will no longer experience bumpy and muddy roads and spending a day going from Ban Lung to the Yeak Laom Lake, which is only three kilometres long, when you visit the lake”

In spite of the improvements of the roads and wells, survey respondents disagreed that ‘the YLCBE development funds allocated for the community development is sufficient’ (mean= 2.85, St. Deviation= .799). This perception may have arisen from other infrastructure (such as systems for supply of electricity, clean water, and drainage) not being available and social welfare for old and vulnerable people and healthcare services being limited, as confirmed by key informants. Informant N02 mentioned that *“electricity and clean water system in the community are not yet available”*. Informant M02 added that *“the YLCBE development has not contributed to social welfare for old and vulnerable people in the community yet”*.

These findings reveal that the YLCBE was not successfully facilitating economic empowerment of Tampuan people although the degree of Tampuan community participation in the YLCBE decision-making process was placed at the high level of ‘partnership’. As noted in Chapter Two, Arnstein’s (1969) suggested that community participation may be placed on a high rung of the ladder of community participation in terms of decision making but may represent little gain in terms of economic benefits.

The findings reveal that the YLCBE was unable to contribute to economic empowerment of Tampuan people. This was due to the fact that community members had limited knowledge of tourism skills and lacked the financial resources to get involved. In addition, as discussed in section 3.4.3.2, the main sources of the YLCBE income were entrance fees and parking lots, renting visitor kiosks and selling stores, renting swimming equipment and traditional dresses, selling handicraft and beverages. These were small sources of income in ecotourism development. As such, informant N02 suggested that there was a need to expand ecotourism activities and services in the area; however, to build the capabilities of the YLLCRC members was considered to be the foremost task since the committee members still had limited tourism knowledge and skills to do so. He mentioned that:

“In order for the YLCBE to be able to increase economic gains for local people, the YLLCRC has to create more ecotourism activities and services ... [but] the capacities of the YLLCRC members need to be enhanced ... [because] their knowledge and skills related to tourism are regarded as being low”.

Key informants also suggested that a contributing factor to the limited tourism knowledge and skills of the YLLCRC as well as community members was the community and NGOs focus on conservation, at the expense of business development skills. Informant N01 said that “the community as well as NGOs put conservation as the main focus of the YLCBE development”. Informant (G02) stressed that *“the [YLLCRC] capacity building support provided by NGOs only focuses on conservation skills ... so no development”.*

It is possible that the main purpose of NGOs in leading the policy was to ensure that their projects and programmes were achieved in accordance with their mission and vision. As discussed in Chapter 3 (section 3.4.2), the mission of IDRC in leading the policy making in the Yeak Laom Commune was to achieve local participation in the development of environmentally sustainable natural resource management. Thus, conservation was the main goal of the YLCBE establishment and the way that NGOs directed the community.

The findings also suggest that another reason likely contributing to limited economic gains of the YLCBE was the weak intention of Tampuan people to get involved in ecotourism. Yin (2003) reported that the main sources of income of Tampuan people were rice, cashew nuts, corn, fruit, non-timber forest products (NTFPs) and draft animals (Yin, 2003). They perceived that the ecotourism market was small. As the survey results indicated, Tampuan residents expressed a weak desire to increase the level of their involvement in ecotourism related businesses. Respondents moderately agreed (mean=4.18, St. Deviation= 1.673) with the statement that ‘I would like to be involved or to get more involved in ecotourism businesses in y community’ (see Table 5.8). In addition, they showed a low agreement (mean= 4.50, St. Deviation= 1.693) with the statement ‘I need more training in tourism-related skills in order to get involved in the YLCBE ventures’.

However, the perceptions towards these desires were identified as statistically significant different between those who were participants in ecotourism activities and those who were not. Independent-sample t-tests were run to compare these two groups. In Table 5.9, for the first statement ‘I would like to be involved or to get more involved in ecotourism businesses in my communities’, the results show that the 14 respondents who were involved in

ecotourism had a mean of 5.71, while the 101 respondents who were not involved had a mean of 3.97. These means differed significantly at the $p < .05$ level, $t(26.619) = 5.931$. There was also a significant difference found between these two groups with the second statement ‘I need more training in tourism-related skills to get involved in the YLCBE ventures, $t(28.632) = 28.477$, $p < .05$. The results indicate that participants had a mean of 5.79, compared to the mean of 4.32 of non-participants.

Table 5.8 Tampuan people’s interests in ecotourism

Statements	Mean	St. Deviation
1. I would like to be involved or to get more involved in ecotourism businesses in my communities	4.18	1.673
2. I need more training in tourism-related skills to get involved in the YLCBE ventures	4.50	1.693

Scale: 1 = completely disagree, 7 = completely agree

Table 5.9 Differences in perceived interest of participants and non-participants toward involvement in ecotourism activities

Statements	Involvement in ecotourism activities	N	Mean	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
I would like to be involved or to get more involved in ecotourism businesses in my communities	Involved	14	5.71	5.931	26.619	.000
	Not involved	101	3.97			
I need more training in tourism-related skills to get involved in the YLCBE ventures.	Involved	14	5.79	5.020	28.477	.000
	Not involved	101	4.32			

These results reveal that those whose living was not depended on ecotourism did not want to change their present careers. They thought that ecotourism in their community provided little benefit, or the market was small as evidence by the comment of one of the survey participants. He said that “*farming is enough for living ... ecotourism provides small income*”. In contrast, those who earned income from ecotourism activities saw more opportunities in ecotourism. They probably knew that ecotourism in the area was increasing rapidly. Informant N01 reported that “*the number of tourists, especially domestic tourists, rapidly increases*”. Informant N02 added:

“Profits gained from ecotourism are forever as the lake will never ever be dry. Although at present agriculture contributes to 60% of the local

economy, in the future ecotourism will increase and take over agriculture”

5.2.2 Social empowerment

Although the YLCBE was not successful in facilitating economic empowerment of the Tampuan people, it was significantly perceived to enhance social empowerment of the Tampuan people. Key informants reported that community participation in YLCBE policy making contributed to the awareness of the importance of conservation. As a result, they were united and in a strong solidarity to sustain their natural and cultural resources. Informant N01 pointed out:

“Previously, individual benefit was the priority. There was no conservation consciousness and support among community members. As a result, they lost their natural and cultural resources. However, the YLCBE project provides them with a strong sense of communality. Now, integrity among them is strong ... to protect their resources.”

This result reveals that the Tampuan community had a feeling of communality and created a cohesive society in order to sustain their common resources. The quantitative results also give an emphasis to this finding; survey respondents agreed (mean= 5.68, St. Deviation= 1.155) that Tampuan community members had enjoyed living in greater social cohesion and integrity as a result of the YLCBE development.

In addition, key informants mentioned that the living environment of Tampuan people was improved and the environment was protected. The lake water was cleaned, the forest and wildlife were protected and the environment around the area was conserved and prostitution, waste and rubbish were absent from the area. Informant G01 suggested:

“Previously the Yeak Loam Area was an uncontrollable place. The lake water was polluted by rubbish and sewage. Prostitution occurred in the area. People encroached into the forest to cut trees and hunted wildlife. ... Now, under the community’s management, the natural environment is conserved; the lake water is clean; the forest around the area is protected; and the area environment is fresh.”

This finding is also supported by the survey results. Respondents strongly agreed that the natural resources in the Yeak Loam Protected Area had been conserved as a result of the YLCBE (mean= 6.07, St. Deviation= .835 (see Table 5.7). This finding reveals that with the

community support and involvement in conservation activities, the YLLCRC and NGOs achieved their main goal of implementing the YLCBE. Thus, the sense of collective and cooperative community action was a strong driving force leading to the success of the environmental conservation as it created an atmosphere that was positive and supportive.

However, respondents showed a lower agreement that Tampuan traditions and culture had been reinforced and maintained as a result of the YLCBE development (mean= 4.96, St. Deviation= 1.327). The interview results would suggest that although Tampuan culture and traditional performances including work arts, ritual ceremonies and dancing were reinforced and promoted as tourist products, the influx of tourists contribute to acculturation. According to informant G01, the cultural influence altered the behaviour of Tampuan teenagers. He said that:

“Tampuan teenagers quickly adapt foreign cultures ... some dyeing the hair colourful ... some were shy when they dress in their costumes”.

Simultaneously, the results suggested that the cultural influence had a positive impact on Tampuan traditions. It brought them new technology that improved their lifestyles. Informant C02 indicated that:

“Tourists brought outside cultures to the community. This can affect the community culture in some way; however, the community can learn some positive practices such as hygienic living ... [and] before when we were sick, we worshipped to spirits to ask for help but now we go to the hospital”.

5.2.3 Psychological empowerment

In general, the responses indicated that the YLCBE was effective in facilitating the psychological empowerment of the Tampuan people. Informant Y01 suggested that most visitors were satisfied with the nature of the Yeak Laom Lake and its surrounding area. He reported the visitor satisfaction and complimentary remarks by saying:

“Most visitors are satisfied with the area management as they prefer it to be natural rather than invented ... Some exclaimed that to hear 100 times is not like seeing just one time.”

This result suggested the agreement of survey respondents (mean= 5.64, St. Deviation= 1.153) with the statement ‘Tampuan people are proud of the outside recognition of the value of their culture and land that had resulted from the YLCBE’.

In addition, it was possible that the pride and the recognition of their own values could make them confident to engage with the other people in the society. As mentioned by informant M01 “[*Tampuan people*] engage with *Khmer people freely*”. In addition, as illustrated by the survey results, respondents indicated agreement (mean= 5.31, St. Deviation= 0.959) that many community members had increased confidence to get involved in social activities in the community following their participation in the YLCBE development. This finding reflected that the YLCBE development can increase the psychological strength of Tampuan people in engaging with other people in the society.

5.2.4 Political empowerment

Community participation in decision making of the YLCBE development process can indicate the political empowerment of the Tampuan people as both issues discussed community power. Thus, in this section, it is wise to recall the findings in section 5.1.2 and discuss them alongside the survey results.

The results indicate that Tampuan people may have gained some political empowerment as a result of the YLCBE development that would occur from the decentralisation reform. As discussed in section 5.1.2, Tampuan people had opportunities to participate in the YLCBE development at two levels. First, their representative group, the YLLMC, was included in the decision-making bodies of the YLCBE development. Secondly, individuals were given chances to contribute their opinions and ideas in two ways: meetings and verbal consultations. As a result, survey respondents agreed (mean= 5.30, St. Deviation= 1.045) that all community members have equal opportunities to express opinions and ideas about the YLCBE development issues. Although they provided moderate agreement (mean= 4.87, St. Deviation= 1.109) with the statement that ‘Tampuan people are motivated to make decisions on the YLCBE development in accordance to their needs and interests’, their agreement was higher with the statement that ‘the views of the community were incorporated in all planning decisions of the YLCBE development’ (mean=5.10, St. Deviation=.938). This is likely because the community views were integrated into the plans of the YLLCRC before those plans were submitted to, and considered by, the relevant government agencies (see section 5.1.2).

5.3 Summary

The evaluation of the potential of the YLCBE development for empowering Tampuan people in the Yeak Laom Protected Area, Ratanakiri, Cambodia, raised a number of areas for discussion relevant to the processes and the goals of Tampuan community development. In

regard to stakeholder collaboration in the YLCBE planning and implementation, the government and NGOs worked together in the form of a partnership to build a consensus about the character of the YLCBE in order for Tampuan people to be able to have control over, and benefit from, development. The government played an important role in redistributing power to the Tampuan community through transferring to them the right to control their resources and manage the YLCBE activities. This input of the government enabled the community to control tourism development in response to their needs and interests. Moreover, this input also enabled the community to gain the power to engage and bargain with government agencies and provincial authorities. In addition, government agencies, especially the Department of Tourism, provided the YLLCRC with technical advice in designing development plans and implementing those plans; this input enabled the community to learn to design and implement some plans.

In addition to the government's inputs, NGOs' collaborative efforts were evident. NGOs played an important role in advocating and leading tourism policy making in the Tampuan community. They also worked closely with the community and other stakeholders, provided community training and information, and encouraged community members to work collectively. In addition, the involvement of NGOs helped the community to gain the right to control their resources and tourism development in their community and, as a result, the YLCBE was established. NGOs were also significant sources of funding and technical assistance for community capacity building as the provision of training and financial and technical support by NGOs enabled the YLLCRC to deal with the YLCBE management problems and activities.

The collaborative inputs of the government and NGOs enabled the community to manage the YLCBE and to engage with power holders to resolve the development problems. As a result of these inputs, the community achieved a high degree of participation in decision-making in YLCBE development, which corresponding to the 'functional participation' level of Pretty's (1995 as cited in Cornwall, 2008) typology or the 'partnership' rung of Arnstein's (1969) typology. More importantly, YLCBE development contributed significant benefits to the Tampuan community. Some basic infrastructure was improved and natural resources were protected. Tampuan culture was reinforced, community cohesion and pride were increased and community voices heard. As such, the research reveals that the YLCBE contributed to the social, psychological and political empowerment of Tampuan people.

The findings also reveal that there were significant challenges and issues relating to the empowerment of Tampuan in the YLCBE. First, the absence of a clear CBE policy at both

national and regional levels fostered uncertainty about the project's vision and goals between different stakeholders, possibly resulting in conflicts between stakeholders about intended outcomes. The lack of a shared vision resulted in the provincial government becoming reluctant to continue its support for the YLCBE which led to further conflicts among the stakeholders involved. Second, the study reveals that although the community was given the right to control and manage the YLCBE, they were not the primary decision makers. This was because they still lacked the capabilities and knowledge to make decisions for the YLCBE without consultation of, and permission from, related government agencies. Also, most Tampuan people had a desire and willingness to be part of the decision-making for the YLCBE development, but many lack knowledge and awareness to do so. Finally, the research reveals that although the YLCBE contributed to the social, psychological and political empowerment of Tampuan people, it was perceived by the Tampuan as contributing limited economic benefits to the Tampuan community. This perception was also shared by the provincial government. The perception of inadequate economic gains for Tampuan people may be, in part, because of the lack of tourism knowledge and skills in the community and also because the project was mainly directed by NGOs towards conservation and, to a lesser extent, cultural goals.

Chapter 6

Conclusions and Implications

This research arose from an interest in the potential of tourism development to facilitate empowerment of indigenous people living adjacent to protected areas. The literature suggested that CBE could be an effective and efficient alternative approach to sustainable tourism for indigenous community development since its main principle was to empower local communities to control natural resources and develop ecotourism (Sproule, 1996; Zeppel, 2006). However, indigenous people often lacked the skills, resources and capabilities to get involved in, and reap benefits from, tourism development (Sofield, 2003; Altman & Finlayson, 2003). This issue raised a concern about examining the empowerment concept (as a process and goal) in CBE development.

Through the Yeak Laom community case study, this research examined the dimensions of empowerment among the indigenous Tampuan community and their ability to control the YLCBE development, and evaluated the effectiveness of YLCBE for improving the lives of the Tampuan people. This chapter, thus, provides concluding remarks about the research objectives: the collaborative efforts of stakeholders in the YLCBE development; Tampuan community participation; and the effectiveness of YLCBE for empowering the Tampuan people. This chapter also discusses the implications for policy development, theory, and concepts for future research, of CBE, followed by recommendations for further research.

6.1 Collaborative efforts of key stakeholders

The key mechanism leading to sustainable indigenous ecotourism development is empowering an indigenous community to have control over, and participate in, the ecotourism development process (Hinch & Butler, 1996). Jamal and Getz (1995), Selin and Chavez (1995) and Sofield (2003) asserted that stakeholder collaboration acts as an important tool to empower indigenous people to control tourism development as collaborative inputs of key powerful stakeholders (i.e., governments and NGOs) are significant elements enhancing the community capacity building. This notion was shared by key stakeholders involved in the YLCBE development. The study reveals that the government was fostering a policy of decentralized tourism development which had the related aims of empowering local communities, recognizing the rights of indigenous people in the protection and utilization of their resources and, in particular, promoting CBE development for indigenous communities. The delegation of the right, given by the government to the Tampuan community, to organize

and manage the YLCBE project provided the community the ownership of their resources and power to engage with power holders in resolving development problems and negotiating what should be done for the sake of tourism and their community. In addition, NGOs led the YLCBE policy making and played a crucial role in the development of YLCBE. The advocacy and networking roles of NGOs reinforced the decentralisation reforms of the RGC for the Tampuan community. In addition, the financial and technical assistance of NGOs enhanced the capacity of the community in operating the YLCBE activities and dealing with management problems. The study, thus, indicates that power redistribution among stakeholders involved in the collaboration processes is a central component influencing the success of community empowerment and, ultimately, the development of ecotourism itself.

The study, however, reveals that the collaboration process was hampered by the different visions of the stakeholders involved in the YLCBE. The government believed that the local community would benefit from higher incomes and that these benefits were sufficient incentives for conservation activities. In contrast, the community and NGOs believed that conservation efforts supported the local traditional livelihoods and that these efforts would enhance the quality of life of community members. These different visions created different perceptions about the outcomes resulting from the collaborative efforts of the stakeholder groups that led to perceived conflicts among these groups and, thus, reduced effective collaboration. As indicated in Chapter 2 (section 2.4.1.1), Selin and Chavez (1995) contended that, in the problem-setting stage, the collaboration process will not be successful unless all stakeholders share the perceived outcomes as a result of their collaborative efforts. In accordance with this finding, effective collaboration to achieve community outcomes related to CBE development does require identification of common problems by stakeholders so that their efforts are directed toward common goals (Jamal & Getz, 1995; Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Selin & Chavez, 1995). The study also reveals that the varied interpretation of the success of the YLCBE development between stakeholders resulted from the absence of a clear CBE policy from the national to the local level. Hence, to allow stakeholders to share common vision and can make right judgement of the YLCBE development, a clear CBE policy should be formulated going from national to local level.

The study also highlights that the reason underlying the shared vision of the YLCBE between the Tampuan community and NGOs was that NGOs worked closely with the community. As the lead agency, IDRC provided training, communicated directly with, and motivated, the community to support conservation efforts during the YLCBE policy making process. In contrast, a communication channel between the government and the community was absent.

Hence, to allow all stakeholder groups to share a common aim, communication channels within stakeholder groups should be tightly bound together. In addition, governments should play a major role in CBE policy making and be committed to leading the empowerment process (Stern, Dethier & Rogers, 2005).

6.2 Community participation

Mitchell (1998) indicated that a community has likely reached a high level of empowerment if it participates to the extent of true integration in decision-making during development. The research findings reveal that the Tampuan community had gained considerable participation in decision making, which was very similar to the ‘functional participation’ of Pretty’s (1995 as cited Cornwall, 2008) typology or the ‘partnership’ rung of Arnstein’s (1969) ladder. As a result of the right being transferred from the government to the Tampuan community to control the YLCBE development, the community gained power to engage with power holders in resolving YLCBE-related problems. The end product of the community participation, which was to take more control over the YLCBE development; however, it was hampered by the lack of skills and knowledge. The study suggests that decentralisation is a significant redistributive tourism policy for empowering indigenous communities, but it does not automatically enable these communities to hold full decision making power when they do not have the capacities to make decisions and control development (Stern, Dethier & Rogers, 2005). In addition, the study reveals that it was not effective to build the capacity by only relying on NGOs’ support without the involvement of governments. Government’s partnership with NGOs in institutional support is vitally important to enhance the tourism knowledge and skills of the indigenous people (Scheyvens, 2002). For the case study, the implication here is that the government should be patient and committed to working closely with the Tampuan community to facilitate and foster community capacity building.

Furthermore, the study reveals that the Tampuan people were, in fact, involved in achieving the goals that were already established for them. The policy making process in the Tampuan community was carried out under the IDRCs’ guidance. In the implementation process, the decisions of the YLCBE development plans were primarily made by the government agencies. As mentioned in Chapter 2 (section, 2.4.2.1), Pretty (1995 as cited in Cornwall, 2008) interprets such involvement as a mean to meet predetermined objectives of the project, but this involvement is also likely to serve the external goals. This finding raises an issue with the term ‘partnership’ in Arnstein’s typology. The question is ‘Are communities able to efficiently manage natural resources and develop ecotourism on their own terms (Brockington, Duffy & Igoe, 2008) when they are deemed incapable of making decisions and

achieving development objectives?’ These findings indicate that Arnstein’s typology is not applicable in developing countries as it does not consider the ability of communities to keep pace with other stakeholders in, and how communities shared decision-making of, tourism development.

6.3 The effectiveness of YLCBE

Scheyvens (1999) proposed that as a result of ecotourism initiatives, host communities can be empowered in four main dimensions: economic, social, psychological and political. In adopting this framework, the study suggests that it is a useful model for evaluating the effectiveness of CBE for empowering local people as it provides indicative elements for assessing the goals of empowerment. The research findings reveal that YLCBE was perceived to contribute to the social, psychological, and political empowerment of the Tampuan community, whereas economic empowerment was perceived to be limited. Unlike the study of Timothy and White (1999) on CBE development on the periphery of Belize, this study indicates that YLCBE did not achieve the goals of sustainable tourism as the Tampuan community was not the initiative agent directing the YLCBE development goals and did not yet have enough capability to control the development on their own. In contrast, the CBE project in Toledo District was initiated and directed by local people and, thus, was meeting the sustainable tourism goals such as equity, ecological and cultural integrity, integration, harmony and increased standards of living among local residents (Timothy & White, 1999). This research finding indicates that the success of CBE to empower indigenous people who live adjacent to protected natural areas is heavily dependent on the effective participation of indigenous people in, and the ability of these people to have control over, the development.

The problems of CBE development outlined by Butcher (2010) do appear to be as much of a consideration in the Tampuan community as in many other developing regions. Butcher (2010) asserted that conservation of the immediate natural environment will be the main focus of CBE development among the members of a community if the livelihood of the community heavily depends on natural resources. The community capacity to reap economic benefits from tourism will, thus, naturally be restricted (Butcher, 2010). Similar findings are also found in this study. Not only did the Tampuan community’s livelihoods depend on natural resources in YLPA, but also their spiritual well-being was heavily attached to those resources. Achieving conservation goals was, thus, the major aim of their involvement in the YLCBE development, whereas the government made economic goals the main focus. This study indicates that one of the challenges of CBE development is to enhance the community’s objectives while allowing other stakeholders to achieve their own, sometimes incompatible,

objectives (Weaver, 2010). The findings of the research suggest, however, that the fundamental goal of CBE in facilitating empowerment of indigenous people requires consideration in the policies to allow these people to choose which benefits are the primary outcomes to be achieved, based on their collective self-interests.

6.4 Recommendations for further research

According to the research findings, the tension between the stakeholders' objectives and local control in CBE development, together with influence from the external environment, and exacerbated by the wider problems of developing countries (Aas, Ladkin & Fletcher, 2005), suggests that further research on CBE development is needed. Further research on the needs and self-interest of indigenous communities by involving indigenous people in the conceptualisation and implementation of CBE, may also be justified to further address the question of the optimal balance of CBE goals to be targeted. Further investigation of the conflicts in relation to project outcomes perceived by the stakeholders is needed to resolve these conflicts and to determine how the government intervenes in these matters. Finally, co-management arrangements in indigenous ecotourism development are another topic to be investigated in CBE development. The literature suggests that co-management can be an effective approach for indigenous tourism (Notzke, 1999) because this arrangement can enable technical and financial assistance to be available to indigenous communities (Fuller & Gleeson, 2006), minimise conflicts among stakeholders, and allow stakeholders to adopt a cooperative management approach (Plummer & Fennell, 2009).

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Appendix A

Interview Guide

A.1 The context of the YLCBE project planning and implementation

1. What are the main types of ecotourism activities that occur in the Tampuan community?
2. How was the YLCBE planned? How did the central and provincial governments, the private sector, NGOs and local community get involved in the planning process?
3. How is the YLCBE implemented? Who or what entities are involved in the management of the YLCBE implementation?
4. After the YLCBE has taken place how is ecotourism in this area promoted? Which groups and organisations have been involved in the YLCBE marketing and promotion?
5. Have there been any changes in ecotourism activities in the community? If so, how and why have these occurred?

A.2 Community participation in decision-making

1. Has the Tampuan community been consulted about the YLCBE development? If so, what consultation methods were used?
2. Who were consulted? How, where and when did the consultation take place?
3. Have Tampuan participants been motivated to express their opinions and concerns about ecotourism in their community? If so, how?
4. How have the ideas of the Tampuan people been incorporated in the decision making of the YLCBE?
5. Have Tampuan people been encouraged and supported to be involved in the YLCBE activities? If so, how?
6. What kind of person do you believe actively participates in the YLCBE development?

7. What kind of person do you believe does not participate in the YLCBE development?

A.3 The impacts of the YLCBE on the lives of the Tampuan people

1. What kind of ecotourism activities are Tampuan people involved in? Which activities are significantly controlled by Tampuan people?
2. In your estimation, what proportion of Tampuan people are involved in ecotourism ventures in the area?
3. How does cash earned from the ecotourism ventures flow into the community?
4. How has Tampuan culture been promoted since their community has been involved in the YLCBE?
5. What are the reactions of Tampuan people when they encounter tourists or outsiders?
6. How has the social status of the Tampuan community changed in any way since the YLCBE began here?
7. Have there been any visible signs of improvement in the infrastructure of the community since the YLCBE has taken place?
8. Has the YLCBE resulted, or not resulted, in positive economic, social and environmental impacts? Please explain.
9. Are Tampuan people easily able to access information about the YLCBE?
10. Do Tampuan people feel motivated to express their viewpoints on ecotourism related issues?

A.4 Community satisfaction

1. Generally speaking, is the Tampuan community supportive of the YLCBE? Why or why not?
2. Is the Tampuan community satisfied with the present level of support by the key stakeholders (the central and provincial governments, private sector, NGOs) in facilitating their empowerment to participate in the ecotourism activities? Why or why not?

3. How do you feel about the future of ecotourism development in this area?

Appendix B

Information Sheet For Key Informants

No. _____

Dear Sir/Madam:

I am a student enrolled in a Master of Tourism Management at Lincoln University. As part of this degree, I am undertaking a research project entitled. “**Community-based Ecotourism and Empowerment of Indigenous People in Cambodia: The Case of the Yeak Community-based Ecotourism**”. I would like to request your agreement to be interviewed from one and a half hours to two hours. Please note that participation in the research is completely voluntarily.

The primary objective of the proposed research is to evaluate the potential of the Yeak Loam Community-based ecotourism (YLCBE) for empowering indigenous people, namely Tampuan, who live adjacent to the Yeak Loam Protected Area, Ratanakiri, Cambodia. In the context of the YLCBE development planning and implementation, the study seeks to investigate and evaluate the nature and level of involvement and participation of Tampuan people in ecotourism activities in their community and in the YLCBE development. It seeks, also, to evaluate the perceptions of the Tampuan community of the impacts of this industry development on the economic, psychological, social and political lives of Tampuan people. The research will explore factors which influence the level of effectiveness of the YLCBE in facilitating empowerment of Tampuan people.

If you participate in this research, I assure you that any information you provide will be anonymous and will not be able to be linked to you.

I would like to record your responses during the interview so that I can get all your responses accurately. I will send you a copy of your transcript within a week of the interview for review and any changes you may wish to make. If you do not permit recording, I would like to take notes during interviews and, as for the recorded interviews, after each interview, I will present my notes to you for review. You may answer all or some of questions that will be asked. Moreover, you have the right to withdraw from the study, and any information provided, at any time up until I complete the analysis of the data. That can be achieved by contacting me at the addresses, or telephone number listed below. Please note that there are no right and wrong answers to the questions that I will be asking you.

I will approach you by telephone or other appropriate means next week and, if you wish to participate in the research, I will arrange an appointment.

Should you have any questions about the research project, please do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisors at the addresses listed below.

Many thanks and best regards,

Researcher

Supervisors

Bunly Bith (Researcher)

Prof. Grant Cushman

Faculty of Environment, Society, and Design

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**The research has been reviewed and approved by the Lincoln University Human Ethics
Committee.**

Appendix C

Survey Questionnaire

You are invited to participate in my Master of Tourism Management project at Lincoln University on **Community-based Ecotourism and Empowerment of Indigenous People: the Case of Yeak Laom Community Development Project, Cambodia** by responding to the following questions. Completion of the questionnaire will be taken to indicate consent.

The aim of the project is to identify your perceptions of the impacts of Yeak Laom Community-based Ecotourism (YLCBE) on the lives of the Tampuan people. It also seeks your opinions on Tampuan community participation in the YLCBE development process.

There are five sections in the survey: (1) your involvement in ecotourism (if applicable); (2) your perceptions of the Tampuan Community participation in the YLCBE development; (3) your perceptions of the impacts of the YLCBE on the lives of Tampuan people; (4) your satisfaction with the YLCBE development; and (5) your demographic profile.

C.1 Your involvement in ecotourism activities in your community

1). Are you involved in ecotourism in your community?

1. Directly involved in ecotourism:

1. 1 Ecotourism Administration (e.g. ecotourism committee members, ecotourism planners)

1. 2 Accommodation (e.g. hotels, guest houses, B&Bs, motel, home stays)

1. 3 Food and beverage (e.g. restaurants, bars, cafes)

1. 4 Transport (e.g. bus, boat, coach, taxi)

1. 5 Travel operations (e.g. tour operators, travel agents, tour guides and information centres)

1. 6 Tourist attractions (e.g. parks, reserves)

1. 7 Souvenir shops (e.g. art and craft shops)

2. Indirectly involved in ecotourism (suppliers to the ecotourism industry, including banks and monetary services)

3. No, other (please specify):_____ (go to section II)

2). You have been involved in ecotourism activities in your community for__ years__months.

3). Approximately what proportion of your personal income is attributable to ecotourism in your community?

1. <25%

3. 50%-<75%

5. not sure

2. 25% - <50%

4. 75%-100%

4). On an average, you spend_____hours a day working in your ecotourism-related activities.

5). Is your income earned from ecotourism activities sufficient to support your living?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

Not at all sufficient

Completely sufficient

C.2 Community participation

6). Have you been invited to participate in meetings about the YLCBE-related meetings?

1. Yes

2. No (go to Q: 12)

3. Do not know (go to Q: 12)

7). During the last 12 months, approximately how many times do you recall being invited to attend YLCBE related meetings?

1. Weekly

2. Fortnightly

3. Monthly

4. Quarterly

5. Twice a year

6. Yearly

7. Never

8. Not sure

8). How were you invited to attend the YLCBE related meetings?

1. By mail

4. By an announcement in a newspaper

2. By radio

5. By representatives from the ecotourism management committee

3. By friends/work mates

6. By others, please specify:_____

9). Have you attended the YLCBE-related meetings?

1. Yes

2. No

If no, why not?_____ (go to Q.12)

10). If yes, how often did you attend meetings?

1. I rarely attend the meetings. 3. I usually attend the meetings.
 2. I occasionally attend the meetings. 4. I always attend the meetings.

11). What ecotourism related issues were discussed at the meetings you attended?

1. Marketing/promotion 6. Community decision making issues
 2. Ecotourism product improvement 7. Tourist needs and satisfaction
 3. Cultural issues 8. Progress of the YLCBE development
 4. Natural resource conservation issues 9. Other, please specify: _____
 5. Benefit sharing issues

12). In your opinion, which topics are the most important to discuss in ecotourism related meetings in your community?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

Not at all important

Very important

No	Topics	Level of Importance	Don't Know
1	Marketing/promotion		
2	Ecotourism product improvement		
3	Cultural issues		
4	Natural resource conservation issues		
5	Benefit sharing issues		
6	Community-decision making issues		
7	Tourist needs and satisfaction		
8	Progress of the YLCBE development		
9	Other		

13). Please indicate the level of your agreement on the following statements regarding the status of the Tampuan community participation in the YLCBE development. Please note that there is no right and wrong answer.

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

Complete disagree

Completely agree

No	Statements	Level of Agreement	Don't Know
1	The goals and the objectives of the YLCBE development are clearly defined and understood by community members.		
2	All community members have equal opportunities to express opinions and ideas on the YLCBE development related issues.		
3	The views of the community are incorporated in all planning decisions of the YLCBE development.		
4	My community members know how the YLCBE development funds are allocated.		
5	Local authorities have created an environment conducive to Tampuan community participation in the YLCBE development.		
6	Many community members actively participate in every consultation programme of the YLCBE development.		
7	Many community members are keen to be involved in the YLCBE development activities.		

C.3 The impacts of the YLCBE

14). Please indicate the level of your agreement with the following statements regarding the impacts of the YLCBE development on the lives of your community members.

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

Complete disagree

Completely agree

No	Impacts	Level of Agreement	Don't Know
1	The YLCBE is a means of income for many households in my community.		
2	Most important ecotourism services (accommodation, food and beverage, transportation and tour operation) are provided by Tampuan people.		
3	Products produced by Tampuan people are used in the YLCBE ventures.		
4	YLCBE funds have been significantly used to improve basic infrastructure in the community (e.g. water supply, school, roads, electricity, and healthcare service).		
5	Tampuan traditions and culture have been reinforced and maintained by the YLCBE development.		
6	Natural resources in the Yeak Laom Protected Area have been conserved as a result of the YLCBE.		
7	Tampuan people are proud of the outside recognition about the value of their culture and land that has resulted from the YLCBE.		
8	Many Tampuan people in my community are frustrated because of the prohibition of access to the natural resources of the Yeak Laom Protected Area.		

9	Many community members have increased confidence to get involved in social activities in the community following their participation in the YLCBE development.		
10	YLCBE development funds allocated for my community development are sufficient.		
11	Community members have enjoyed living in a greater social cohesion and integrity as a result of the YLCBE development.		
12	Tampuan people are motivated to make decisions on the YLCBE development in accordance to their needs and interests.		

C.4 Community satisfaction

15). Please indicate the level of your agreement with the following statements regarding your needs and interests in the YLCBE development in your community.

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

Complete disagree

Completely agree

No	Statements	Level of Agreement
1	I am satisfied with the current YLCBE management activities.	
2	I support the YLCBE development.	
3	I would like to be involved and to get more involved in ecotourism businesses in my community.	
4	I need more training in tourism-related skills to get involved in the YLCBE ventures.	
5	I would like public or private entities to invest in the YLCBE project to improve ecotourism activities in my community.	

C.5 Personal data

16). Sex: 1. Male 2. Female

17). Age at last birthday: _____ years old

18). Marital status: 1. Single 2. Married, with _____ children

19). Birthplace: _____

20). You have been living in _____ village for _____ years.

21). Were/are your parents residents of the Yeak Laom community?

1. Yes 2. No

22). How well can you speak Tampuan language?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

Very poor

Very well

23). How well can you speak Khmer?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

Very poor

Very well

24). Do you like living in your community?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

Not at all

Very much

Why:_____

25). Level of your education:

1. No educational background

2. Primary school qualification

4. Undergraduate qualification

3. Secondary school qualification

5. Postgraduate qualification

26). Your personal income:_____per day

Any comments to the Yeak Laom Lake Conservation and Recreation Committee, the local authorities, the provincial and central governments, or NGOs : (Please remember that your name will not be attached to any such comments)

Thank you very much for your participation!

Appendix D

Information Sheet For Survey Participants

No. _____

Dear Sir/Madam:

I am a student enrolled in a Master of Tourism Management at Lincoln University. As part of this degree, I am undertaking a research project entitled. “**Community-based Ecotourism and Empowerment of Indigenous People in Cambodia: The Case of the Yeak Community-based Ecotourism**”. I would like to invite you to be part of this research. Please note that participation in the research is completely voluntarily.

The primary objective of the proposed research is to evaluate the potential of the Yeak Loam Community-based ecotourism (YLCBE) for empowering indigenous people, namely Tampuan, who live adjacent to the Yeak Loam Protected Area, Ratanakiri, Cambodia. In the context of the YLCBE development planning and implementation, the study seeks to investigate and evaluate the nature and level of involvement and participation of Tampuan people in ecotourism activities in their community and in the YLCBE development. It seeks, also, to evaluate the perceptions of the Tampuan community of the impacts of this industry development on the economic, psychological, social and political lives of Tampuan people. The research will explore factors which influence the level of effectiveness of the YLCBE in facilitating empowerment of Tampuan people.

If you participate in this research, I assure you that any information you provide will be anonymous and will not be able to be linked to you.

You have the right to withdraw from the study, and any information provided, at any time up until I complete the analysis of the data which can be achieved by contacting me at the addresses or telephone number listed below.

The questionnaire consists of five sections: your involvement in ecotourism in your community (if applicable), your opinions on Tampuan community participation in the YLCBE development and your perceptions of the impacts of the YLCBE on the lives of Tampuan people, your level of satisfaction with the YLCBE development, and your demographic profile. The questionnaire will take approximately 30 minutes to be completed. You may answer all or some of the questions. Please note that there are no right and wrong answers to the questions that I will be asking.

I would like to return again during next week if you are not available now.

Should you have any questions about the research project, please do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisors at the addresses listed below.

Many thanks and best regards,

Researcher

Bunly Bith (Researcher)

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The research has been approved by the Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee