

Lincoln University Digital Thesis

Copyright Statement

The digital copy of this thesis is protected by the Copyright Act 1994 (New Zealand).

This thesis may be consulted by you, provided you comply with the provisions of the Act and the following conditions of use:

- you will use the copy only for the purposes of research or private study
- you will recognise the author's right to be identified as the author of the thesis and due acknowledgement will be made to the author where appropriate
- you will obtain the author's permission before publishing any material from the thesis.

**Co-management for tourism development and community
wellbeing: the case of Hill Tracts, Bangladesh**

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

at
Lincoln University
by
Muhammad Shoeb-Ur-Rahman

Lincoln University
2019

Abstract of a thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

**Co-management for tourism development and community
wellbeing: the case of Hill Tracts, Bangladesh**

by

Muhammad Shoeb-Ur-Rahman

A broad view of sustainable tourism development is becoming increasingly apparent whereby the discourse of sustainability has been extended to include notions of tourism/community capitals, sustainable livelihoods, quality of life (QoL), and community wellbeing. A literature review of the existing Sustainable Livelihoods Framework for Tourism (SLFT) finds the literature largely fails to identify 'transforming structures and processes' as implementation pathways. Adopting a process-oriented, or mediated, view is necessary to ensure multi-level stakeholder viewpoints are incorporated within resource decision-making and subsequent implementation. Accordingly, a Capitals Co-management for Sustainable Livelihood Framework (CCSLF) in tourism is proposed to contribute to the existing sustainable tourism development literature by introducing co-management as a balanced decision-making tool (representing transforming structures and processes) for destination resources (referred to as capitals). At the outcome level, CCSLF proposes more precise mutual outcomes of both community wellbeing and sustainable tourism development through the protection of resources. Community wellbeing is perceived as an integrated concept and covers the requisite livelihood outcomes specified in the different sustainable livelihood models. In general, the governance dimension of tourism destination resources has been underscored in this thesis with a view to generating sustainable livelihood outcomes.

The framework was then tested within a case study of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHTs), Bangladesh. In this regard, the particular research strategy was followed as a single case study (CHTs) with two embedded units of analysis (*Bandarban Sadar* and *Rangamati Sadar*). This thesis utilises both primary (interviews, focus groups and participant observations) and secondary (document analysis and framing analysis) methods to generate findings including a revised CCSLF. Based on the stakeholder theory and given the research focus, the participants in this research were divided into two broad segments of community residents and institutional representatives. In total, 52 semi-structured interviews and five focus groups were conducted along with participant observation techniques. In order to overcome the shortcomings within the relevant literature, a framing analysis technique was followed to complement

other methods including document analysis. Framing analysis was particularly used to analyse mass media (print and video) materials. Alongside these, visual materials were also analysed to add interpretative colour to findings.

Findings show that power structure and politics play the central role in resource decision-making, which hinder broader stakeholder (especially community) involvement in the decision-making process. In a developing tourism destination with diverse cultural groups and in-built situational factors, the applicability of a CCSLF with a macro-level focus is limited. On this note, a lower level of trust was found between Bengali and indigenous communities. Furthermore, trust issues were also unfavourably evident across indigenous communities in relation to their size (reflecting the breadth of social capital). Therefore, a particular site or micro-level orientation is advocated. Hence, the strength of social capital (with a special focus on bonding capital) can play a significant role in establishing a destination tourism and community resources management structure (co-management) through which the community should be given resource ownership. Formal institutional involvement must then be ensured to supply specialised expertise and consultation. Moreover, institutional involvement is inevitable on the grounds of minimising vulnerabilities to resource decisions and to provide insights for policy implications at all scales. The broader implication is to ensure a participatory approach that facilitates benefit-sharing among communities, and equitable involvement of key stakeholders in resource decision-making processes.

This desired approach is assessed positively for its potential to create sustainable livelihood outcomes in the form of 'community wellbeing' as well as 'sustainable tourism'. Community wellbeing is conceptualised in this research as meeting the subsistence and basic needs of community members, with a strong future-oriented emphasis on education to enable a broader range of future options. The connecting link between community wellbeing and sustainable tourism is identified principally via a socio-economic lens in which a mutually-inclusive relationship between these outcomes is reported. The nature of such a relationship is elaborated in a way that increased income and employment (material wellbeing) resulting from tourism development will facilitate meeting the basic needs of community members, which in turn enables wider acceptance for tourism development among destination communities.

From an operational perspective, the revised CCSLF encourages policy-makers to consider an alternative decision-making process and structure at the destination level concerning tourism resource decisions. By involving and incorporating key stakeholders' views into the process, the revised CCSLF is targeted to build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at destination (local) level.

Keywords: co-management, capitals, social capital, sustainable livelihoods framework, sustainable tourism development, decision-making, community wellbeing, Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh

List of Publications and Presentations

This thesis has two principal sections. The first is focused on developing a conceptual framework to attain sustainable livelihood outcomes via effective tourism resource management, while the second section examines the applicability of the developed framework. A manuscript based on the second section is in progress. For this paper, the researcher has been awarded with the Lincoln University Postgraduate Research Writing Scholarship. Moreover, in order to prepare the manuscript, the researcher has already presented the research results in a PhD Result Seminar session. On this note, feedback from that session has been incorporated into this thesis. The researcher has also presented the framework for the first section of the thesis in different forums and published in *Tourism Planning & Development* Journal to ensure wider acceptance and to avoid researcher's bias in the framework development process. In this respect, the list of publications and presentations is referenced as:

Journal Paper:

- Rahman, M. S. -U., Simmons, D. G., Shone, M. & Ratna, N. (2019). Co-management of capitals for community wellbeing and sustainable tourism development: A conceptual framework. *Tourism Planning & Development*. 1-12. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/21568316.2019.1600161>
- Rahman, M. S. -U., Simmons, D. G., Ratna, N. & Shone, M. C. (in preparation for a peer review journal). Social capital the essential lens for mediating resources and community livelihoods protection.

Conference Proceeding:

- Rahman, M. S. -U., Simmons, D. G., Shone, M. C. & Ratna, N. (2017). Proposing a framework to address sustainable tourism development and community wellbeing: A direction to fieldwork. In C. Lee, S. Filep, J. N. Albrecht & W. J. L. Coetzee (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 27th Council for Australasian Tourism and Hospitality Education (CAUTHE) Annual Conference*. (pp. 360-370). Dunedin, New Zealand: Department of Tourism, University of Otago. [Full Paper]

Presentation Sessions:

- Rahman, M. S. -U., Simmons, D. G., Ratna, N. & Shone, M. (2019). Social Capital, Inclusive Institutions, and Sustainable Tourism: Findings from an Early Stage Tourism Destination in Bangladesh. *Abstract presented in the 1st Research Conference on Tourism and the SDGs (Tourism4SDGs19)*. Conference held on 24-25 January 2019. Auckland, New Zealand: Institute of Development Studies, Massey University.
- Rahman, M. S. -U. (2015, October 27). Sustainable tourism development and community wellbeing: A test case of developing world, Bangladesh hill tracts. *A Concept Note Presented at the 2015 DevNet '3-Minute Thesis' Student Presentation Competition*. Organised by the Aotearoa New Zealand International Development Studies Network (DevNet) and hosted by the University of Auckland's Development Studies programme.
- Rahman, M. S. -U. (2015, August 28). Co-management for community wellbeing through sustainable tourism planning (STP): The case of hill tracts, Bangladesh. *A Research Proposal Presented at the Lincoln University Postgraduate Conference*. Conference held in 27-28 August 2015.

Acknowledgements

All the praises to almighty Allah, who kept me in sound health and gave me patience to withstand all the stresses throughout the journey to complete this doctoral thesis. The thesis has been produced with the assistance and encouragement of a number of people. I would like to take this opportunity to express my wholehearted gratitude.

My sincere thanks to my supervision team in helping me to produce this thesis. The team efforts along with the substantial commitment of my supervisors (Prof. David Simmons, Dr. Nazmun Ratna, and Dr. Michael Shone) helped me to accomplish my doctoral research goal. The dedication of my principal supervisor, Prof. David Simmons, to the support of my learning through this research was both instrumental and inspirational. Being a highly experienced academic, Prof. David knows well how to guide a doctoral student at different phases of the study. Prof. David's dynamic guidance equipped me with advanced research knowledge, which surely I believed would contribute to my ongoing academic career in Bangladesh and elsewhere. By critically commenting on my writings, Dr. Nazmun helped me to grow a true researcher inside myself, while Dr. Michael's compassionate guidance helped me to navigate my PhD pathway. Besides academic supervision, all my supervisors provided me with personal level supports by accepting me at their home environment, which helped me to recover typical homesickness as usually experienced by a foreign student studying abroad alone. Taken altogether, I feel heartily obliged to my supervision team. I would also like to thank Dr. Tracy Berno, who was my interim supervisor during the first year of my PhD study for her insightful direction to seek the research ideas.

I am grateful to all the research participants for their valuable time they committed to this research. I am also thankful to my colleagues namely Ashikur Rahman Avi, Karabi Kabir, and Kahkasha Wahab for their cooperation in organising my fieldwork. On this note, a special thanks to Avi for helping me with maintaining post-fieldwork communication. My thanks also go to a number of colleagues and friends who have supported me through various stages of this PhD journey including Ariful Hoque, Asif Hussain, Easnin Ara, Ibrahim Altarawneh, Martyn Tranter, Saiful Shyam Bhai, Tri Ong Dinh Bao, Yaa Mawufemor Akubia, and Zohreh Karaminejad. I thank especially Martyn Tranter and Saiful Shyam Bhai for their enormous support during my stay in New Zealand. I am full of gratitude to my colleagues, mentors, and friends back home in Bangladesh, particularly Prof. Mojib Uddin Ahmed, Prof. Humayun Kabir Chowdhury, and Abdullah Al Muneem who always extended their spiritual and material supports.

I would like to acknowledge NZ Aid for awarding me the NZ Commonwealth Scholarship 2014. My PhD study at Lincoln University would not be possible without the scholarship. I thank all the staff members at Lincoln University for their warm cooperation and facilitation during the course of my study. On this

occassion, I would like to mention a few name, including Sue Bowie, Jayne Borrill, Mandy Buller, Tracey Shields, Douglas Broughton, Julie Ward, Alyson Gardner, and Caitriona Cameron. In addition, I would also like to acknowledge the assistance of Candice Hume and Janette Busch for copy editing services.

Finally, my appreciation goes to my parents, brother, and sister and their families for continuously motivating me towards my goal. Above all, I would like to acknowledge the love and persistent support of my wife, Sushmita Mannan. We had to live separately in two different continents most of the time for the last three and half years, still the level of her understanding and patience amused me and encouraged at the same time to face all the difficulties with courage and confidence. My PhD study would have simply turned into a nightmare without her earnest support. The extent of sacrifice she made for my achievements... I have no words indeed to express my gratitude. I just want to say – I love you and I dedicate my achievement to you.

Thank you all whom I mentioned here and thanks to them as well whom I forgot to mention.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
List of Publications and Presentations	iv
Acknowledgements	v
Table of Contents	vii
List of Tables	xi
List of Figures	xii
List of Acronyms	xiii
Glossary of Key Terms and Bengali Words	xiv
 Chapter One Introduction to Thesis.....	 1
1.1 Background to the Research Issue.....	2
1.2 The Research Questions.....	3
1.3 Research Setting	4
1.4 Structure of the Thesis.....	5
1.5 Chapter Summary	6
 Chapter Two Theoretical Foundations Leading to the Conceptual Frameworks.....	 7
2.1 Introduction	7
2.2 Development, Sustainable Development and Tourism: Revisiting the Nexus	8
2.3 Sustainable Tourism Planning and Development: Concepts and Key Issues.....	11
2.4 Stakeholders' Identification and Participation for Sustainable Tourism	14
2.5 Capitals and a Sustainable Livelihood Approach for Tourism.....	18
2.5.1 Natural Capital	22
2.5.2 Human Capital.....	23
2.5.3 Social Capital (Informal Institutions).....	24
2.5.4 Built Capital	26
2.5.5 Financial Capital	27
2.6 Co-management for Resource Management in Tourism	27
2.6.1 Co-management: Concept Defined.....	28
2.6.2 Typologies and Features of Co-management	28
2.6.3 Putting Co-management into Current Research Context	32
2.7 A Capitals Co-management Framework in Sustainable Livelihoods for Tourism	36
2.7.1 Strategy for Conceptual Framework	37
2.7.2 Identifying Research Gaps.....	38
2.7.3 CCSLF- A Conceptual Development	39
2.8 Chapter Summary	42
 Chapter Three Research Methods	 44
3.1 Introduction	44
3.2 Research Philosophy	44
3.2.1 Ontological Basis	46
3.2.2 Epistemological Basis	47
3.2.3 Methodological Basis	48
3.2.4 Axiological Basis	49

3.3	Research Strategy: Single-Embedded Case Study Approach	51
3.3.1	Justification for the Case Study Approach	52
3.3.2	Justifying Single-Embedded Case Study Approach	54
3.4	Qualitative Research Methodology	55
3.5	Data Collection Techniques	56
3.5.1	Semi-structured Interviews.....	56
3.5.2	Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)	64
3.5.3	Participant Observation	67
3.5.4	Document Analysis.....	68
3.5.5	Framing Analysis	69
3.6	Data Analysis Procedures.....	70
3.7	Validity and Reliability in Qualitative Research	72
3.7.1	Construct Validity.....	73
3.7.2	Internal Validity.....	74
3.7.3	External Reliability.....	75
3.8	Methodological Limitations	75
3.9	Ethical Considerations.....	76
3.10	Chapter Summary	77
	Chapter Four Contextualising the Research Setting.....	78
4.1	Introduction	78
4.2	Overview of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHTs), Bangladesh	78
4.2.1	People, Society and Culture	80
4.2.2	Administrative and Political History of the CHT.....	85
4.3	Selection of Embedded Units or Cases	93
4.3.1	Presence of Social Capital	93
4.3.2	Geo-political Significance.....	94
4.3.3	Tourism Potential.....	94
4.3.4	Regional Centres	95
4.3.5	Experts Opinion.....	95
4.4	Inside the CHT: Core Situational factors	95
4.4.1	Land Ownership Conflict.....	96
4.4.2	CHT Peace Accord and Its Status.....	98
4.4.3	An Identity Debate of 'Indigenouness'	99
4.4.4	Conflicts and Militarisation	101
4.5	Current State of Tourism in CHT	103
4.6	Reviewing National Tourism Policy: Scoping for CHT	104
4.7	Chapter Summary	107
	Chapter Five Research Findings from Case Study Unit-1	108
5.1	Introduction	108
5.2	Overview of Bandarban Sadar	108
5.3	Resources for Tourism Development	110
5.3.1	Natural Capital	110
5.3.2	Human Capital.....	114
5.3.3	Social Capital	116
5.3.4	Built Capital	118
5.3.5	Financial Capital	121
5.4	Formal Institutional Arrangements.....	122
5.5	Vulnerability Context	124

5.6	Co-management for Tourism Decision-Making	127
5.7	Process Outcomes.....	128
5.7.1	Sustainable Tourism Development	129
5.7.2	Community Wellbeing.....	131
5.8	Summary of the Findings	133
5.9	Chapter Summary	134
Chapter Six Research Findings from Case Study Unit-2.....		135
6.1	Introduction	135
6.2	Overview of Rangamati Sadar.....	135
6.3	Resources for Tourism Development	137
6.3.1	Natural Capital	137
6.3.2	Human Capital.....	139
6.3.3	Social Capital	141
6.3.4	Built Capital	144
6.3.5	Financial Capital	146
6.4	Formal Institutional Arrangements.....	146
6.5	Vulnerability Context	148
6.6	Co-management for Tourism Decision-Making.....	149
6.7	Process Outcomes.....	152
6.7.1	Sustainable Tourism Development	152
6.7.2	Community Wellbeing.....	155
6.8	Summary of the Findings	156
6.9	Chapter Summary	157
Chapter Seven Integrating Findings and Discussions for Policy Considerations.....		159
7.1	Introduction	159
7.2	Resources for Tourism Development	159
7.2.1	Natural Capital	160
7.2.2	Human Capital.....	163
7.2.3	Social Capital	165
7.2.4	Built Capital	167
7.2.5	Financial Capital	168
7.3	Formal Institutional Arrangements.....	169
7.4	Vulnerability Context	173
7.5	Co-management for Tourism Decision-Making.....	176
7.6	Outcomes of the Process	179
7.6.1	Sustainable Tourism Development	180
7.6.2	Community Wellbeing.....	182
7.7	Discussions: Co-management of Tourism Capitals for Sustainable Livelihoods.....	183
7.7.1	Framing a Co-management Structure for Tourism Resource Decisions.....	183
7.7.2	Critical Role of Social Capital.....	187
7.7.3	Tourism Capitals.....	188
7.8	Chapter Summary	192
Chapter Eight Thesis Conclusions		193
8.1	Introduction	193
8.2	Revisiting the CCSLF	193
8.3	Research Contributions.....	198

8.3.1	Reflection on Research Objective One.....	200
8.3.2	Reflection on Research Objective Two	200
8.3.3	Reflection on Research Objective Three.....	200
8.4	Future Research Opportunities.....	201
8.5	Concluding Remarks.....	202
	References	203
	Appendix A Purposeful Sample Plan Before Fieldwork	228
	Appendix B Research Information Sheet for Interviews	229
	Appendix C Research Consent Form for Interviews	231
	A sample consent form (if the participant is literate)	231
	A sample consent form (if the participant is illiterate)	232
	Appendix D Research Information Sheet, Consent Form and Notification Form for Focus Group Discussions.....	233
	Research information sheet for focus group participants	233
	Consent form for focus group participants	235
	Notification form for focus groups.....	236
	Appendix E Human Ethics Approval.....	237
	Appendix F Interview Guidelines.....	238
	Part 1: Basic information - Interviewee background (to be stored separately from the interview data)	238
	Part 2: Indicative interview questions.....	238
	Appendix G Fieldwork Management	240
	Tracking progress during fieldwork.....	240
	Appendix H Description of Codes for Research Informants.....	241
	Appendix I An Illustration of Data Analysis Tables and Observation Notes	242
	Sample data analysis tables representing data of different categories of informants.....	242
	Sample field observation notes.....	248
	Appendix J Resource Rights and Land Transfer Process in the CHT	249
	Customary resource rights of the CHT residents	249
	Land title transfer process in CHT	250
	Appendix K Changing Composition of Stakeholders in the Existing Co-management Practices	251
	Structure of co-management council and co-management committee in 2006.....	251
	Stakeholders and composition of co-management organisations as of 2009.....	252
	Structure and stakeholders representation in CGC and CEC	253

List of Tables

Table 2.1	Summary of different forms of capital	20
Table 3.1	Sample coverage and phases of interviews.....	60
Table 3.2	Role models comparison for participant observation	67
Table 3.3	Typologies of validity and reliability in qualitative research	73
Table 4.1	Indigenous-Bengali population composition corresponding to the administrative eras.	84
Table 4.2	Bases of frames and the number of articles reviewed.....	95
Table 4.3	Unimplemented core issues in the CHT Peace Accord.....	98
Table 5.1	Findings summary based on field-data from case study unit-1 (BS)	133
Table 6.1	Findings summary based on field-data from case study unit-2 (RS)	157
Table 7.1	Key issues reported in association with capitals' management decisions	160
Table 7.2	Indigenous families and villages affected by different tourism project decisions	174
Table A.1	Table showing sample overview (prepared before fieldwork)	228
Table A.2	Listing interviewees' basic information.....	238
Table A.3	Visualising fieldwork progress on day-to-day basis	240
Table A.4	A sample structure showing the tracking of fieldwork progress from case study unit.....	240
Table A.5	Description of interview and focus group codes.....	241
Table A.6	A specimen of thematic analysis table showing the interview data from central government representatives	242
Table A.7	A specimen of thematic analysis table showing the interview data from 'economic and other' sub-category	243
Table A.8	A specimen of thematic analysis table showing the interview data from 'indigenous community resident' sub-category.....	244
Table A.9	A specimen of thematic analysis table showing the focus groups' data	245
Table A.10	An instructive table example of categorising and grouping of identified issues	246
Table A.11	CHT residents' rights on customary resources.....	249
Table A.12	Preliminary structure for co-management committees in Bangladesh.....	251
Table A.13	Revised structure for co-management organisations.....	252
Table A.14	Latest structure of co-management committees	253

List of Figures

Figure 2.1	Stakeholders' typology	16
Figure 2.2	Co-management continuum.....	29
Figure 2.3	Co-management continuum.....	30
Figure 2.4	Typologies of co-management	31
Figure 2.5	Motivators to choose co-management as mediator and decision-making tool	33
Figure 2.6	Systematic Phase Analysis (SPA) model for conceptual development.....	37
Figure 2.7	Co-management as a linking concept.....	39
Figure 2.8	CCSLF: A conceptual development	40
Figure 3.1	Spectrum of ontological perspectives	47
Figure 3.2	Foundations of the current research.....	50
Figure 3.3	Design options for case studies	52
Figure 3.4	Location mapping for the community resident informants in BS	61
Figure 3.5	Location mapping for the community resident informants in RS	62
Figure 3.6	Location mapping for the institutional representative informants in BS.....	63
Figure 3.7	Location mapping for the institutional representative informants in RS.....	63
Figure 3.8	Location mapping for the institutional representative informants in Dhaka.....	64
Figure 3.9	Location mapping for the focus groups.....	66
Figure 3.10	Data analysis framework	71
Figure 4.1	Map of the CHT region.....	79
Figure 4.2	Different communities in the CHT	81
Figure 4.3	Alphabets used by different communities showing the language diversity in the CHT.....	81
Figure 4.4	Unique ornaments bearing the identity of a particular indigenous community.....	82
Figure 4.5	Utensils used by different indigenous communities	82
Figure 4.6	Different musical instruments unique to each indigenous community	83
Figure 4.7	General administrative structure	91
Figure 4.8	CHT local government's administrative structure	91
Figure 4.9	Traditional administrative structure.....	92
Figure 5.1	Map of Bandarban Sadar	109
Figure 5.2	Natural landscape and local livelihood dependence on natural resources	111
Figure 6.1	Map of Rangamati Sadar	136
Figure 6.2	Natural landscape and local livelihood dependence on natural resources	138
Figure 6.3	Popular tourist spot in RS (Hanging Bridge) and different vehicles for tourists' use	145
Figure 7.1	A collaborative framework for human capital development	164
Figure 7.2	Identified issues to elaborate the vulnerability context.....	173
Figure 7.3	A proposed co-management process chart.....	184
Figure 7.4	Interdependence of tourism capitals	189
Figure 8.1	The revised CCSLF	194
Figure 8.2	Different operational levels for CCSLF.....	197
Figure A.1	System of land title transfer in CHT	250
Box 5.1	Researcher's field observation notes from an attended workshop	124
Box 5.2	Researcher's field observation notes from a conflict event at Boga Lake	126
Box 6.1	Researcher's field observation notes from the district law-order and coordination committee meeting	150

List of Acronyms

BGB	Border Guards Bangladesh
BPC	Bangladesh Parjatan Corporation
BS	Bandarban Sadar
BTB	Bangladesh Tourism Board
CCSLF	Capitals Co-management for Sustainable Livelihood Frameworks
CEC	Co-management Executive Committee
CG	Central Government
CGC	Co-management General Committee
CHT	Chittagong Hill Tracts
CHTDB	Chittagong Hill Tracts Development Board
CHTRC	Chittagong Hill Tracts Regional Council
DC	Deputy Commissioner
DFID	Department for International Development
HDC	Hill Distric Council
MoCAT	Ministry of Civil Aviation and Tourism
MoCHTA	Ministry of Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PCJSS	Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti
PF	Protected Forest
RS	Rangamati Sadar
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SLA	Sustainable Livelihoods Approachrk
SLF	Sustainable Livelihoods Framework
SLFT	Sustainable Livelihoods Framework for Tourism
SPA	Systematic Phase Analysis
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNWCED	United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
UPDF	United People's Democratic Front

Glossary of Key Terms and Bengali Words

Adivasi: A Bengali term indicating early dwellers in a particular territory.

Bonding Capital: The productive benefits associated with the relationships within a single group or structure, such as relations among members of a particular ethnic group.

Bridging Capital: Exclusive by nature, Bridging Capital results from the relationships among people from a different socio-economic status or ethnicity.

Built Capital: Human-made environment that allows for and facilitates different community activities. It includes infrastructure, superstructure, tools and equipment that enable information and communication.

Capital: Any asset, or group of assets, with the ability to render a stream of present or future benefits. It implicitly adheres to the reproductive capabilities of community resources when invested to create new resources.

Circle Chief: The head of traditional administration typically represents a revenue circle.

Co-management: A decentralised approach to community and tourism resource decisions that ensures practices of good governance through the multi-lateral involvement of stakeholders in decision-making and, subsequently, implementation processes. The successful implementation of these processes is believed to result in sustainable livelihood outcomes.

Community: The current study entails two views of community: geographic and identity. The geographical view holds a broader perspective by considering everyone within a designated area, whereas the identity view carries a narrower and fragmented focus. From the geographical viewpoint, community represents a body of people commonly known as residents along with representatives from different institutions and agencies sharing a particular physical space. The identity standpoint categorises the residents and provides a focus into the informal network.

Community-based Co-management: A flexible community-empowered and community-led co-management structure in which the involvement of public bodies is advised, rather than active actors.

Community Wellbeing: A positive and sustainable state that allows communities concerned to evaluate life based on the material and non-material aspects resulting from the tourism development at destination level.

Financial Capital: Covers the financial aspects and includes accessibility to funds, along with the monetary assets and resources available for investment (in/at the destination).

Formal Institutions: The formal institutions' properties can be written down and enforced in court. Such institutions (formal) act decisively as transformation agents by concentrating on the deployment of the other forms of capital into tourism developments. In this research, it includes political organisations (municipals, sub-district offices, political parties, tribal councils, etc.), economic organisations (tour operators, hotels, cooperatives, etc.) and educational bodies (schools, universities, vocational training centres, etc.).

Headman: A representative of traditional administration typically represents a '*mouza*'.

Human Capital: Addresses the properties of individuals in the community. It indicates the people aspects and includes knowledge, information, health and skills embodied in local peoples.

Jum: A traditional way of cultivation exclusively used by the hill-people. This technique is also known as swidden or slash and burn agriculture in which the surface of a targeted area gets cleared by making a circle around the targeted land area and burning the growing vegetation to accommodate planted crops.

Karbari: A representative of traditional administration typically represents a village or '*para*' in Bengali.

Linking Capital: The relationships people have with those in power.

Mouza: A Bengali term indicating the smallest revenue unit within a revenue circle.

Natural Capital: The available natural resource stocks that do not require human interventions to be produced along with the level of protection, which will lay the foundation for tourism products at destinations. It includes landscapes, forests, wildlife and environmental systems. This capital acts as the fundamental source of community livelihoods.

Pahari: A Bengali term indicating tribal or indigenous people who live in hills.

Sadar: A Bengali term indicating a central or focal point of attention.

Social Capital: Peoples' relationships to each other and the norms that govern a society. This capital has vital influences on other forms of capital as well as the transforming structures and processes. It includes social networks, trust, values and cooperative norms.

Sustainable Tourism Development: All sorts of tourism activities, be it mass or alternative, that maintain and enhance all forms of capital and are processed within a shared framework to enrich the wellbeing outcomes of destination communities.

Tourism Capitals: Resources necessary for tourism development at a destination, which commonly exist as community resources. These include natural and social resources as foundation capitals, and the enabling capitals comprising human, built, and financial resources.

Tourism Context: Includes types of tourism market (domestic or international), types of tourism under consideration (emphasising whether to involve community or not) and stages of tourism development.

Tourism Development Context: Includes the scale of development and types of market for tourism.

Tourism Operating Conditions: Necessarily outline functional criteria for tourism development being guided by broader policies. These also include key situational factors available within a setting or destination that influence the functioning of tourism systems in general and decision-making in particular.

Tourism Stakeholders: Include any individuals or groups involved, interested in or affected (positively or negatively) by tourism and who have the right and capacity to participate in resource decision-making processes.

Vulnerability: Includes shocks, trends, seasonality and institutions (inefficiency or weaknesses). It negatively affects tourism development and the adaptive capacities of social actors.

Chapter One

Introduction to Thesis

Tourism is increasingly perceived by many developing countries as a promising strategy to diversify economic bases while creating employment and income to local communities. The tourism sector's growth data from 78 least developed countries and small island developing states showed an increase from 3.2 million direct employment (number of jobs) in 1995 to 8.5 million in 2015, while the share of tourism exports (US\$) rose from 4.6 percent in 2000 to 5.9 percent in 2015 (Becken & Miller, 2016). However, the net benefits accruing to local communities remain contested, as local people not often get access to tourism resource decision-making processes. The opportunity for local participation becomes more complex as destination evolved through early stages to maturity. Keller (1987) found that tourism development attracts more exogenous investment with the advancement of destination development, which eventually undermines local control over resources to external agencies. Thus, an integrative decision-making structure involving and empowering local communities is a necessity at the local or destination level to increase local control and to generate desired outcomes.

In this vein, tourism is assessed as a tool for poverty reduction favouring the poor of a society, which requires a sustainable and holistic focus other than conventional economic approaches (Ashley, Boyd & Goodwin, 2000; Chok, Macbeth & Warren, 2007; Schilcher, 2007). The Sustainable Livelihoods (SL) and/or Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) elaborate this focus by not only highlighting livelihood resources (capitals) and outcomes, but by considering factors such as vulnerability, institutional processes and organisational structures (Chambers & Conway, 1992; Conroy & Litvinoff, 1988; DFID, 1999; Scoones, 1998). Consequently, a growing trend in academic research is evident pertaining to tourism and SLA since the 2000s (Ashley, 2000; Çakir, Evern, Tören & Kozak, 2018; Ritchie, 2009; Shen, Hughey & Simmons, 2008; Tao & Wall, 2009). However, the literature largely fails to locate an organisational process and structure to accommodate diverse views of key stakeholders (emphasising local people/communities) when facilitating a bottom-up approach to resource decision-making. The current research addresses this gap by using a co-management approach to represent a decentralised organisational structure and institutional process. Such a process and structure fosters synergies among key stakeholders and thereby mitigates planning problems in community tourism (Jamal & Getz, 1995), which eventually leads to the realisation of sustainable livelihoods for destination communities.

1.1 Background to the Research Issue

The application of sustainability principles through tourism development has received significant attention from both academia and practitioners since the late 1980s. As with other contemporary applications of sustainability, the concept came to particular attention following the publication of “Our Common Future” (United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development [UNWCED], 1987). The report, which is widely referred to as the Brundtland Report after its author, the UNWCED Chair and Norwegian Prime Minister, introduced a balanced development approach in the name of sustainable development. The concept of sustainable development nowadays permeates almost every sector of an economy irrespective of the specialisation for any particular industry. Sustainable development has evolved as an alternative development paradigm focusing on the triple bottom-line approach to human wellbeing, which includes economic development, environmental sustainability and social inclusion (Sachs, 2012). Sustainable tourism or sustainable tourism development is clearly linked to the broader view of sustainable development (Ruhanen, Weiler, Moyle & McLennan, 2015). The outcomes of sustainable development are interrelated and interdependent; however, their achievement is largely decided by an effective governance system. Correspondingly, Sachs (2012) identified good governance as the fourth pillar for sustainability.

The impact of sustainable tourism is presently so pervasive that international agencies such as the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) acknowledged its potential to contribute to the post-2015 development agenda set by the United Nations (UN) as Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). From an operational perspective, SDGs hold 17 goals and 169 targets featuring inclusive and integrated development at all levels (i.e., local, regional, national and global). It has been argued that tourism can contribute directly or indirectly to all of the goals (UNWTO, 2015a). The UNWTO identifies a set of challenges for sustainable tourism in the achievement of the post-2015 development agenda and asserts that *“Achieving this agenda, however, requires a clear implementation framework, adequate financing and investment in technology, infrastructure and human resources,”* (UNWTO, 2015a, p. 2). Such an observation justifies the inclusion of different forms of capital (natural, human, social, built and financial) and formal institutions alongside quality of life (QoL) measures in discussions regarding the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF). Within the SLF context, particularly when applied to tourism, sustainability is viewed in the form of increased level of capitals stock (Moscardo & Murphy, 2014; Shen et al., 2008; Stone & Nyaupane, 2018). Moreover, at the outcome level tourism sustainability is assessed in relation to QoL, which is expressed in terms of ‘community wellbeing’ and is identified by the stock of capitals (Moscardo & Murphy, 2014). To generate desired livelihood outcomes, the critical importance of setting strategies and activities has been highlighted along with transforming structures and processes (Ashley, 2000; DFID, 1999). Transforming structures include the

hierarchical levels of government and the private sector, whereas processes include laws, policies, culture and institutions (DFID, 1999). The structures in turn use processes to coordinate resource strategies and activities. However, the literature fails to suggest a precise structure for integrating various capitals while incorporating key stakeholders' viewpoints into decision-making processes (transformation mechanism) towards the associated or targeted outcomes.

The question thus arises, what would be a suitable capital transforming structure to address sustainable livelihood outcomes and thereby contribute to sustainable tourism development? Acknowledging this question, this research proposes a capitals co-management framework by reviewing the concepts of capitals, co-management, SLA and Sustainable Livelihoods Framework for Tourism (SLFT). The framework is named the Capitals Co-management for Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (CCSLF) and is tested for its applicability within a case study context of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHTs), Bangladesh and reported accordingly in line with the current research objectives. Co-management is an approach widely used in natural resource management, in which the involvement of key stakeholders is ensured along with the commitment of equitable sharing of power, duties and responsibilities. This research extends the focus of co-management and examines its appropriateness for managing tourism capitals/resources.

This research is directed towards a developing country context, pursuing a case encompassing early stage tourism destination (more specifically belongs to 'involvement' stage of Butler's TALC). Hierarchical decision-making, together with limited institutional capacities and political instability, are significant challenges particularly evident in developing countries. For example, these factors can constrain effective participation of key stakeholders in decision-making processes and create barriers for citizen involvement and grassroots participation in the management of tourism resources (capitals) in particular (Tosun, 2000). On this note, broader stakeholder (especially community) involvement in the decision-making processes in managing natural and cultural resources is increasingly considered to be an important sustainability principle (Hibbard & Lurie, 2000; Mitchell & Reid, 2001). A lack of participation, in turn, can inhibit building effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels of a society, which essentially challenges the attainment of SDGs (particularly Goal 16). The question is, can co-management processes and frameworks address satisfactorily this issue?

1.2 The Research Questions

This research is aimed at developing a conceptual framework (CCSLF) and testing the framework for its applicability within a tourism development context. In order to address the research gaps as identified from existing literature, the principal research objective is:

To identify a shared decision-making structure and process for the effective deployment of various tourism resources (identified as ‘capitals’) to shape sustainable tourism development that can be evidenced by wellbeing outcomes in destination communities.

To support the main research objective, this research brings together three specific research questions:

- 1. How can co-management frameworks allocate tourism capitals to develop sustainable tourism and enhance community wellbeing?*
- 2. How does social capital interact with co-management processes to effect the wellbeing of destination communities?*
- 3. How, and to what extent, are various capitals assessed within tourism co-management frameworks?*

1.3 Research Setting

This research has utilised a case study strategy in which a single case with two embedded units were selected to generate in-depth understanding of the research questions. Correspondingly, within the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHTs) of Bangladesh, two *Upazilas*¹ (sub-districts), namely Bandarban *Sadar* (central) and Rangamati *Sadar* (central), serve as the case study units wherein this research is sited. The research setting (CHT) in general remains unique within the country context of Bangladesh and potentially from a global context. To understand the breadth of complexities that makes the setting unique, a separate chapter (Chapter Four) briefly discusses the study units. Research findings are reported in subsequent chapters (Chapter Five and Chapter Six).

The CHTs (also known as *Parbatya Chattagram* in Bengali) is a unique hilly area located in the south-eastern part of Bangladesh (21.25° to 23.45° north latitude and 91.45° to 92.50° east longitude) sitting under the broader Chittagong Division. The CHT comprises of three hill districts: *Khagrachari*, *Rangamati* and *Bandarban*. The CHT region holds significant geopolitical values, in that it represents 10 percent of the total land area of Bangladesh and shares land borders with two neighbouring countries: India and Myanmar (see Figure 4.1, p.78). Historically, this region remains the centre of indigenous populations who are simultaneously identified by several other terms, including *Adivasi*, tribal, *Pahari* (people who live in hills), and small ethnic communities (as used by the Bangladeshi government). Various sources agree on the presence of 11 different indigenous communities in the CHT, including *Chakma*, *Marma*, *Tripura*, *Tanchangya*, *Chak*, *Pankhu*, *Mro*, *Bawm*, *Lushai*, *Kyang* and *Khumi*. The political history of CHT since the independence of Bangladesh is marked with distrust and

¹ All the Bengali terms used are italicised. See glossary for elaboration of relevant Bengali terms.

remains contested. Additionally, the presence of multiple administrative structures with overlapping features creates confusion about the responsibilities, functions, jurisdictions and authority of individuals, as well as organisations working in the CHT.

Tourism is still in its very early stages of development in the CHT in comparison with other tourism destinations in Bangladesh. However, the region reportedly exhibits tourism potential by attracting an increasing number of tourists based on its unique landscape and indigenous cultural diversity (Jakariya & Ahmed, 2013; Shamsuddoha, Alamgir & Nasir, 2011). Despite the high potential for tourism, local communities do not consider it as a suitable livelihood option (Dewan, 2014). The lack of initiatives from local government, as well as from regional and national governments, is evidenced through the unavailability of relevant policy and planning instruments to support the development of tourism. Moreover, the existing policy at the national level essentially fails to address the unique aspects of the CHT and incorporate a bottom-up, pro-people approach to retain the benefits of tourism at the local level. Thus, the case ideally represents the current research issue.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis comprises eight chapters including this introductory chapter. Chapter Two draws together a range of concepts from the literature to form a conceptual framework that leads eventually this research. Accordingly, the chapter develops the CCSLF after reviewing the relevant literature highlighting development, sustainable development, sustainable tourism planning and development, stakeholder identification theory, capitals view of SLA relating to tourism and co-management for resource management in tourism.

Chapter Three sets out the philosophical basis, methodological underpinning and methods used in this thesis. This chapter describes the overall research process pertaining to data collection and the analytical procedures deployed. Given the research objectives, this research stands on the interpretive social science paradigm holding the social constructionism epistemology, relativist ontology and qualitative methodology. A single-embedded case study research strategy has been employed in designing the research. Within a single context of the CHTs of Bangladesh, two different units (*Bandarban Sadar & Rangamati Sadar*) are considered for study purposes. The justifications for case study as well as single-embedded design are also discussed in Chapter Three.

Chapter Four provides background details of the research setting and identifies core situational factors that influence the functioning of tourism systems within this setting. In doing so, a particular focus is given to various resource decision-making processes. The chapter outlines the geographic,

demographic, socio-cultural and political features of the study setting. The chapter also critically analyses the existing national tourism policy to frame the current research.

Chapters Five and Six report the findings from the separate case study units following the key elements of CCSLF in tourism. These chapters begin by providing a brief overview of the corresponding study unit in which the tourism development and tourism operating contexts are discussed briefly. Recalling the findings in relation to the elements of the CCSLF, these chapters fundamentally provide the basis for testing the CCSLF and its further refinement.

Chapter Seven integrates findings and discusses the results in order to address the research objectives. To integrate the findings, this chapter considers the findings from institutional research participants representing central government and regional institutional bodies. In most cases, central and regional government participants support the findings generated from the case study units. The overall discussion indicates that a typical co-management structure must be embedded within community-led resource (co-) management approach in which (formal) institutional involvement is sought, mostly in connection with expertise, policy and legal requirements.

Finally, Chapter Eight concludes the thesis by revisiting the CCSLF, outlining the major contributions of this research and exploring future research opportunities. In the process of revising the CCSLF, each element of the CCSLF has been discussed in reference to the study findings as well as existing theories where possible. A specific outcome derived from the research results indicates that when a tourism destination is exposed to high ethnic diversity and fraught with exogenous variables, a community or micro- level focus with an enabling role of local government may bring the desired outcomes.

1.5 Chapter Summary

This is an introductory chapter, setting out the tone for the doctoral thesis. The chapter provided brief background information on the current research. Accordingly, research objectives and questions are outlined. The background discussions and research objectives indicate that this research is positioned within an unequal power distribution that affects participative decision-making structure by inhibiting broader stakeholder involvement in the decision-making processes. This issue weakens the effectiveness of tourism resource governance and challenges sustainable development initiatives. Subsequently, a co-management approach has been brought into focus in association with sustainable livelihoods framework. The research has been conducted following a case study strategy in which *Bandarban Sadar* and *Rangamati Sadar* (embedded units) of the CHT (single case) were considered to serve the study purposes.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Foundations Leading to the Conceptual Frameworks

2.1 Introduction

This chapter draws together a range of concepts from the literature to form a conceptual framework to inform the current research. This research is focussed on planning and decision-making perspectives for sustainable livelihood outcomes in a tourism destination. Accordingly, a sustainable livelihood approach (SLA) has been elaborated that emphasises the need for an integrated institutional process and organisational structures to manage tourism and community resources (identified as various capitals) at destinations. On this note, the co-management literature has been reviewed and a co-management approach is sought as a joint structure for resources decision-making and their subsequent implementation for sustainable livelihood outcomes. A co-management structure, by design, accommodates a broad range of stakeholders, including both community and institutional representatives (e.g., local government, national government, tourism companies, etc.), thereby inherently supporting any sustainable development initiatives. Two facets of sustainable development are identified as key lenses: stakeholder engagement and a capital approach (resource views) of sustainable livelihood outcomes.

The chapter starts by exploring the nexus between development, sustainable development, and tourism. A review of those elements is essential for concept clarification and, eventually, informing the conceptual framework. The sustainable tourism planning and development literature has been reviewed following the two facets of sustainable development. Consequently, the theory of stakeholder identification and the participation literature has been reviewed together with various community and tourism capitals. The community and tourism capitals literature is also accompanied by the SLA literature, in which community wellbeing is emphasised as a key framework by which to gauge livelihood outcomes. Finally, a co-management approach is discussed to advance a balanced decision-making tool for the desired sustainable outcomes. At this point, concepts of community, government, and governance are clarified for this research. The chapter ends by developing a 'Capitals Co-management for Sustainable Livelihood Framework (CCSLF)' and positioning the current research within identified research gaps through a 'Systematic Phase Analysis (SPA)' strategy.

2.2 Development, Sustainable Development and Tourism: Revisiting the Nexus

The term 'development' has evolved considerably over the last half-century and is now a multi-dimensional concept that is defined in various ways throughout the literature. This lack of agreement in a definition makes the concept both contested and complex to the extent that it "*seems to defy definition, although not for a want of definitions on offer*" (Cowen & Shenton, 1996, p. 2). Although the notion of development is variously identified across disciplines, one thing remains common from a practical outlook that it refers to a process of positive change from one condition to another (Shone, 2013). Rist (2014) reported 'development' as a conflicting set of practices for the reproduction of a society, which in turn requires the development of the natural environment and social relations, especially when associated with state or process outcomes (e.g., wellbeing, social justice). Therefore, the term should be understood better as a 'relative concept' relying on the objectives or needs of particular individuals, societies, or nations (Hettne, 2009). Such objectives or needs are generally far-reaching, which require increasing 'capabilities' to realise development. In this regard, one of the most prominent 'thought leaders' in the study of development, Nobel Laureate, Amartya Sen (1999, p. 3) defines development as "*a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy*" and extends the definition beyond the conventional economic criteria, such as industrialisation or technological change, as emphasised by neo-classical growth theorists. Acknowledging the role of income growth as a means to expand freedom, Sen (1999, p. 3) writes, "Development requires the removal of major sources of unfreedom: poverty as well as tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance or overactivity of repressive states." In essence, Sen's observation plays a crucial role informing the conceptual framework in this thesis.

Telfer and Sharpley (2015) identify five elements or indicators of development covering economic, social, cultural, political, and full-life paradigms. These dimensions form a continuum in which the gradual transformation in development theory is evidenced via transition from an economic focus (modernization-dependency-economic neoliberalism) to resource-based and bottom-up principles, essentially marked as an 'alternative development' era (Ingham, 1993; Telfer, 2015). Further refinement of the development paradigm has, subsequently, been linked to quality of life indicators, human development, and wellbeing.

As an alternative development paradigm, the concept of 'Sustainable Development (SD)' has received significant attention from both academia and practitioners since its emergence. SD came to particular attention following the publication of "Our Common Future" (UNWCED, 1987), a report, which is widely referred to as the 'Brundtland Report' after its author, the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development (UNWCED) Chair and the then Norwegian Prime Minister, Gro

Harlem Brundtland. As we entered an era termed 'Sustainable Development', definitions evolved and the concept of 'development' itself continued to broaden to an alternative growth paradigm focusing socio-cultural and environmental aspects. Brundtland (1987, p. 292) introduced and positioned the concept of sustainable development with a core criterion of "meeting the needs and aspirations of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs." Accordingly, subsequent discussions about SD hold a triple bottom-line approach to human wellbeing that includes economic development, environmental sustainability and social inclusion (Sachs, 2012). Sachs (2012, p. 2208) observed '*good governance*' as the fourth pillar for sustainable development that needs to be established and implemented at all levels – local, regional, national and international. The triple bottom-line outcomes are interrelated and interdependent; however, their achievement is largely determined by an effective governance system.

Researchers continue to refine this broad view of sustainable development to include or, in some cases, exclude particular elements or dimensions. Rogers, Jalal and Boyd (2012, pp. 50-52) emphasise the economic and environmental aspects while identifying two 'vicious circles' to be considered for SD outcomes: the first concentrates on poverty reduction, and the second, integrates environmental decisions into development plans. However, for many critics, social dimensions play a central role in sustainable development, noting that all affairs of our daily, individual, and collective lives take place within a societal context. For example, Kemp, Parto and Gibson (2005, p. 12) highlight the notion of social sustainability and assert that "*sustainability is best viewed as a socially instituted process.*" In another study that focused on the social pillars of sustainable development, Murphy (2012) identifies four pre-eminent concepts: equity, awareness, participation, and social cohesion. Alongside social issues, the normative nature of sustainable development necessitates collective actions (such as resource decision-making), which require effective governance structures for operationalising and directing the concept towards tangible goals (Elliott, 2006; van Zeijl-Rozema, Corvers, Kemp & Martens, 2008). A generalised approach to sustainable development is apparent in the work of Jabareen (2008) who proposes a comprehensive framework after synthesizing elements from seven different concepts: natural capital stock, equity, eco-form, utopia, global agenda, and integrative management, together with an ethical consideration. Apart from the underpinning dimensions, Jabareen brings material aspects (natural capitals), political features (global agenda), and coordination and management issues (integrative management) into a common framework to conceptualise and operationalise SD.

The interplay between tourism and development has been researched on numerous occasions when considering the specific interface between tourism and development. Telfer and Sharpley (2015) view 'development' as both a means or process, and the goal of that process. Correspondingly, this research

identifies sustainable 'tourism' development as both a process as well as an outcome of that process. Tourism development has continued to attract tourism researchers who have proposed various models of destination planning and development to address tourism sustainability. Jafari (1989) noted an initial 'advocacy' platform or stage focussed entirely on the potential of tourism to contribute to greater economic advancement. It was soon noticed that high degrees of economic focus fail to consider the negative consequences on environmental, community and cultural resources (Tooman, 1997). As a result, the second platform in tourism development and studies evolved to a "cautionary stage" (Jafari, 1989) to address the negative sociocultural and environmental aspects. Since the 1980s, tourism theory has been enriched by alternative forms of tourism prioritising community and with a higher level of local empowerment (Telfer & Sharpley, 2015). At this time, tourism was regarded as a tool to alleviate poverty and act in favour of the poor such as 'pro-poor tourism' (Chok et al., 2007; Schilcher, 2007). Under this latter stance, tourism destinations directly faced a dilemma of development pertaining the pressures to meet local needs while adhering to market realities (Kent, 1993). Similarly, Dann (1999) identifies that synthesising the tourism and 'development' concepts remains challenging due to its dependence on contexts. The dilemma of balancing local needs (context-specific) and market realities eventually raises the need for effective governance (local or destination-specific) and management aspects to be integrated within the lens of sustainable tourism development.

Ruhanen et al. (2015) claimed that 'sustainable tourism' and/or 'sustainable tourism development' are clearly linked to a broader view of sustainable development. Sharpley (2000) however, identifies a theoretical divide between sustainable tourism and sustainable development by emphasising the contextual bias in sustainable tourism, which can be inconsistent in terms of the developmental aspects of sustainable development. In view of that observation, Sharpley (2000, p. 14) draws a conclusion that "... the principles of sustainable development cannot be transposed onto tourism as a specific economic and social activity. In other words, 'true' sustainable tourism development is unachievable." This is a view also supported by McCool, Butler, Buckley, Weaver and Wheeler (2013) who argue that sustainable tourism development decisions are expected to consider the triple bottom line focus (economic, social and environmental) as being of equal importance. In practice, any particular context defines the relative importance of each element. In addition, political acceptability (from the local, regional and national levels) largely determines the operational aspects of sustainable tourism. Accordingly, sustainability issues have become a key driver for the socio-political agenda in many countries (Berke, 2002; Jayawardena, 2003; Rogers, Gardner & Carlson, 2013). In general, the conflicting interests of diverse stakeholder groups within a particular context challenge the implementation of tourism development strategies. This observation, in turn signifies a collaborative

structural requirement for decision-making and implementation (at the destination level) towards the realisation of sustainable tourism development goals.

In short, revealing the nexus between tourism and sustainable development entails an interdisciplinary approach. The approach involves the dynamic interaction of concepts from several disciplines to explore, explain and understand the complexity of a research phenomenon (Darbellay & Stock, 2012), which facilitate knowledge enrichment through collaboration and integration across disciplines. Correspondingly, this research encompasses theories or concepts from economics, sociology, environmental management, development studies, management and governance (Kemp et al., 2005; Mowforth & Munt, 2015; Sharpley & Telfer, 2014).

2.3 Sustainable Tourism Planning and Development: Concepts and Key Issues

Hunter (2002) finds sustainable development a pervasive concept as every promising sector or discipline is now attempting to transpose the general features of SD to its own, more familiar, disciplinary or intellectual frame of reference. Tourism is not an exception in this case. Moreover, in recent decades, the high growth rate of the tourism sector throughout the world, in comparison with the overall world economy draws the attention of policymakers to think of tourism potential towards achieving the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The development potential of tourism is further acknowledged via the UN 70th General Assembly designating 2017 as the 'International Year of Sustainable Tourism for Development' (UNWTO, 2015b).

However, such recognition has become increasingly evident in the academic research of travel and tourism since the late 1980s during the emergence of alternative forms of tourism. In reviewing the sustainable tourism literature, Buckley (2012) found research using the specific term 'sustainable tourism' commenced around two decades ago (early 1990s). From the very beginning, the term seeks a controlled and proactive approach in shaping tourism growth. The steady growth pattern of the travel and tourism sector in the postmodern era is aligned with the generic consumption attitudes of world's peoples (Rahman & Shahid, 2012) and studies indicates that this trend will continue with the increased level of incomes. It is a matter of concern as growth and development in tourism is mutually exclusive especially when unplanned. Hence, it has been widely advocated that tourism development should not be permitted to progress in an ad hoc manner without an overall guiding framework and predetermined strategies toward development objectives (Hall, 2000; Inskeep, 1994). This observation indicates that tourism-planning, fundamentally, should reflect the theme of sustainable development (Cooper, 1995; Sadler, 2004; Simpson, 2001).

Getz (1987) identified four approaches to tourism planning: boosterism, economic, physical/spatial and community orientation. Hall (2000) added the fifth one as sustainable planning being characterised by stakeholders' involvement and recalling strategic tourism planning while adhering to triple bottom line considerations. Henceforth, sustainable planning has been widely prescribed for the tourism sector, which is increasingly seen as a resource dependent industry (Hall, 2000; Murphy, 1998). Moreover, it is observed that the effective management of all resources on which tourism depends are required to secure sustainable tourism development (Hardy & Beeton, 2001; Hunter, 1995; Swarbrooke, 2001). Therefore, sustainable tourism development involves a proactive approach to goal setting and then deploying resources through collaborative decision-making for their effective implementation.

What would be the ideal set of dimensions for sustainable tourism? This question remains contested although most of the research is in agreement about the basic dimensions of sustainable development, which includes socio-cultural, economic and environmental aspects. However, Collins and Kearins (2010) emphasise that sustainability is a dynamic state and process; not just limited to economic, social and environmental conditions, and could include concepts that embrace equity and equality, and can be futuristic. For example, in the work of Choi and Sirakaya (2006), two additional dimensions are evident including political and technological implications. Jabareen (2008) also acknowledges political features in a proposed integrated framework for SD. Similarly, the political feature in sustainable tourism development is emphasised in McCool et al's. (2013) studies. These views are complemented by the observations of Wall (2005, p. 33) who asserts that *"Sustainable development is a political slogan rather than an analytical tool."* To summarise the above discussion, a sustainable development approach must consider economic, socio-cultural, environmental, political and governance aspects. When applied in tourism, an understanding of a destination's political and administrative background, accompanied by a triple bottom line focus, is imperative to setting and prioritising strategies for sustainable outcomes.

Liu (2003) criticises a wide array of sustainable tourism development literature and explores six key issues, which are often unnoticed but must be addressed in research: the role of tourism demand, the nature of tourism resources, the imperative of intra-generational equity, the role of tourism in promoting sociocultural progress, the measurement of sustainability and forms of sustainable development. The current research addresses issues pertaining to tourism resources, intra-generational equity, tourism's role in sociocultural progress and procedures for sustainable development. On this note, Pforr (2001) assesses sustainable tourism development as a social goal and the attainment of such a goal demands cohesive and cooperative efforts from multiple forces or actors within a society. These forces and their various advocates are collectively known by the term

‘stakeholders’. An important criterion for decision-making and strategy-implementation is the requirement for key stakeholders’ engagement into planning and implementation in order to actualise sustainable tourism development. UNEP and UNWTO (2005) reiterate the requirement of informed participation of relevant stakeholders along with a visionary political leadership for operationalising the concept of sustainable tourism development.

Although the literature acknowledges a high degree of commitment by all stakeholder groups for sustainable tourism planning as well as development processes (Hall, 2000), several studies highlight the critical role of ‘community’ engagement and participation (Ellis & Sheridan, 2014; Hardy, Beeton, & Pearson, 2002; Lee, 2013; Li & Hunter, 2015; Okazaki, 2008). This is because tourism’s direct impacts are most readily discernible at the destination level where the community is the most integral part of the tourism experience (Simmons, 1994). Walpole and Goodwin (2000) correspondingly propose the need for communities to be fully integrated into the process of each destination’s resource management to ensure distributional equity from an economic viewpoint. Furthermore, from the marketing point of view such participation encourages and ensures a ‘community tourism product’ – the amalgam of resources that a community wishes to present to the tourism market (Simmons, 1994). Thus, community inputs must be considered as a particular requirement to ensure sustainable outcomes from tourism. Community participation and involvement in tourism planning or, more explicitly, sustainable tourism planning and development can be ensured through a responsible and transparent decision-making structure (Bello, Carr, & Lovelock, 2016). The structure should encourage “authentic host-community participation” rather than “induced participation” (Tosun, 1999, pp. 120-129), which follow top-down approaches and remain a particular challenge for developing countries (Tosun, 2000). To overcome this challenge, a hybrid decision-making framework should be developed that neither conforms entirely to the features of top-down nor bottom-up approaches.

In order to visualise and implement sustainable tourism strategies, an initial focus on raising awareness among the key stakeholders is advocated. This, then, forms the basis of collaborative and continuous planning to create an effective ground for collaboration and interaction (Gunn & Var, 2002; Waligo, Clarke & Hawkins, 2013). A positive note in collaborative planning is that collaboration is believed essential to paving the way for a flexible, integrated and evolving decision-making process (Gray, 1989).

The literature on sustainable tourism provides many challenges including ‘defining’ and ‘operationalising’ the concept (Berno & Bricker, 2001). For the operational aspects, Moscardo and Murphy (2014) find a clear gap between tourism practice and academic debates. To address this gap, they propose a quality of life (QoL) approach to assess tourism sustainability, where different types of capital, such as natural, human, social and financial, influence the QoL. The application of a QoL

framework can contribute to improvements in community wellbeing, which is widely held as a sustainable livelihood outcome. Moscardo and Murphy (2014, p. 2546) claim correspondingly that: “as this particular framework (QoL) is applied to the destination it is focused on Community Wellbeing (CW)”. Broadly, within the tourism and sustainable development nexus, recent investigations have sought to incorporate a more explicit community wellbeing dimension (identified in section 2.4).

The framework proposed in this chapter follows overall observations made from the discussion above. The framework proposes a process-oriented pathway for sustainable tourism development where a wide array of resources (identified as ‘capitals’) are considered to support the livelihood outcomes of destination communities. Under this proposition, sustainable tourism development can be manifest as various forms of tourism, be they mass or alternative, which maintain and enhance all classes of capital through a shared decision-making, implementation and management framework.

2.4 Stakeholders’ Identification and Participation for Sustainable Tourism

The dictionary meaning of the term ‘stakeholder’ indicates someone with an interest or concern in something. ‘Stakeholder’ as a distinct word and concept was familiarized by R. Edward Freeman in his seminal publication ‘Strategic management: A stakeholder approach’ in the 1980s. Freeman (2010, p. 46) broadly defines stakeholders as: *“any group or individual who can affect, or is affected by, the achievement of the organization’s objectives.”* By putting tourism in view, this thesis adopts the definition proposed by Aas, Ladkin and Fletcher (2005, p. 31), who state tourism stakeholders include any individuals or groups involved, interested in, or affected (positively or negatively) by tourism activities.

Several researchers observe that a failure to ensure involvement or take input from all stakeholder groups with legitimate interests in the organization will result in the failure of an organization regardless the organization’s interest in the stakeholders (Clarkson, 1995; Donaldson & Preston, 1995; Jones, 1995; Sautter & Leisen, 1999). This observation signifies the importance of broader stakeholder identification and participation for the success of an endeavour. Such an observation has significant bearing upon the tourism development as ‘system view’, which unfolds tourism as being nested with other systems (Farrell & Twining-Ward, 2004). Added to this phenomenon are the multiple stakeholders within each system, who are affecting, or who may have the potential to affect, one or more systems, and who may be interconnected to other systems irrespective of the boundary be it local, national, or global. The processes of sustainable tourism development; thus, require a high level of commitment by all parties involved, and their commitment plays the pioneering role in integrating the sustainability dimensions in the long run (Hall, 2000).

The relative importance of stakeholders in sustainable tourism development was also discussed in an earlier section. Sustainable tourism necessitates cross-sectional and integrated planning efforts with inputs at the destination level for decision-making to be effective and efficient. This is why stakeholder theory has been considered a useful approach and stakeholder participation as an identified precondition to address the principles of sustainable tourism planning and development (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Caffyn & Jobbins, 2003; Costa, 2001; Hall, 2000; Roberts & Simpson, 2000; Sadler, 2004; Simpson, 2001; von Friedrichs Grängsjö, 2003). The effectiveness of such 'bottom-up' planning is justified through participatory democracy and citizen empowerment in which a broader base of decision makers get the rare chance to add their concerns to tourism planning (Simpson, 2001). This, in turn, creates a sense of belongingness and accountability as well.

'Stakeholder' identification is a core consideration of co-management, which plays a pivotal role in integrating the thoughts about this research. In this regard, Mitchell, Agle and Wood's (1997) classical stakeholder theory (thought-based) proposes three stakeholders' attributes: power, urgency, and legitimacy. For firms, they propose that classes of stakeholders can be identified by their possession of these attributes: the stakeholder's *power* to influence (the firm), the *legitimacy* of the stakeholders' relationship (to the firm), and the *urgency* of the stakeholder's claim (on the firm). Power alone is insufficient, while legitimacy is necessary to enable authority, and urgency is required for implementation; thus, stakeholders must recognise their power and be willing to use it. The intensity of these attributes eventually identifies seven different types of stakeholder, as shown in Figure 2.1, and the absence of any attributes becomes treated with the 'non-stakeholder' label.

Stakeholders who possess only one attribute are known as latent stakeholders (1, 2, and 3) and gain less attention; those who possess two attributes are expectant stakeholders (4, 5, and 6), whereas the presence of all the three attributes come from definitive stakeholders (7). Mitchell et al. (1997) applied Etzioni (1964) organisational bases of power to their stakeholder attribute of power, which resembles stakeholder using power as a way of gaining of restraint capability (coercive), material or financial resources (utilitarian), or any symbolic resources (normative).

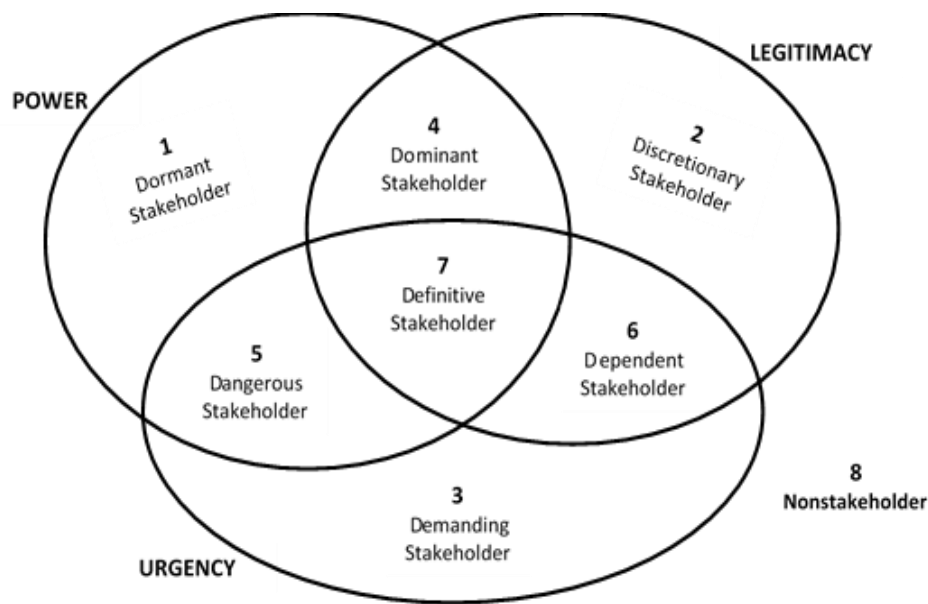


Figure 2.1 Stakeholders' typology (Source: Mitchell et al., 1997, p. 874)

In the above figure (Figure 2.1), legitimacy indicates desirable social good with shared perceptions among the entities. According to Suchman (1995, p. 573), the character of legitimacy is multifaceted, and "will operate differently in different contexts." The bases used in this context were individual, organisational and societal. Mitchell et al. (1997) defined stakeholder urgency as the degree to which their claim calls for immediate attention. The bases used in this case were time sensitivity to respond to the claim and criticality emphasising the importance of the claim or the relationship to the stakeholder. Added to the attributes already identified, Driscoll and Starik (2004) identified a fourth dimension as 'proximity' indicating the importance of spatial distance on 'stakeholderiness', which is much closely aligned with the 'urgency' aspect.

The current research follows the three aspects to the stakeholder theory of Donaldson and Preston (1995): the descriptive/empirical, the instrumental, and the normative. The descriptive/empirical aspect will help to describe the multiple elements of tourism in a community. This aspect, typically, embraces the history of tourism development in a community, the procedures and policies that relate to the development and management of tourism in an area, types of attractions in a community, the overall economic impact, the size of the tourism industry in a community and the connections between the different agencies and organisations that are involved in tourism (Byrd, 2007). The 'instrumental aspect' will identify the connections, or lack of connections, between stakeholder management and the achievement of the organization or development's objectives and goals. Finally, the 'normative aspect' will ensure the involvement of the stakeholders' from all levels to effectively reach the goal. Donaldson and Preston (1995, p. 74) view the three aspects of the stakeholder theory as being "nested within each other".

Two distinct areas of thinking have emerged in the tourism literature relating to stakeholder theory. The first idea is closely related to the classical thought of stakeholder management centred on the stakeholders' power and influence towards developing policies and practices, which indicates that the stakeholders with more power will receive more attention than those with less (De Lopez, 2001; Hunt & Haider, 2001). The second idea of stakeholder theory focuses on the concept of collaborative features (Jamal & Getz, 1995; Yuksel, Bramwell, & Yuksel, 1999). Under this normative approach, consideration should be given to each stakeholder equally without prioritising a particular group (Sautter & Leisen, 1999). Thereby, stakeholders assume responsibility for the development of tourism within their community and the goal of collaboration reflects balancing the power among all stakeholder groups (Tosun, 2000). The strength of such collaborative planning is underscored in Yuksel et al's. (1999, p. 351) research, who highlight the cost effectiveness of collaborative planning with long-term focus and claim that "it is more politically legitimate, and it can build on the store of knowledge and capacities of the stakeholders".

At this point, the rest of this discussion is based on the two specific questions, as identified by Byrd (2007); about who should be considered stakeholders in tourism development, and how should planners and developers involve the stakeholders identified in the development of tourism policies and plans?

With reference to sustainable tourism development, Swarbrooke (2001) divides stakeholders into five main categories: governments, tourists, host communities, tourism business, and other sectors. Contemporary research by Simpson (2001) identifies three groups of stakeholders for consultation: governmental, visitation, and community. Broadly, tourism stakeholders may include the government (international, national, regional and local), government departments with links to tourism resources or capital, tourism organisations, tourism developers and entrepreneurs, tourism industry operators, non-tourism business practitioners, and the community (including local community groups, indigenous peoples' groups and local residents) (Burns, 2004; Ellis & Sheridan, 2014; Hardy & Beeton, 2001; Waligo et al., 2013). In essence, the effective and efficient participation of these stakeholders lays down a framework within which sustainable livelihood outcomes can be delivered through tourism development (Robson & Robson, 1996).

In response to the second question (how should stakeholders be involved), Jamal and Stronza (2009) propose that the stakeholder theory of collaboration should desegregate the relationship between public/private sector organizations, the natural area destination (the biophysical world within the protected area) and those who inhabit it, as well as others who have a 'stake' in it. In emphasizing the importance of cooperative alliances between public and private sector stakeholders, Cooper, Fletcher, Gilbert, and Wanhill (1993, p. 130) state:

... the development of tourism will not be optimal if it is left in the hands of private sector entrepreneurs, for they are motivated by profit and loss. However, if tourism development is dominated by the public sector then it is unlikely to be developed at the optimal rate from the economic point of view. Therefore, it is imperative that private and public sector involvement in tourism planning is balanced to ensure a sustainable balance is achieved.

Working towards the successful involvement of stakeholders compels the presence of the following five elements: fairness, efficiency, knowledge, wisdom, and stability (Nicodemus, 2004; Susskind & Cruikshank, 1987). Gray, 1989 urges a sufficient (but not necessarily equal) distribution of power is necessary to ensure that all stakeholders can influence direction setting. The observation of Jamal and Stronza (2009, p. 173) perhaps answers both the questions succinctly:

Who to involve depends in part on the perceived legitimacy of the person, topic and knowledge being presented. Recognition of the importance of a problem, perception of interdependence and belief that significant benefit may be achieved through collaboration may be enough for partners to come together in the early (convening) phase or moment. Joint discussion commences formally or informally, depending on the structure and form of the collaboration.

In consideration of the views expressed by Aas et al. (2005), this research broadly covers three categories of stakeholders: public, private, and people. Both the public and private categories cover institutional personnel representing different levels of government (e.g., local, regional, central) and representatives from other relevant organisations (e.g., tourism companies, non-government organisations). The 'people' category in principle includes residents from indigenous groups, and migrated Bengalis. Further details of the categories are presented in the following chapter (see Table 3.1). A new approach to involve these different stakeholder groups to optimise tourism resource decisions and their implementation towards sustainable livelihood outcomes is sought from this study as a 'co-management approach', which is prevalent in natural resources management areas, such as fisheries, forestry and the like.

2.5 Capitals and a Sustainable Livelihood Approach for Tourism

Community resources contributing to sustainable livelihoods (SL) have been identified by numerous terms in the literature and include livelihood assets (Ashley, 2000; DFID, 1999), community capitals (Flora, Flora & Fey, 2004; Moscardo, Konovalov, Murphy & McGehee, 2013) and rural capitals (Bosworth & Turner, 2018; Castle, 1998). Accordingly, this research uses the 'capitals' lens within a sustainable livelihood context for tourism development.

The term 'capital' was first used by Adam Smith in relation to production processes. This idea of capital echoed through the classical and neo-classical era with an emphasis on its role in assisting labour.

Economists are generally in agreement on the definition of capital. Capital is commonly referred to as an 'input' factor of production. These factors are subject to wear and tear, depreciation and accumulation (Durlauf & Blume, 2008) and are expressed as physical capital, including machinery/equipment, buildings, etc. Arrow (2000, p. 4) extends the textbook definition of capital and identifies three characteristics: extensions in time, deliberate sacrifices in the present for future benefit, and alienability (its ability to be sold or transferred). Although physical capital adheres to all three, Arrow points out that the 'alienability' feature is not a perfect match for 'human capital'. However, this observation can be defended by elaborating upon the process of skills transfer through training or socialisation within institutions. This thesis does not consider that debate. Rather, the 'capital' concept used here shall be more generalised and stand on the first two features, as identified by Arrow. Moreover, this research presumes that the term 'asset' or 'resource' does not necessarily attach to any objects rather it is "a value placed upon it in view of the function it may perform" (Liu, 2003, p. 464). Thus, capital is defined as any asset, or group of assets, with the ability to render a stream of present or future benefits. Such a frame implicitly adheres to the capital definition laid out by Flora, Flora and Gasteyer (2015, p. 15) as the reproductive capabilities of community resources when invested to create new resources.

The concept of capital was instated in the early definition of sustainable development, as described in the Brundtland Report (Boggia & Cortina, 2010) and is used within the sustainable livelihoods context (Ashley, 2000; DFID, 1999; Mikulcak, Haider, Abson, Newig & Fischer, 2015; Shen et al., 2008; Stone & Nyaupane, 2018). In recent decades, researchers have added different capitals to the earlier definitions and defined sustainable development as the balanced growth of capitals at a targeted level of analysis (Hermans, Haarmann, & Dagevos, 2011). Table 2.1 summarises the different forms of capital from the extant literature in parallel with their use and analytical focus.

In addition to the lists in Table 2.1, Camagni and Capello (2013) propose a group of nine capitals based on the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD, 2001a) classification of 'territorial capital' to measure regional competitiveness, which is identified in association with two major dimensions: rivalry and materiality.

Table 2.1 Summary of different forms of capital (Source: Adapted from Bosworth and Turner, 2018, p. 3)

Literature sources	Castle (1998)	DFID (1999)	Flora et al. (2004); Flora et al. (2015)	Svendsen and Sørensen (2007)	Shen et al. (2008)	Analytical focus for capitals [Defining elements]
Terminology used	Rural Capital	Livelihood Assets	Community Capitals	Tangible and Intangible Capitals	Tourism Livelihood Assets	
Perspectives	Rural Development	Sustainable Livelihoods	Rural and/or Community Development	Sustainable Local Development	Sustainable Livelihoods for Tourism	
Forms of Capital (compatibility)	Natural	Natural	Natural	Natural	Natural	Environment, Landscape etc.
	Man-created	Physical	Built	Physical		Infrastructures, Superstructures etc.
	Human	Human	Human	Human	Human	People, Skills etc.
	Social (expressly includes Cultural)	Social	Social	Social	Social	Networks, Trust and Reciprocity, etc.
		Financial	Financial	Economic	Economic	Income, Investment and Market Size, etc.
			Cultural	Cultural		Values, Rituals, Heritage, Stories etc.
			Political	Organisational	Institutional	Governance, Power Structure etc.

From the Table 2.1, it is apparent that different researchers use different combinations of capitals and analytical units to represent each class of capital. In most cases, the capitals are used to evaluate rural development or community development. However, the broader view of capitals for sustainability also becomes attractive to contemporary tourism researchers. Recent tourism studies have witnessed different forms of capital being aligned with sustainable tourism development and, in a small number of cases, extensions of the focus to sustainable livelihood outcomes, such as community wellbeing (Andereck & Nyaupane, 2010; Bennett, Lemelin, Koster & Budke, 2012; Macbeth, Carson & Northcote, 2004; Moscardo, 2014; Moscardo et al., 2013).

Macbeth et al. (2004, p. 503) find complexities within the multiple capital concepts, yet state that, “the linking of these terms opens up fruitful new ways for thinking about sociality as a strategic resource for sustainable tourism development.” Lehtonen (2004, p. 200) uses the term ‘capitals approach to sustainability’ where the researcher defines sustainability as “the maintenance or increase of the total stock of different types of capital.” Likewise, Moscardo and Murphy (2014, p. 2541) comment that, “sustainability is about increasing all forms of capital” and stand in favour of “the use of QoL (Quality of Life) as way to assess the sustainability of tourism.” On a similar note, Stone and Nyaupane (2018) employ stocks of community capitals to measure community livelihoods, in which an increase in the stock indicates improvements in livelihoods and vice versa. It has been reported that the initiation of tourism projects positively contributes to the enhancement of overall capitals stock.

The above observations reveal a functional link between SL outcomes (increased QoL) and sustainable development of tourism, thereby emphasising the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA), which is closely associated with the rural development literature. Livelihood indicates a means of living comprising capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities, while SL comes with a package of capabilities, equity and sustainability (Chambers & Conway, 1992, pp. 5-6). In defining SL, Chambers and Conway (1992) highlight ‘capabilities’, since they can increase the ability to withstand vulnerability and build resilience successively for sustainable outcomes. Similar to sustainable tourism development, SL is also context-dependent where the culture and tradition of a particular context influences livelihood strategies as well as outcomes (Cahn, 2002). Different international agencies developed their own SL frameworks (SLF); however, this research follows the United Kingdom Department for International Development, DFID’s (1999, p. 11) and SLF.

The DFID (1999) proposed one of the most comprehensive SLFs consisting of five elements: assets, transforming structures and processes, vulnerability context, strategies, and outcomes. DFID identifies a set of five capitals (see earlier note) as livelihood assets assuming these are the bases for sustainable livelihood outcomes. The transforming structure provides an explicit framework to involve stakeholders in the process, which offers mostly implicit arrangements (e.g., laws, policies, culture) to guide strategies or activities. Vulnerability remains a core consideration

for sustainable outcomes as it influences livelihood assets and the choice of livelihoods. DFID includes shocks, trends and seasonality to interpret vulnerability contexts. Strategies are defined as an accumulation of activities applied for livelihood means. In this respect, Scoones (1998) identifies three core livelihood strategies, including agricultural intensification/extensification, livelihood diversification and migration. Correspondingly, Tao and Wall (2009) position tourism within a livelihood diversification strategy where tourism is expected to complement, rather compete with, other available sources of livelihoods. Finally, outcomes are expressed as indicators to evaluate livelihood sustainability and include income, wellbeing, reduced vulnerability, and sustainable use of natural resource bases.

Ashley (2000) and Scoones (1998) discuss the critical importance of activities and strategies in shaping resources to ensure equitable access and the resulting impacts on sustainable livelihood outcomes. In the same way, Ellis (2000) emphasises that accessibility to assets and activities is important for SLA and is largely mediated by institutions (mostly formal) and social relations (mostly informal). Hence, the transforming structure and processes are vital in relation to resource decisions about strategies and the formulation of activities, which are set within a rigid formal institutional environment, especially in the case of developing countries (Tosun, 2000). This, again, challenges the principle in-built in sustainability or in particular sustainable (tourism) planning that requires broader stakeholder participation in resource decisions and their subsequent implementation (Hall, 2000; Mathur, Price & Austin, 2008). While SLA has been adopted into the tourism development literature to form the SLF for Tourism (SLFT) (Çakir et al., 2018; Shen et al., 2008), the framework largely fails to accommodate the transforming structure and processes as a mediator. Adopting a mediated or process-oriented view is necessary to ensure multi-level stakeholder viewpoints in the decision-making phenomenon and its resultant implementation. This research addresses this gap by placing the 'co-management' approach (discussed in the next section) into context.

In this research, the application of the systematic phase analysis (SPA) approach (see Figure 2.6) has identified five interrelated capitals from a more general list of capitals (as shown in Table 2.1). The capitals under consideration are: natural, human, social (informal institutions), built, and financial. These capitals are collectively termed in this research as 'tourism capitals' and defined as resources necessary for tourism development at a destination, which commonly exist as community resources. Tourism capitals are believed to form the (alternative) livelihood bases for community members and are discussed briefly below.

2.5.1 Natural Capital

Natural capital is relatively static in nature and does not require usually any human intervention to be produced. Scoones (1998, p. 7) proposes a process view of natural capital as "the natural resource stocks (soil, water, air, genetic resources etc.) and environmental services (hydrological cycle, pollution sinks etc.) from which resource flows and

services useful for livelihoods are derived.” Moscardo and Murphy (2014) offer a more generalised interpretation focusing on the amenities and resources available in the natural environment, including protected areas. Perhaps a more precise element-based definition is proposed by McGehee, Lee, O'Bannon, and Perdue (2010, p. 487) who state: *“Natural capital includes diversity of plant and animal life, opportunities for interaction with nature, and high quality of air and water.”*

This is understandable from an analysis of the definition that natural capital encompasses natural components like landscape, land, sea, air, and the like. Natural resource stocks can be classified in numerous ways; such as by Healey and Ilbery (1990) who classify natural resource stocks into four categories based on availability, which are very useful from marketing and policy decision perspectives: ubiquities (presence everywhere), commonalities (common across many areas), rarities (found in few locations), and uniquities (presence at a single location). The utility based classification of Liu (2003) in connection with tourism; however, better serves the purposes of this research by focussing on a planning and destination development perspectives. From a utilitarian view, Liu proposes three classes of natural resources: touristic resources, which are exclusively for tourism, such as sandy beaches; shared tourist resources, which are shared by tourists and a number of other industries, such as agricultural activities in the way of mountain tracking; and common resources, which are shared by the most industries in everyday life, such as water, land, etc. The latter category of natural resources is represented by the ‘common-pool resources’ of Ostrom, Gardner, and Walker (1994, p. 7). The ‘excludability’ of common-pool resources is difficult to mediate and allocate especially as rationing brings into focus, which challenges people from using these resources. Simultaneously, ‘subtractability’ of those common-pool resources is high, whereby one person’s use reduces the chance for another person’s use. The implication of natural capital to decision- or policy-makers is that the resources are irreplaceable; thus, a resilient approach should be highlighted to ensure sustainability (Dietz & Neumayer, 2007).

The present study adopts the viewpoints of Bennett et al. (2012) and Turner et al. (2016) who hold a destination-focused definition of natural capital. Hence, the term is defined as the available natural resource stocks (touristic, shared, and common) that usually do not require human intervention to be produced along with the level of protection that requires human intervention. These lay the foundation for tourism products at destinations. In most of the cases, this capital also acts as the fundamental source of community livelihoods.

2.5.2 Human Capital

Human capital includes individuals and their personal attributes within a defined community. In general, human capital reflects the productive investments embodied in a person in the form of skills, abilities, knowledge and health, and often results from expenditure on education, on-the-job training and medical care (Stone & Nyaupane, 2017; Turner et al., 2016). Similarly, Moscardo, Schurmann, Konovalov, and McGehee (2013, p. 222) find human capital as:

“the skills, assets, knowledge, capabilities, connections and experiences of community members.” These views of human capital are complemented by the “full world” model of Costanza (2008, p. 32) who suggested that the concept should include “the health, knowledge, and other attributes of individuals that allow them to function in a complex society.”

With specific applications to tourism development, Bennett et al. (2012, p. 8) define human capital as “the skills and education, knowledge and awareness, physical ability and health, and individual attributes that support the development of tourism.” Acknowledging the range of properties identified in the above definitions, the framework in this research identifies the need to address knowledge and information as well as skills embodied in local peoples.

2.5.3 Social Capital (Informal Institutions)

After a comprehensive qualitative analysis of 47 rural tourism development case studies, Moscardo (2014) concludes that the impact of human and social capital is more salient for tourism development and community wellbeing than other forms of capital. Their review also highlights the importance of governance structures for securing benefits from long-term tourism development initiatives. These findings correspond with the propositions of (Stiglitz, 2000), where the researcher identified three elements: a relationship exists between social capital and development; social capital can be enhanced; a dominant public sector role should be undertaken to enhance social capital within a society. Stiglitz (2000, p. 67) observes that it is not just social capital but “the organizational perspective in particular (that) provides a useful frame.” North (1990, 1991) explains how institutions evolve from historical perspectives based on formal (laws, property rights, etc.) as well as informal (taboos, customs, traditions, codes of conduct, etc.) constraints. Following these formal and informal constraints of North, Platje (2008) devises institutions as either formal or informal. The formal institutions’ properties can be formally recorded and enforced in court while informal institutions hinge on a legal framework what people hold in their brain; thus, it is not possible to write down or enforce in writings. More necessarily, Platje (2008, p. 146) asserts: “*Informal institutions play a crucial role in the efficiency of formal institutions.*” Correspondingly, the informal aspects of institutions are identified as ‘social capital’ while the formal aspects are enclosed in ‘formal institutional arrangements’ (Aron, 2000; Chopra, 2002; David, 1994; Lehtonen, 2004; North, 1990, 1991; Platje, 2008) in this research. In addition, following the classification of Castle (1998) social capital expressly includes ‘cultural capital’ in concern whereas political aspects are partly covered by formal institutions (see Table 2.1).

The pioneer thinkers in social capital theory are Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988) and Putnam (1993), who elaborated the concept through various disciplinary perspectives. Social capital has a core focus on social structures relating to the networks, norms, values, trusts and associations within communities. Putnam (2000, p. 19) defines social capital, as follows:

Whereas physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to the properties of individuals, social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them.

Apart from academia, in a practitioner's point of view, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2001b, p. 41) adopts Putnam's definition of social capital as "networks together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate cooperation within or among groups."

In order to have a complete picture of social capital, three basic dimensions should be addressed (Grootaert & Van Bastelaer, 2001, 2002) viz. its scope, forms, and channels. Scope focuses on the unit of observation which, at times, can be focussed on various layers of observation, including the micro, meso and macro. Analysis of the forms of social capitals includes structural and cognitive aspects, where the structural element is an externally observable and objective construct; while cognitive features are more subjective and intangible. These features are often referred to as the values, norms and beliefs that enable cooperative activity. Two types of descriptors for structural aspects are identified by Putnam (2000, pp. 22-24) as "bonding" and "bridging." Bonding social capital refers to the productive benefits associated with the relationships within a single group or structure such as relations among members of a particular ethnic group. Bridging social capital originates from examining the relationships between people who are different in terms of socio-economic status, generation or ethnicity. Bridging capital is evident in those individuals who by dint of their own inherent or acquired social capital, or from the institutional roles they hold, can, and do reach out across previously disparate groups for a broader societal goal. Woolcock (2000) identifies a third dimension of 'linking social capital' that maps the relationships people have with those in power. Within a sustainable development setting, this final dimension of social capital indicates the channels through which development is affected and links with elements like information sharing, collective action and decision-making to bring about mutual benefits.

Woolcock and Narayan (2000) categorise four approaches to social capital: communitarian, network, institutional, and synergy. The communitarian approach links social capital with local organisations such as clubs, associations and civic groups. The network approach connects social capital with relationships between individuals. The institutional approaches assess social capital as per an institutionally-generated phenomenon; often where, the dominant role is played by a state or public institution. Finally, the synergy view reflects the combination of the network and institutional perspectives, emphasising a balanced role to be played by the community and also the state. In studying social capital, this research is, currently, framed by the synergetic perspective.

Citing the work of Halpern (2005), Castiglione, Van Deth and Wolleb (2008, p. 693) ascertain some key issues that need to be addressed before researching social capital; namely, what component of social capital is targeted? at what

level? and of what type? In view of the level of focus under the proposed destination framework, the researcher is considering social networks, trust and values and cooperative norms at the meso or community level. It is to be noted that social capital inherently covers cultural capital in this research which, in turn, includes values and symbols shared by community members, such as ways of knowing, ways of being, food, and language (Flora et al., 2004; Moscardo, 2014). At a community level, bonding, bridging, and linking social capitals are targeted for analysis.

The chosen components play a key role in realising the strength of social capital within the destination communities for the sustainable development of tourism. This is partly due to the fact that relations and networks among the stakeholders involved in tourism development is a growing issue both for tourism researchers and tourism policy makers (March & Wilkinson, 2009). After an evaluation on the five recent destination strategic plans, Soulard et al. (2018) found the success and sustainability of such plans were largely determined by the strength of bonding and bridging social capital since they help to secure stronger stakeholder supports. In tourism, stakeholder groups are interconnected through, networks which enable them to be an active part of the total system. In stressing the importance of networks, Putnam (2000, p. 19) asserts “... *a society of many virtuous but isolated individuals is not necessarily rich in social capital.*” Moreover, trust and shared norms are constitutive properties that can be influenced by interconnectedness or closeness to the networks (Castiglione et al., 2008).

In a few cases, tourism researchers isolate ‘political capital’ in association with the linking social capital and access to public (government) or formal organisations (Macbeth et al., 2004; Moscardo et al., 2013). Here, the emphasis is on the exercise of power, which is believed to be held mostly by public institutions. Such institutions (formal) act decisively as transformation agents by concentrating on the deployment of the other forms of capital into tourism development. The effective and efficient functioning of those institutions, especially in the developing countries, is biased by the political and economic activities, which are rarely productive and often involve corrupt practices (North, 1990). Aron (2000) claims that this phenomenon has effects at both the individual and organisational levels; organisations can be categorised as: political organisations (e.g., municipals, sub-district offices, political parties, tribal councils), economic organisations (e.g., tour operators, hotels, cooperatives), educational bodies (e.g., schools, universities, vocational training centres), and social organisations (e.g., churches, mosques, clubs, civic associations).

2.5.4 Built Capital

Different scholars define built capital in different ways but two issues are noteworthy in every attempt: this is the human-made capital, and all the definitions are based on properties or elements human characteristics. Unlike natural capital, built capital requires human intervention in the production processes. Moscardo et al. (2013) describe built capital as physical facilities and infrastructure available for community use. This originates from the classic definition of capital or physical capital used to assist labour in the production process. Turner et al. (2016) recognise

manufactured goods, such as tools, equipment, roads and buildings as built capital, and a means to achieve sustainable human wellbeing.

Thus, built capital is defined as the human-made environment that allows for, and facilitates, different tourism-related activities, in particular, and community activities, in general. Under current research, this category would include infrastructure (for general purposes), superstructure (for tourism purposes), tools and equipment that enable information, communication, and knowledge enhancement.

2.5.5 Financial Capital

Moscardo and Murphy (2014, p. 2542) define financial capital as *“Income, savings, and access to funding for investment.”* Correspondingly, this thesis holds financial capital as the accessibility to funds accompanied by the monetary assets and resources available for investment (in/at the destination). Although the current study splits financial and built capital into separate categories, some researchers present these capitals under a single ‘economic capital’ category (Scoones, 1998; Shen et al., 2008). The interactive nature of these capitals in this research assumes that a higher level of financial capital will contribute towards a better stock of built capital which, in turn, will add value to the current level of financial capital.

From this analysis, it is argued that the capitals discussed reflect the critical resource realities at a destination being developed. This is other way of saying that every tourism destination is made up of the allocation and interaction of these capitals. What now remains to be considered is appropriate tourism resources’ (capital) deployment and integration mechanisms that can support the development of sustainable tourism destinations that also attends to sustainable livelihood outcomes. Subsequently, this research now focuses on the necessity to adopt a ‘mediator’ or a process orientation that ensures multi-level stakeholder viewpoints are embedded in the decision-making, implementation, and/or management processes.

2.6 Co-management for Resource Management in Tourism

This research positions co-management as to involve different stakeholder groups in tourism capital decisions toward sustainable livelihood outcomes through tourism development. The co-management approach, which is prevalent in natural resources management, such as fisheries, forestry and the like, offers promise in situations where multiple stakeholder perspectives are required to be considered and accommodated.

2.6.1 Co-management: Concept Defined

As a concept, co-management involves alternative and integrative institutional arrangements in which the government and different resource user groups work together on shared authority or, at least, a shared decision-making basis (Rusnak, 1997). The concept of co-management is inherently interwoven with the essence of collaboration, partnership, joint management and community participation and is addressed by various terms. For example, Bowcutt (1999, p. 359) states that “crafting partnerships between institutions and local communities (as resource user groups) is known by many names: co-management, community-based management, community forestry, social forestry, and watershed management.” In some cases, ‘collaborative management’ is synonymously used for ‘co-management’. However, Berkes (2010, p. 492) differentiates these terms as the former is built upon an informal relationship while the latter involves a formal relationship of power sharing.

By design, this concept ensures the engagement of multi-level stakeholders that include: central government, regional and local governments, private sector businesses, communities and civil societies (The World Bank, 1999). Borrini-Feyerabend, Farvar, Nguingiri, and Ndangang (2000) find co-management as a situation in which two or more social actors negotiate, define and guarantee among themselves an equitable sharing of the management functions, entitlements and responsibilities for a given territory or set of natural resources. Correspondingly, Berkes (2009, p. 1693) defines co-management as “a range of arrangements, with different degrees of power sharing, for joint decision-making by the state and communities (or user groups) about a set of resources or an area.” Coombes and Hill (2005, p. 136), equally, refer to co-management as “institutional structures for dialog and power sharing among resource users and managers.”

McCay and Acheson (1987) identify co-management as fundamentally associated with resource decision issues and use the term to signify local political claims to the right to share resource management power and responsibility with the state. In this connection, the link to political ecology and tourism is evident (Nepal, & Saarinen, 2016), where the authors report an uneven distribution of power among stakeholders restricts the success of community-oriented tourism. Sharing authority and decision-making among key stakeholders facilitates effective and efficient management of resources (identified as capitals) while increasing the current stock of capital (Castro & Nielsen, 2001). For example, a shared platform increases the sense of responsibility and mitigates resource conflicts, thereby contributing to social capital (Conley & Moote, 2003). Moreover, co-management fosters collaboration or synergies among key stakeholders and thereby mitigates planning problems in community tourism (Jamal & Getz, 1995).

2.6.2 Typologies and Features of Co-management

Several authors have conceptualised and discussed different structures to categorise co-management arrangements depending on the level of cooperation or power and authority sharing across stakeholder groups. It has been

observed that the stakeholder groups are broadly classified into two groups: government (agencies) and communities. Although there is no ideal typology or scale referred to in the literature to define and operationalise co-management, the researcher discusses a few that align with the current research objectives and have convincing arguments.

Berkes, George and Preston (1991) propose one of the earliest typologies in co-management. In principle, the authors modify Arnstein's (1969) ladder for citizen participation to identify seven different levels of co-management based on the degree of community involvement. The levels of co-management are shown in Figure 2.2 and discussed briefly.

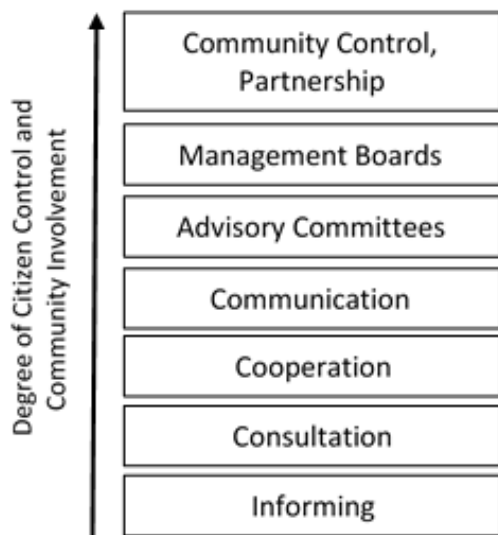


Figure 2.2 Co-management continuum (Source: Adapted from Berkes et al., 1991, p. 36)

Arnstein's ladder is a widely used tool by planners and policy-makers especially when they focus on public and/or community participation for participatory management. Arnstein (1969, p. 217) identified eight different steps (manipulation, therapy, informing, consultation, placation, partnership, delegated power, and citizen control) being divided into three different degrees of participation (non-participation, degree of tokenism and citizen power). Berkes et al. (1991) modify these steps to fit within a seven-layer co-management spectrum. The figure above (Figure 2.2), indicates a lower level of co-management as represented by Arnstein's contrived participation concepts of manipulation and therapy, which is marked by Arnstein as 'non-participation'. At this stage, users are informed mostly through one-way communication. This one-way communication persists throughout the consultation and cooperation stages. Two-way communication starts at the 'communication' stage when government agencies consider local concerns within research agendas and explicitly use local knowledge. However, government agencies still possess all powers of decision-making, which is shared on an effective partnership basis at this higher stage of 'advisory committee'. At this stage, a board representing community members and government officials searches for common objectives to be gained through negotiation and mediation. Management boards involve a one-step

advance in community participation rather than advisory committee where “the community is not only searching for common objectives but also acting on them” (Berkes et al., 1991, p. 8). Thus, the community is literally involved in policy-making and decision-making. The top most stage of co-management denoting ‘community control, partnership’ holds two different opportunities for community control and partnership. At this level, collaborative decision-making is institutionalised and a partnership is formed on an equal basis. Moreover, delegation of authority to the community empowers the community to make resource decisions where resources are manageable at a local level.

Keeping the essence of the typologies mentioned above, Pomeroy and Berkes (1997) illustrate a hierarchy of co-management arrangements, which is also informed by Arnstein’s ladder of citizen participation.

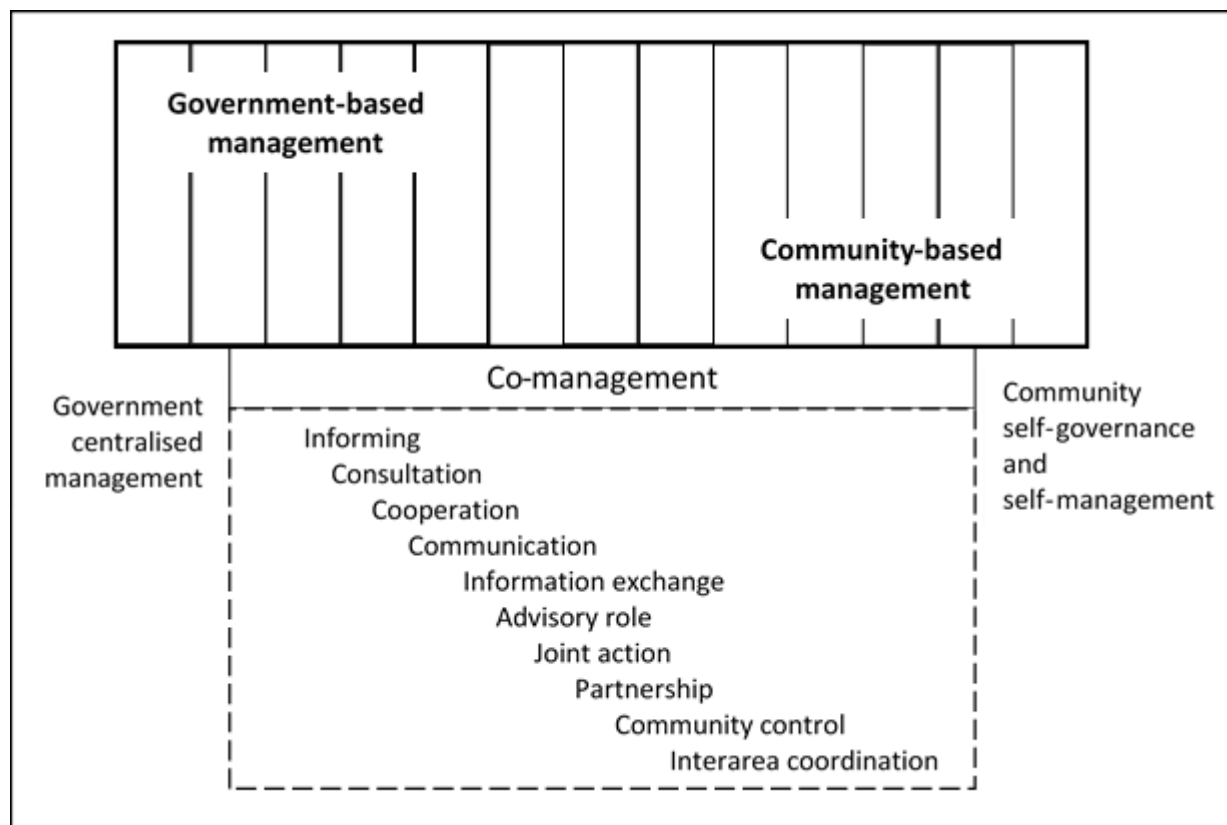


Figure 2.3 Co-management continuum (Source: Pomeroy and Berkes, 1997, p. 466)

Although the diagram in Figure 2.3 is self-explanatory, the authors do not describe the different categories explicitly. According to Pomeroy and Berkes (1997), co-management ideally fits in between government-based and community-based management spectrums. Every shift towards community self-governance and self-management signifies more delegation of authority from the government and this involves the community actively in resource decision-making as well as the implementation processes.

Carlsson and Berkes (2005) identify co-management as connected with governance systems that combine 'state' and 'communities' which, in turn, advance decentralised decision-making with a greater sense of accountability. To elucidate the concept of co-management from institutional systems, these authors indicate four possible typologies (Figure 2.4). For simplification, they denote the government (state) by the symbol 'S' and the other stakeholders (communities) as 'C'.

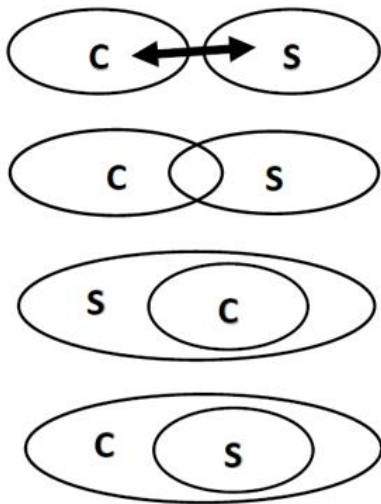


Figure 2.4 Typologies of co-management (Source: Carlsson and Berkes, 2005, p. 68)

The first typology in Figure 2.4, presents co-management as an exchange system whereby the state and community spheres frequently exchange information, goods and services. The second typology indicates an interception of state and community to jointly form cooperative units and participate in joint decision-making. The other two typologies, called 'nested' systems, reflect ownership criteria in which co-management results in either a state-nested system or a community-nested system. In the former, the state might be the de facto holder of all the legal rights in a certain area or a particular resource system. In the latter, community resource users might exercise all legal rights associated with an area or resource system.

In principle, the second structure presented, above, by Carlsson and Berkes informs the emergent framework of this paper. This framework is targeted towards democratic developing countries where critical tourism resources and community resources are fully owned by neither the state nor the communities. To some extent, this situation reflects the inappropriateness of the nested systems. Conversely, the exchange system (depicted in the first model) lacks the potential for optimum use of a shared decision-making platform. This is acknowledged by Carlsson and Berkes who agree that the exchange system represents the lower steps of (Arnstein, 1969) ladder of citizen participation. Thus, only the second structure, depicting an interception where each party retains authority and relative autonomy

remains viable for the current research context. Moreover, this joint form of cooperative structure can accommodate all the typologies identified in the previous two co-management arrangements as discussed above.

Beyond these issues, the typology identified embodies different features of the co-management processes. Plummer and Fitzgibbon (2004a) identify five key aspects of co-management approaches: pluralism, communication/negotiation, transactive decision-making, social learning and shared action/commitment. At the outcomes level, the authors propose three specific outcomes resulting from the application of co-management tactics, including efficiency of decision-making, increased capacity and legitimisation of actions. Pennington-Gray, Schroeder and Gale (2014) have tested Plummer and Fitzgibbon's (2004a) co-management framework in connection with the management of tourism destinations. They found five key dimensions of co-management and linked those with Plummer and Fitzgibbon (2004a). Pennington-Gray et al. (2014) associated the outcomes of linkages specifically relating to the efficiency of decision-making, while resources, technology, skills, and knowledge all relate to increased capacity. Lastly, the authority of the co-management organisation supports the legitimisation of actions.

From an operational point of view, Pinkerton (1989) indicates a well-functioning co-management system should possess seven basic qualities: (1) data gathering; (2) logistical decisions; (3) allocation decisions; (4) protection of resource from environmental damage; (5) enforcement of regulations; (6) enhancement of long-term planning; and (7) more inclusive decision-making. Furthermore, Goetze (2004) observes that the design of a co-management system is dependent on particular resources or ecosystems (context-dependency) and the requirements specified by the local stakeholders. Thus, the co-management system lacks uniformity and varies widely from a practical standpoint. However, Goetze (2004) finds five basic elements, in requirement for an effective co-management system: reasons for initiating, legal bases, objectives, management focus and provisions for co-management.

2.6.3 Putting Co-management into Current Research Context

Co-management brings a change in the traditional top-down structure to resources governance and involves key stakeholders in the resource decision-making and implementation processes. Theoretically, the concept responds to the community's desire for involvement in decision-making and fosters cooperation among the involved parties, which increases the interest of tourism researchers with particular reference to community-based, nature-based and sustainable tourism. For example, Plummer, Kulczycki, and Stacey (2006, p. 500) state that: "Cooperation among individuals, organisations, and agencies with an interest in the tourism resources, and the benefits associated with them, has been attracting increasing attention as an innovative development strategy." As a variant of co-management, the concept of 'adaptive co-management' has been reported widely in the environmental governance literature (Fennell, Plummer & Marschke, 2008; Laplaza, Tanaya & Suwardji, 2017). The concept is however applied variously in tourism with a strong focus on protected areas management aligning sustainable tourism (Plummer &

Fennell, 2009) although more recent coverage to include tourism destination governance (Islam, Ruhanen & Ritchie, 2018) is noted. The principles and features identified for ‘adaptive co-management’ overlap those being discussed above under the general umbrella of ‘co-management’. In many respects, the concept of ‘adaptive’ management parallels the notion of an ‘iterative’ process in tourism planning (Getz, 1983; 1986). An iterative process based on social learning and resilience building is assumed within co-management frameworks and processes. In view of these observations, the researcher refers more generally to ‘co-management’ throughout this research.

In particular, the resource dependency and stakeholder interdependence in tourism make it much more receptive to a co-management approach. Plummer and FitzGibbon (2004b) observe that co-management is usually accompanied with a common pool of resources comprising human, economic, cultural and natural resources. The success and strength of the concept, along with a logical approach in solving conflicts, arises from the commonality of resources at the local/destination level. In addition, Jamal and Stronza (2009) realise co-management’s specific appeal to mitigate the negative impacts on indigenous and local inhabitants while focussing on tourism planning and protected areas management. The rationale for choosing co-management as a mediating tool is illustrated in Figure 2.5 through the identification of a series of motivators.

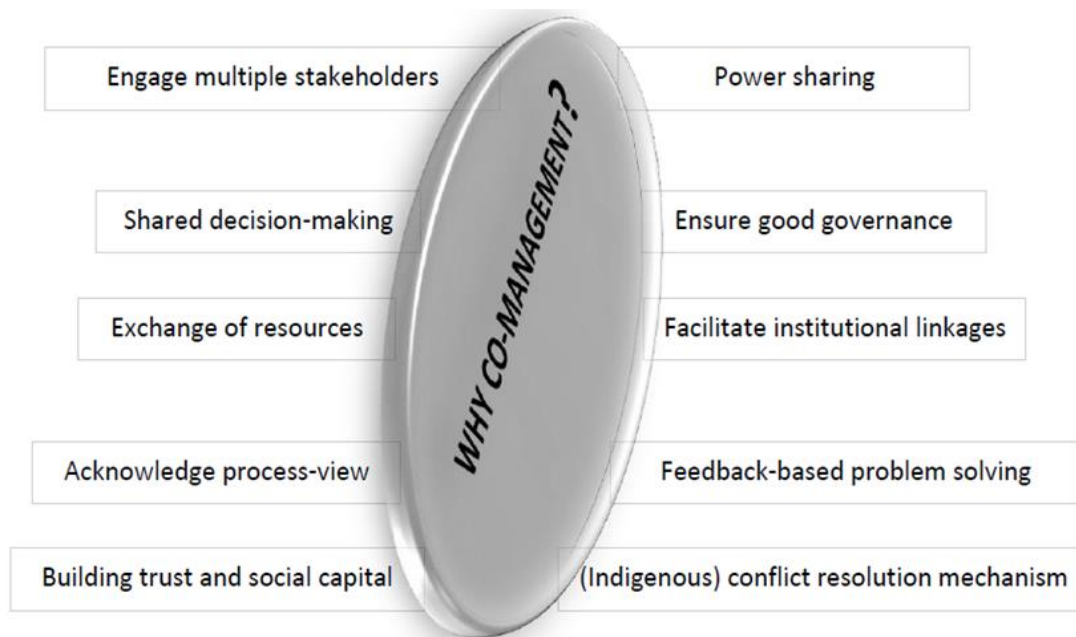


Figure 2.5 Motivators to choose co-management as mediator and decision-making tool

These motivators (as shown in Figure 2.5) are drawn from the literature (Berkes, 2009; Carlsson & Berkes, 2005; Castro & Nielsen, 2001; Fennell et al., 2008; Pennington-Gray et al., 2014; Plummer et al., 2006) and carefully chosen so the framework can operate within a variety of research settings. For example, an advantage of the co-management approach is its ability to contribute to conflict minimisation within the destination communities. Likewise, Fennell et

al. (2008) claim that co-management agreements are possible mechanisms for resolving conflicts between indigenous people and the relevant government agency by outlining the rights, obligations and interests of the parties involved in the management plans. On a similar note, Plummer et al. (2006, p. 8) state that co-management supports “protection of indigenous interests especially when treaties are being negotiated.” In addition, another important factor that contributes to co-management in this research is its aptness to operate at the ‘meso’ or community level. While differentiating co-management, co-governance and co-production as three different modes of co-operation, Brandsen and Pestoff (2006, p. 497) assert that “co-management tends to be most relevant to the meso level.”

In summary, this research extends the co-management concept as a decentralised approach to community and tourism resource decisions that ensures practices of good governance through the multi-lateral involvement of stakeholders in decision-making and the, subsequent, implementation processes. The successful implementation of these processes is believed to result in sustainable livelihood outcomes.

From this overall discussion, two broad co-management actors obviously align with the objectives of this thesis; namely: ‘government’ and ‘community’. In order to operationalise these terms in this research, the following sub-sections clarify issues, such as government, governance and community in connection with destination and/or tourism development phenomenon.

Government and Governance in Destination/Tourism Development Decisions

The terms governance and government are not the same. The former might arise as a process outcome of the latter (Mayntz, 2003). The dictionary meaning of the term ‘government’ indicates a group of people with the designated authority to govern a country, state, or territory. Thus, government is an authoritative decision-making body being supported by constitutional and legislative merits and enacted at different levels, such as local, regional, central/national, and international. Since this research is largely focussed on the destination decision-making processes, tourism planning and policy issues, the involvement of different government units into the process is inevitable.

Mason (2010) observes that tourism planning is entirely developed from effective destination management perspectives in parallel with established political objectives by outlining an ordered sequence of operations and actions. In terms of tourism destination planning and management, local government plays a pioneering role, frequently due to the fact that the impacts of tourism are felt mostly at the destination level and the local authority basically deals with land use planning (Godfrey, 1998; Joppe, 1996; Mckercher & Ritchie, 1997; Simmons, 1994). Broadly, territorial local authorities like district and city councils have two principal functions relating to tourism: the ‘enablement’ of tourism development and the management of tourism’s effects (Simmons, Fairweather, & Shone, 2003; Simmons & Shone, 2002). The enablement function includes activities like marketing and promotion whereas

the management function tries to establish control through different regulations and infrastructure provisions. To incorporate the sustainability perspectives, Cameron, Memon, Simmons, and Fairweather (2001) propose that it is the role of the elected members and officers to decode the principles of sustainable tourism development into action at the local level. From a policy outlook, this requires a proper understanding of the intricate political systems and power structures in a society (Yasarata, Altinay, Burns, & Okumus, 2010).

Although the movement of sustainability is fundamentally reliant on governments' values and ideologies, governments have received numerous criticisms about this goal. The most common is the ineffective top-down planning at destination level which has failed to adopt truly participative processes (Cooper, 1995; Keogh, 1990; Reid & Sindiga, 1999). Another criticism addresses the minimal attention given to the overall coordination and integration processes coupled with short-term orientation (Vogel & Swanson, 1989). However, despite such criticisms, the frictional and fragmented nature of the tourism industry prompt the sincere commitment from the various levels of the government to enable the tourism planning process (Simpson, 2001; Timur & Getz, 2008). The process hereby denotes the broader concept of 'governance'.

Bramwell and Lane (2011) find a shift in the concept of 'government' to 'governance' while governments still play significant roles from being the principal actors in political processes as well as the controller and facilitator in promoting objectives around common goals. The term governance is indicative of "all forms of organisational relationships" (Edwards, 2002). Graham, Amos, and Plumptre (2003) argue that governance is not about government rather it can be defined implicitly as a problem of 'government'. It is about a process that indicates how governments and other social organisations interact, how they relate to citizens and how decisions are made in a complex world. This view is strengthened by Wang and Bramwell (2012, p. 988) who comment that governance considers "how societies are governed, ruled or steered." The implication is as simple as the roles and capacities of governments remaining critical in deciding good governance practices (Bramwell & Lane, 2011; Jessop, 2008; Pierre, 1999; Pierre & Peters, 2005; Wan, 2013). Accordingly, Wallis and Dollery (2002) identify four types of capacity that influence good governance practices: institutional capacity, technical capacity, administrative capacity and political capacity. Such a view is also held by Lange, Driessen, Sauer, Bornemann, and Burger (2013) who suggest that the modes of governance in a particular area involve interdependent relationships among three dimensions: politics, polity and policy. The first dimension indicates the actors and interaction processes while the second addresses the institutional rules or structural elements that shape the interactions of the actors. The last one then denotes the content facets covering such issues as policy objectives and the instruments to achieve desired or targeted output.

Defining and Identifying Community

The relative importance of community as a key stakeholder and co-management actor in sustainable tourism development decisions and livelihood outcome is compelling. The general view of community is expressed as a social

unit with shared common values. Joppe (1996) defines community in a simplistic way as a self-defining unit built on mutual interests. The research further points out different types of communities as geographic, communities of interest, and communities based on heritage and cultural values. However, citing the work of Smit (1990), Abbott (1995, p. 164) gives a comprehensive definition of community as:

... the notion of a community is always something of a myth. A community implies a coherent entity with a clear identity and a commonality of purpose. The reality is that communities, more often than not, are made up of an agglomeration of factions and interest groups often locked in competitive relationships.

In tourism studies, communities indicate the setting where tourism happens (Mowforth & Munt, 2015); and this adds a geographic dimension to 'community'. Communities serve both at the demand and supply end of tourism - being a point of attraction by itself and offering products to tourists (Telfer & Sharpley, 2015). Yet, they remain deprived in most of the cases of participating in tourism planning and development due to top-down practices. Moscardo (2005, 2011) investigates tourism development through cases in peripheral regions across a number of countries, and reports that the destinations residents are often excluded from the planning process and tourism governance in favour of external agents (mostly government representatives). Communities can play a significant role in tourism governance through accentuating social learning process, whereby actors share their knowledge, ideas and aspirations, and co-construct new visions and plans for action (Koutsouris, 2009).

The current study entails two views: geographic and identity. The geographical view holds a broader perspective by considering everyone within a designated area whereas the identity view makes community fragmented (narrower focus). From the geographical viewpoint, community represents a body of people commonly known as residents along with representatives from different institutions and agencies sharing a particular physical space. These groups of people have power to influence the policies pertaining that particular area. Such an observation paves the way to identify key stakeholders and co-management actors under the current research theme.

The identity standpoint categorises the residents and provides a focus into the informal network. In the current research, two distinct groups or communities are identified: indigenous and migrated. The indigenous community represents the various ethnic groups with their own languages, culture, and ways of life; whereas, the migrated community represents the Bengalis transferred to, and settled in, the study region over time.

2.7 A Capitals Co-management Framework in Sustainable Livelihoods for Tourism

Conceptual frameworks are abstractions of theoretical propositions through qualitative processes. Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 440) write, "a conceptual framework lays out the key factors, constructs, or variables, and presumes relationships among them." In view of this observation, Jabareen (2009, p. 51) defines conceptual frameworks as -

A network, or “a plane,” of interlinked concepts that together provide a comprehensive understanding of a phenomenon or phenomena. The concepts that constitute a conceptual framework support one another, articulate their respective phenomena, and establish a framework-specific philosophy.

Conceptual frameworks are of particular use to identify and categorise the potential participants for a study, and help to form the initial hypotheses based on the relational patterns among concepts (Miles & Huberman, 1994). However, Baxter and Jack (2008) comment that the conceptual framework approach may challenge the inductive approach. To overcome such a challenge, journal publications and peer group discussions are suggested by the authors.

To develop a conceptual framework, this research follows a specific strategy, considers a number of concepts, as discussed in earlier sections and sub-sections, and reflects on the research gaps to contribute theoretically to the existing body of knowledge.

2.7.1 Strategy for Conceptual Framework

From an operational aspect, this study reframed from eight phases to six and then applied Jabareen’s (2009) Systematic Phase Analysis (SPA) for concept elaboration to build the conceptual framework. The tourism literature is inherently interdisciplinary and thus draws upon disparate views. With this in mind, Figure 2.6 illustrates that the SPA commences concept identification with reference to a broad set of literature.

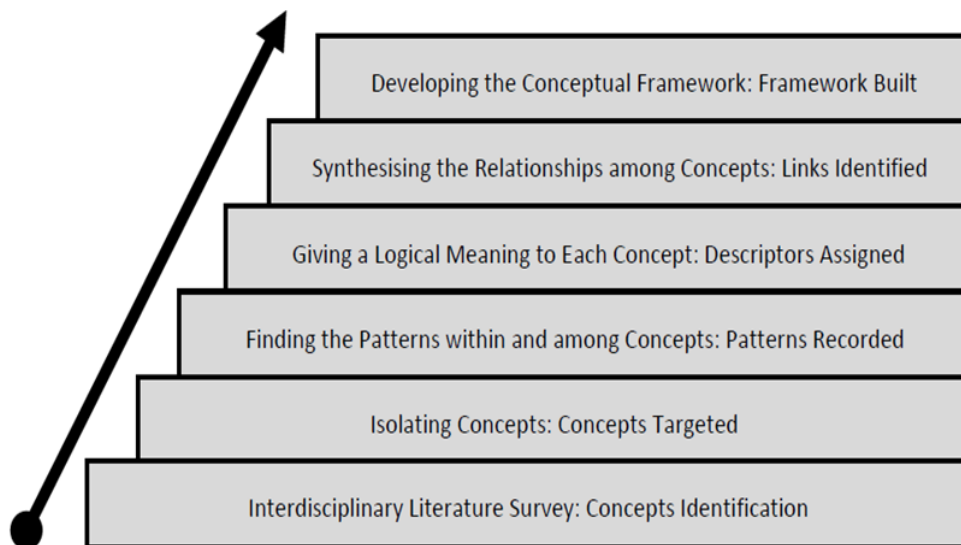


Figure 2.6 Systematic Phase Analysis (SPA) model for conceptual development (*Source: Adapted from Jabareen, 2009*)

The SPA leads to a group of concepts being identified successively and isolated for further review with the goal of constructing a meaningful set of relationships to underpin the conceptual framework. In keeping with the model,

patterns and relationships between these concepts in the literature are then identified and documented. The process follows a four-column table construction by Jabareen (2009). The first two columns record the name and description of the concepts; the third column categorises each concept based on its ontological, epistemological, and methodological contribution; and the final column keeps a record of the literature referenced. This phase of pattern identification is particularly important as Mishler (1990) indicates that the focus of qualitative studies is to identify and expound the relational patterns within a set of conceptually-stated categories. The fourth phase involves assigning a set of logical descriptors to each concept; while, at the next (fifth) phase, the relational aspects among various concepts in line with the literature are synthesised. The final (sixth) step in this modified SPA concludes with a conceptual framework that can be validated through empirical testing in the field.

2.7.2 Identifying Research Gaps

This research is focussed on early-stage destination development perspectives framed within sustainable tourism planning and development. Cooper (2011, p. 14) remarks on destination development research opportunities and says:

... clearly destinations are not passive phenomena, and those individuals, businesses and organizations managing, planning and controlling destinations need not react passively to influences, either external or internal...and this suggests that research into the power and politics of destination development is necessary.

Such an observation brings research insights for tourism development in an emerging destination by indicating the structures and functions of the decision-making bodies. Moreover, in the evaluation of ecotourism's contribution to conservation and development from a systems thinking approach, Stone and Nyaupane (2017, p. 241) suggest that "as long as we are living in social systems, a transformation or substitution among the various forms of community capitals is unavoidable." At this point, the question remains: Who will perform the transformation or substitution from a strategic and operational point of view? The DFID model of SLF proposed transformation structures and processes to fit the strategic requirements. When applied within a tourism context, the SLFT of Shen et al. (2008) identified the necessity of vertical and horizontal institutional arrangements for the smooth functioning of tourism systems. Nonetheless, the literature fails to incorporate a common or shared (representation of key stakeholders) decision-making or strategy formulation and execution platform with a destination focus. This research acknowledges the gap (see Figure 2.7) and extends co-management frameworks and processes as a mechanism that allows the sharing of power, responsibilities, rights and duties among the key stakeholders for tourism resource decisions at destinations. It has been argued that co-management arrangements provide a socially and environmentally appropriate means of increasing local participation in resource decision-making (Castro & Nielsen, 2001), which is an integral criterion for sustainable tourism development.

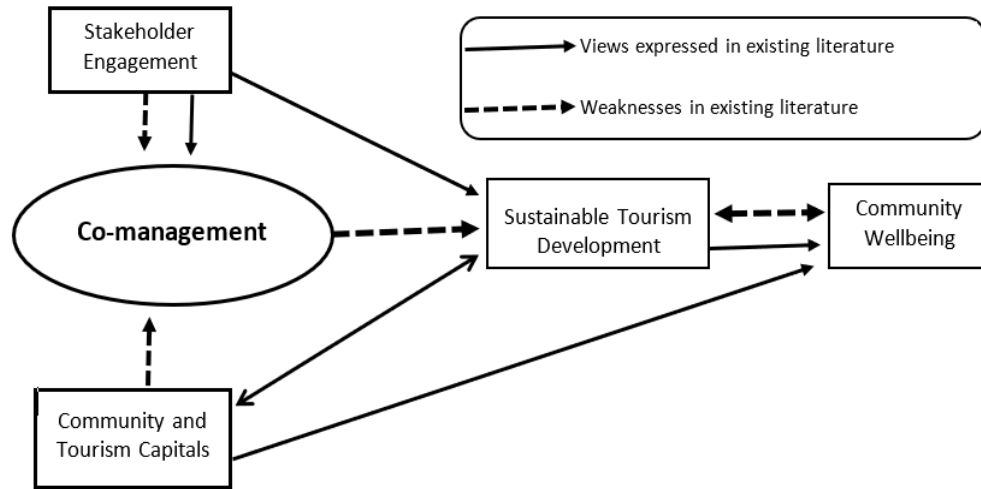


Figure 2.7 Co-management as a linking concept

Since the 2000s, sustainable tourism development research and the literature have developed parallel foci on the impact of diverse community resources in the form of different capitals, and on the wellbeing outcomes of the community. However, the literature fails to integrate these concepts into a broader process-oriented view. To integrate the capital approach to sustainability and community wellbeing, the ‘full world’ model of economies, as perceived in the research of Costanza (2008), is of note. Other than the conventional ‘empty world’ model emphasising financial capital for material and individual wellbeing that results from the consumption of goods and services, the ‘full world’ model suggests a mix of capitals, including natural, social, built, human, etc. to balance individual and community wellbeing (Costanza, 2008; Costanza et al., 2014; Costanza et al., 2007).

Finally, a particular point to note, that the sustainable tourism literature fails to conceptualise adequately, is the nature of the relationship between sustainable tourism development and the community wellbeing of the destination. Usually it is inherent that sustainable tourism can create positive impacts on the wellbeing of destination communities. The impact, however, of community wellbeing on sustainable tourism development is less clear. Thus, the question left is: What is the nature of the relationship between sustainable tourism and the destination communities’ wellbeing?

2.7.3 CCSLF- A Conceptual Development

Figure 2.8 provides a diagrammatic representation of the proposed conceptual framework for the enhancement of sustainable livelihoods at the community level. As the framework identifies different forms of capital and considers their allocation and management decisions within a shared platform with the goal of enhancing sustainable livelihood

outcomes, it is called the ‘Capitals Co-management for Sustainable Livelihood Frameworks (CCSLF)’. The framework has been built from elements discussed in Çakir et al. (2018), DFID (1999), and Shen et al. (2008).

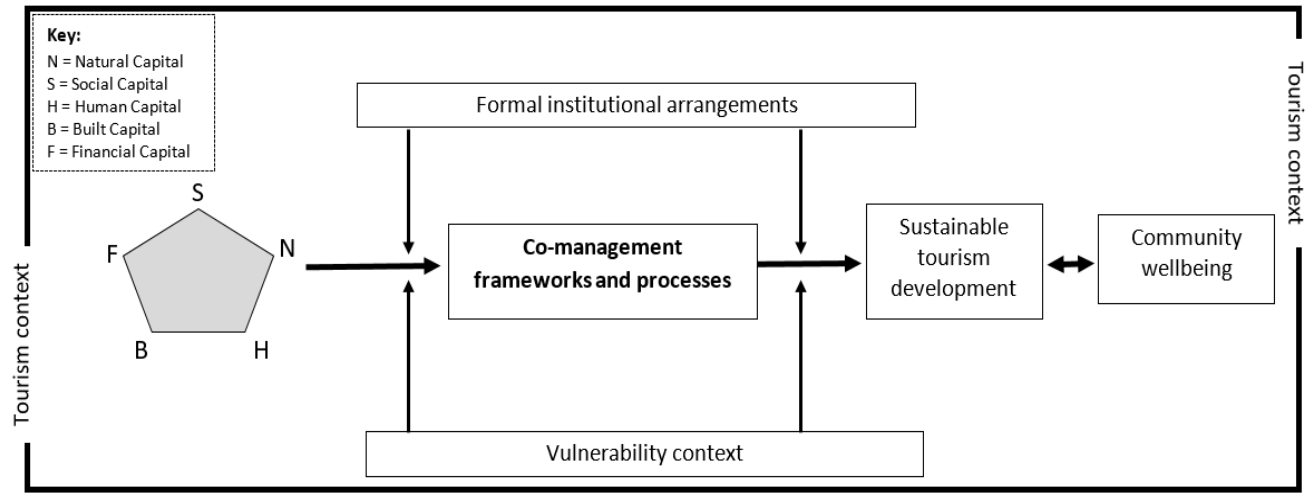


Figure 2.8 CCSLF: A conceptual development

Within a tourism context, five community and/or tourism capitals are considered for sustainable livelihood outcomes. Shen et al. (2008) identify three key issues to comprehend tourism context including types of tourism market (domestic or international), types of tourism in consideration (emphasising whether to involve community or not) and stages of tourism development. Types of tourism and stages of tourism development have been taken into account for further elaboration based on the research findings. However, by introducing a co-management approach, this research firmly acknowledges community as well as other key stakeholders’ involvement into the decision-making and subsequent implementation processes.

Although the literature identifies a diverse group of capitals (see Table 2.1), CCSLF deliberates a set of five capitals by applying SPA, as discussed in earlier sections. These capitals typically represent the livelihood pentagon of DFID, where physical capital is replaced by built capital, both of which reflect common principles and similar analytical units (see Table 2.1). Physical or built capital is used to achieve the livelihood objectives of community members. This research however, prefers to use the term ‘built capital’ than ‘physical capital’ because of its specific appearance in tourism systems such as superstructure, which is exclusively considered for visitors (Goeldner & Ritchie, 2009; McGehee et al., 2010). Scoones (1998) combines the financial and built capitals into a separate category of ‘economic’ capital, which is used by Shen et al. (2008) to reorganise the DFID livelihood pentagon. Apart from this, Shen et al. (2008, p. 27) introduce ‘institutional’ capital into the tourism livelihood pentagon to ensure “people’s participation in political governance.” Table 2.1 holds that institutional capital parallels the ‘political’ capital of Flora et al. (2004) or the ‘organisational capital’ of (Svendsen & Sørensen, 2007), since both focus on greater participation by

emphasising governance and power-structures. It is also argued that these synonymous capitals are meant to account for community members' accessibility and participation in the policy-making process, which is mostly set by public/formal institutions and executed by a top-down approach (Shen et al., 2008; Stone & Nyaupane, 2018). Similarly, Mikulcak et al. (2015) found that development endeavours are highly affected by public institutions and their governance situation, which restrains civic participation and minimises the degree of accountability.

It is claimed that the successful creation of sustainable development outcomes for destination communities result from a balanced link of formal (public, economic and non-economic) and informal (social capital) institutions and are enforced via robust institutional governance (Platje, 2008, pp. 147-148). In considering all these issues, the CCSLF framework reframes the institutional arrangements of Shen et al. (2008) with the 'formal institutional arrangements'. Accordingly, formal institutions include political (public decision-making body) and economic organisations (both public and privately engaged in tourism businesses) along with institutional governance focusing on rules of law and justice that have the potential to contribute towards sustainability initiatives (Aron, 2000; Platje, 2008). In this vein, one might consider corrupt practices as sitting within both the informal (social) domain and the formal institutional domain.

As a mediating and strategic tool, co-management is expected to set and operationalise tourism resource decisions by involving community resource owners and formal institutional representatives (key stakeholders) while addressing and stabilising vulnerability contexts. Shakya (2009) identifies seven different theoretical approaches to vulnerability and observes vulnerability from seven different perspectives that include: entitlement, assets, livelihoods, hazards, risks, resilience and perspectives. This research decisively focuses on the livelihoods perspective of vulnerability. Vulnerability contexts negatively affect tourism development and the adaptive capacities of social actors thereby impact livelihoods (Çakir et al., 2018). DFID (1999) finds vulnerability as a key consideration for sustainable livelihood outcomes, which includes shocks, trends and seasonality. Shocks may relate to human health conditions (e.g., diseases, epidemics), natural disasters (e.g., flood, landslides, earthquakes), economics (e.g., financial crisis, unplanned investments) and conflict events (e.g., terrorism, regional conflicts and wars, conflicts among different social groups). Trends include population trends (composition of different groups in a region), national and global economic trends, tourism market trends and so on. Seasonality is directly associated with tourism markets and has implications for pricing and employment. Shen et al. (2008), however, discusses institutions (both formal and informal) as a source of vulnerability, which is argued to be increased by inappropriate actions of these institutions. The role of institutions in vulnerability and/or resilience (opposite of vulnerability) is also emphasised by Adger (2006); Ifejika Speranza, Wiesmann, and Rist (2014). This research considers all the four sources as a frame of reference.

Sustainable tourism is perceived here both as a livelihood diversification strategy (Tao & Wall, 2009) and the outcome of the co-management process. Thus, a mutual process outcome is derived from the co-management frameworks and is processed as sustainable tourism development and community wellbeing. The literature has already discussed various aspects of sustainable tourism development. Although numerous livelihood outcomes are projected in different SLFs, this research focuses only on community wellbeing. This is particularly due to the fact that community wellbeing is perceived as a whole concept, which necessarily covers almost all livelihood outcomes specified in the different SLFs. This observation follows literature reviews on different wellbeing indicators from practising sources; for example, the OECD (2015) and the University of Waterloo (2015). Although wellbeing is a widely used concept, it still lacks uniformity in definition. However, Dodge, Daly, Huyton, and Sanders (2012, p. 230) propose a simple and more general definition of wellbeing and state “In essence, stable wellbeing is when individuals have the psychological, social and physical resources they need to meet a particular psychological, social and/or physical challenge.” Thus, net wellbeing results when resources outweigh challenges. Adding to this observation, wellbeing requires increased capabilities to enjoy the freedom of choices (Schischka, Dalziel & Saunders, 2008), which in turn is realised via resource availabilities. Wellbeing is often classified and falls mainly into two major categories: material or objective, and psychological or subjective. Material wellbeing is mostly related to the physical resources and covers income, employment, and housing perspectives. On the other hand, psychological wellbeing is associated with psychological and social resources and includes education, social connections, civic engagement, and so on. This is to note that quality of life (QoL), and life satisfaction and wellbeing terms are used interchangeably.

Alongside its theoretical value, the framework also contributes on methodological grounds by providing a coherent strategic basis for stakeholders’ (informants) identification and selection and, in so doing, helps to ensure internal validity within the research frame. As the proposed framework is inherently destination-focussed, splitting the informal (social) and formal institutional aspects leads to two major groups of stakeholders: ‘social’ denoting community residents, and ‘institutional’ encompassing representatives of economic as well as political organisations. This identification reinforces Mitchell, Agle, and Wood’s (1997, p. 869) conceptualisation of society or community bearing on “legitimacy” and “urgency” features; and institutional representatives supporting the “power” construct. When a community resident also represents an institution, the stakeholder becomes a “definitive stakeholder” (Mitchell et al., 1997, p. 878) by possessing all the attributes and demonstrating a key source of linking capital.

2.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter summarises the broad literature for this thesis required to address the research questions and develops a conceptual framework to contribute to the sustainable tourism literature. In developing the framework, a wide array of literature has been reviewed, which incorporates an interdisciplinary focus. The key literature source embraces the development, sustainable development, sustainable tourism planning and development, stakeholder

identification and participation theory, capital approaches to sustainability and community wellbeing, and co-management. By applying a SPA strategy, this chapter synchronises the different concepts and develops a capitals co-management framework, as CCSLF (Figure 2.8). The proposed CCSLF method takes a focussed but integrative approach that seeks to bring multiple agencies and stakeholders into a collaborative platform. The plan is neither entirely top-down nor bottom-up but, instead, purposefully adopts an integrative approach to the deployment and use of public and private sector resources, framed here as various capitals (natural, human, social, built, and financial). The broader focus of this framework is on the collective improvement of all these capitals to address community wellbeing and sustainable tourism development outcomes.

It is anticipated that the framework and its application will be able to be deployed in a variety of contexts as the framework acknowledges resource realities at both the local and destination levels. More generally, the proposed framework will help to develop better decision-making processes, knowledge bases and an understanding of common property resources deployment in tourism. The researcher employs the framework in the early stage of the destination context for the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHTs) of Bangladesh for field-testing the CCSLF and finds a modified framework, as explained in Chapter Eight (see Figure 8.1).

Chapter Three

Research Methods

3.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out the philosophical basis, methodological underpinning and methods used in this thesis. The primary purpose of the chapter is to describe the overall research process pertaining to data collection and the analytical procedures deployed in this research. The research approach aims to identify a participative decision-making structure involving key tourism stakeholders relating to the management of various tourism capitals for sustainable livelihood outcomes at destinations. The research strategy selected was a single case study (the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh) with two embedded units of analysis (*Bandarban Sadar* and *Rangamati Sadar*). Under the case study approach, an interpretative social science paradigm has been employed, acknowledging the social contexts to assess and interpret the phenomenon in the real world. Within the case study design, the research explicitly employs a qualitative research methodology. In this research, six different primary and secondary methods were used to increase the validity and reliability of the qualitative research. The methods used were intended to address the research aim, objectives and questions (see Chapter One).

The chapter follows begins with delineating the research philosophy that entails the ontological, epistemological, methodological and axiological basis of the current research. Thereafter, the case study research approach is critically evaluated along with the justification for the chosen approach. A discussion of the qualitative methodology and its appropriateness for the current research is then provided. Corresponding a qualitative methodology, the specific research methods applied in this research are outlined and then discussed. After discussing the methods, different aspects of validity and reliability in qualitative research, in particular in this research, are discussed. Finally, the chapter concludes by outlining methodological limitations and ethical considerations.

3.2 Research Philosophy

A research philosophy or paradigm, in principle, guides a researcher throughout the research process. In general, social scientists identify the term ‘paradigm’ as associated with a ‘worldview’ perspective. A worldview considers a set of beliefs in defining the nature of the world (a particular research context), which reconsiders individual and societal knowledge bases. Perhaps, Guba and Lincoln (1994, p. 93) are the most foremost names among social scientists who have been writing on this topic for more than three decades and who assert:

A paradigm may be viewed as a set of basic beliefs (or metaphysics) that deals with ultimates or first principles. It represents a worldview that defines, for its holder, the nature

of the "world," the individual's place in it, and the range of possible relationships to that world and its parts, as, for example, cosmologies and theologies do.

Weenink and Bridgman (2017, p. 93) reiterated the notion of Guba and Lincoln and identified 'paradigm' as "a worldview comprising assumptions about the nature of that world, their place of people in it and how knowledge of that world can be generated and understood." In short, a paradigm represents "the overlying view of the way the world works" (Jennings, 2010, p. 35) and is interchangeably used in the literature with terms, such as perspectives, philosophy, etc. (Crotty, 1998).

A review of the academic literature reveals a set of paradigms in human and social sciences research. These are: positivism, post-positivism, critical theory and critical race theory, chaos theory, pragmatism, interpretive social science/constructionism/constructivism, postmodern perspectives, feminist perspectives, queer theory and disabilities theory (Bryman, 2015; Creswell & Poth, 2017; Crotty, 1998; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Hollinshead, 2006; Jennings, 2010; Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Pansiri, 2009; Robson, 2011). Shone (2013, p. 111) observes that these "*diverse views of the world are arguably not so different from each other, as they are all systems designed to analyse, compare, and contrast the same phenomena.*" Nonetheless, there is an on-going debate around the appropriateness of paradigms for qualitative versus quantitative inquiries, which, in turn, is intensified by the difference between 'natural' and 'social' realities, and is expressed through 'subjective' versus 'objective' methodological lenses. To simplify, a subjective methodology is associated with the paradigms of interpretive social sciences, critical theory orientation and feminism; while an objective methodology is allied with positivism and chaos theory paradigms (Jennings, 2010). Quantitative inquiries typically follow objective methodologies and embrace 'natural' realities as their ontological foundations. Subsequently, a quantitative methodology (objective) relies on observable facts, measurable variables and propositions that can be substantiated using statistics, experiments and research techniques (Holliday, 2007; Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). In contrast, qualitative researchers principally consider 'social' realities for their ontological bases and provide high value from their rich descriptions (Denzin & Lincoln, 2002). Thus, reality is perceived in qualitative research as a subjective phenomenon, which is dynamic in nature and requires interpretations for understanding the phenomenon (Filstead, 1979). The underlying assumption of qualitative inquiry considers the social environments as personal constructs formed by individual interpretations that are not generalisable (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2003).

In practice, the research questions in consideration, together with the nature of settings being studied, inform the possible research methodology and paradigm. Considering all these issues, this research adopts a subjective methodology with an interpretive social science paradigm to guide the overall research process. Jennings (2010) identified the root of interpretive a social sciences paradigm from Max Weber who defined the term 'verstehen' meaning 'empathetic understanding'. 'Verstehen' allows the 'sympathetic participation' of the researchers and

participants, which assists the process of understanding and interpreting the meaning of the realities to enrich validity in qualitative research. The 'appreciative accuracy' (Jennings, 2010) can be achieved following this paradigm as it considers individual and/or societal experiences for deriving the meaning. This view of interpretivism is captured in the observations of Blumer (1956, p. 686):

The process of interpretation may be viewed as a vast digestive process through which the confrontations of experience are transformed into activity. While the process of interpretation does not embrace everything that leads to the formation of human group activity and structure, it is, I think, the chief means through which human group life goes on and takes shape. Any scheme designed to analyse human group life in its general character has to fit this process of interpretation.

The chosen paradigm remains significant since this research is fundamentally oriented towards generating understandings from complex 'social' realities. Henning, Van Rensburg and Smit (2004) find that the interpretive paradigm rests on the experiences of the members of a particular society and generates meanings by interpreting the understandings of those members within a given situation or context. This paradigm, in general, affords a broader societal focus, which adheres to historical and cultural orientations in interpreting the 'social life-world' (Crotty, 1998, p. 67). Moreover, the research questions and study setting themselves challenge the appropriateness of an objective methodology, such as positivism, which claims that "there is a reality out there to be studied, captured and understood" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 11). In contrast, reality remains socially constructed in interpretive social sciences and acknowledges through differing social contexts that build on belief systems, governance frameworks and economic modes of production (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Robbins, Hintz & Moore, 2010).

The definitions of the elements of a paradigm are labelled differently throughout the literature. For example, Guba and Lincoln (1994, p. 108) identified three characteristics of a paradigm: ontology, epistemology, and methodology; while Creswell and Poth (2017) discussed axiology as the fourth feature. Crotty (1998, p. 3) recognised four elements to interpret paradigms: epistemology, theoretical perspective, methodology, and method. Accordingly, four characteristics (ontology, epistemology, methodology and axiology) of the adopted paradigm, i.e., interpretive social sciences, are discussed in the following sub-sections.

3.2.1 Ontological Basis

Within a broad world-view, ontology reflects the nature and elementary classes of reality, which, ultimately, guide the researchers to derive meaning about what exists. Figure 3.1 summarises the differing ontological assumptions from the literature.

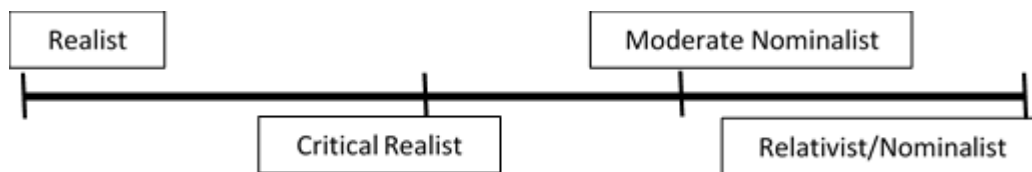


Figure 3.1 Spectrum of ontological perspectives (*Source: Adapted from Creswell and Poth, 2017; Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Hollinshead, 2006; Neuman, 2014; Platenkamp and Botterill, 2013*)

In Figure 3.1, the most apparent perspectives are shown in two extreme continuums of ‘realist’ and ‘relativist’, while the other two forms are varieties of integration within these extreme concepts (Neuman, 2014; Pernecky, 2014). A realist view assumes an objective ideology for deriving meaning about the real world and believes that the “real world exists independently of humans and their interpretations of it” (Neuman, 2014, p. 94); thus, indicating a better fit for the positivist and post-positivist paradigms. However, the relativist accepts that the real world entails multiple realities as noted by Hollinshead (2006, p. 45) who summarises for the relativist thought as being “realities [that] exist in the form of multiple mental constructions,” which, in turn depend on the individual’s socio-cultural orientations and experiences. On this note, Neuman (2014, p. 45) observes the dependence on interpretations to shape experiences and asserts:

Our experience with what we call ‘the real world’ is always occurring through a lens or scheme of interpretations and inner subjectivity. Subjective-cultural beliefs influence what we see and how we experience reality. Our personal biography and cultural worldview are always organizing our experiences into categories and patterns.

Such an observation indicates that the relativist/nominalist norm is better captured within an interpretive social sciences paradigm and represented by constructionist principles. Correspondingly, this research has an ontological root of constructionism being underpinned by a relativist belief. Relativism allows the discretion of living entities to form meaning about realities and this, ultimately, results in the multiple socially constructed realities (Green, 2002). This process (of generating meaning) when applied in research generates flexibility and provides an inductive focus. This flexibility, in turn, generates rich information through the interactions between the researcher and the participants. Such flexibility was needed in the current research to grow an inductive focus in the modification of the initial conceptual framework developed in earlier chapters and, thereby, contribute to the research objectives.

3.2.2 Epistemological Basis

Epistemology is concerned with the knowledge generation processes by outlining the relationship between the researcher and the researched phenomenon (see earlier questions). Neuman (2014, p. 95) defines epistemology as “an area of philosophy concerned with the creation of knowledge; focuses on how we know what we know or what are the most valid ways to reach truth.” Standing on a relativist belief and interpretive social sciences paradigm, this research articulates an ‘intersubjective’ relationship between the researcher and the subject (Jennings, 2010) in

which the researcher and subject co-create the meanings (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Thus, the findings are generated from the interaction process between the parties and are being shaped by the interpretations (Hollinshead, 2006). This view is equally supported by Neuman (2014) who claims that subjective views along with interpretations can influence the meaning of social realities, in particular, the knowledge generation process.

In acknowledging tourism as a 'socially constructed phenomenon' (Pernecky, 2014, p. 295), this research embraces the social constructionist view in its epistemological foundation while adhering to the 'intersubjective' principle. Although the terms constructionism and constructivism tend to be used interchangeably in the academic literature, a nuance exists in terms of their meanings and foci. The difference between constructivism and constructionism can be explained through the locus of attention in the creation of meaning about social realities. Constructivists embrace a micro or individual level focus where the reality is constructed in the mind of the individual. Thus, the process of creating a unique reality is associated with cognition and knowledge of the individual (Crotty, 1998). In contrast, constructionism possesses a meso level concentration wherein the creation of meaning about realities is derived as a socially embedded process (Crotty, 1998). This view is endorsed by Smith (2006, p. 5) who identifies constructionism as, "a more culturally focused and politically engaged – or as it is variously claimed or complained, 'critical' – set of views." Therefore, constructionism instigates a collective focus and acknowledges social values, networks and norms thereby critically reflecting social capital, which remains a core consideration in this research.

Two groups of scholar are identified in terms of using the 'social constructionism' concept in tourism studies. The first group is represented by "conceptual thinkers and commentators" (Ayikoru, 2009; Chambers, 2007; Hollinshead, 2006) while the second group applied the concept to tourism cases and for methodological underpinning (Kanemasu, 2013; Ryan & Gu, 2010; Small, 1999; Uriely & Belhassen, 2006). This research has developed an initial conceptual framework in view of the social realities of developing countries and, later, applied the framework using a case study strategy for subsequent modification and knowledge generation. Hence, the current research features constructionism/social constructionism in all respects.

3.2.3 Methodological Basis

Being informed by ontology and epistemology, methodological choice guides the researcher to explore (local) constructions of reality. Tuli (2011, p. 102) defines methodology as: "a research strategy that translates ontological and epistemological principles into guidelines that show how research is to be conducted, and principles, procedures, and practices that govern research." To facilitate this research and to gather knowledge from the empirical world, the researcher has exclusively used a qualitative methodology. The preference for qualitative methodology to complement an interpretive social sciences paradigm is underpinned by numerous research studies (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Ruhanen-Hunter, 2006; Shone, 2013; Tuli, 2011). Adopting a qualitative methodology supports the use of less-structured tools to collect data, which, in turn, allows the research participants to be involved interactively in

the overall research process and to elaborate ideas or generate new ideas to interpret the 'reality'. On this note, Babbie (2013) finds that qualitative data is richer in meaning than quantitative data. Moreover, qualitative research contemplates complex socio-cultural and political backgrounds within a research setting, which is particularly challenging to cover with a quantitative methodology.

As the interpretive researcher investigates within a social setting by interacting with subject/informant/interviewee, an insider or 'emic' perspective is formed (Jennings, 2010). This requires the researcher to spend a considerable amount of time in the field and gain trust from the participants, which is essential to understanding issues from 'insider-perspectives'. In so doing, the researcher follows an inductive approach to explain the phenomenon and develop theory (Creswell & Poth, 2017; Shone, 2013). The research methodology guides the research methods, which are designed to gather and analyse the data (Crotty, 1998). In this research, the researcher is immersed into the 'research setting' (cases) across different groups to attain an insider's perspective and collect empirical materials through various qualitative methods, such as participant observation, informal interactions, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions. The evidence collected from one source has been cross-examined against other sources to increase the research validity through 'methodological triangulation' (Beeton, 2005).

3.2.4 Axiological Basis

By definition, axiology relates to the nature of value, or the things that hold value, to interpret social 'reality'. An axiological examination identifies the role of the researcher's (human) values in interpreting and deriving meanings in combination with the interpretations given by the subject (Creswell & Poth, 2017). This proposition emphasises the interpretive social sciences epistemological standpoint of knowledge creation in which the researcher is subjectively involved in the knowledge-making process. In terms of axiology in qualitative research, the researcher's own values, as well as the theories, hypotheses or the framework the researcher is using in his or her particular situation, shapes the study (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). Accordingly, Shone (2013) observes that the nature of the questions asked and the meanings derived involves the researcher's biases and values, and this is unavoidable. Such a view is equally highlighted by Jennings (2010, p. 41) who stated that "interpretive social sciences researchers acknowledge that values are integral to research processes since research is a social process ... For interpretive social sciences researchers, values are inextricably and intrinsically embedded in research process."

In this research, the researcher's values create a perspective, which guides the research process by developing an initial framework. In relation to policy-making in tourism, this research adopts a destination-focussed participative decision-making framework towards sustainable livelihood outcomes. In order to realise the outcomes (sustainable tourism development and community wellbeing), the participation of key tourism stakeholders is imperative and implicit within the framework. Not only this, the framework itself guides the key categories of the stakeholders by splitting those into two major categories: institutional representatives and community residents. Such a

categorisation reinforces the necessity of a power-balance within a decision-making platform. Altogether, community orientation as an input to resource management informing the process and reflecting the values in this research.

Of note this research has been undertaken by a Bengali student resident in Dhaka (the capital). From an emic perspective, this requires care in both research practice and interpretation. To address such concerns, the researcher put an effort to balance the insider and outsider (emic-etic) perspectives. In total the researcher spent 4.5 months in the case study areas. All the participants were communicated in advance and provided with research information sheets, consent forms, and asked about the language barriers. At entry into the field the researcher took time to build trust by spending time with participants and the research locale. The goal was to establish meaningful and empathetic communication. No participant (except those representing central government or located in Dhaka) was interviewed at a first meeting. In most of the cases, they were interviewed during the second or third phase of engagement. During the process of trust-building, the researcher also engaged in attending various events and occasions, having food at home environments or restaurants over informal talk. Additional care was given to communicate with indigenous participants through trustworthy gatekeepers where these had been identified in advance. While noting the researcher's origin it was believed that his standing as a student, associated with a reputable international University, has allowed for a reliable and locally valid understanding of the development of context and associated data.

To summarise these discussions, Figure 3.2 illustrates the foundation of this research, which outlines the philosophical and methodological undertakings to address the research problems and specific research questions.

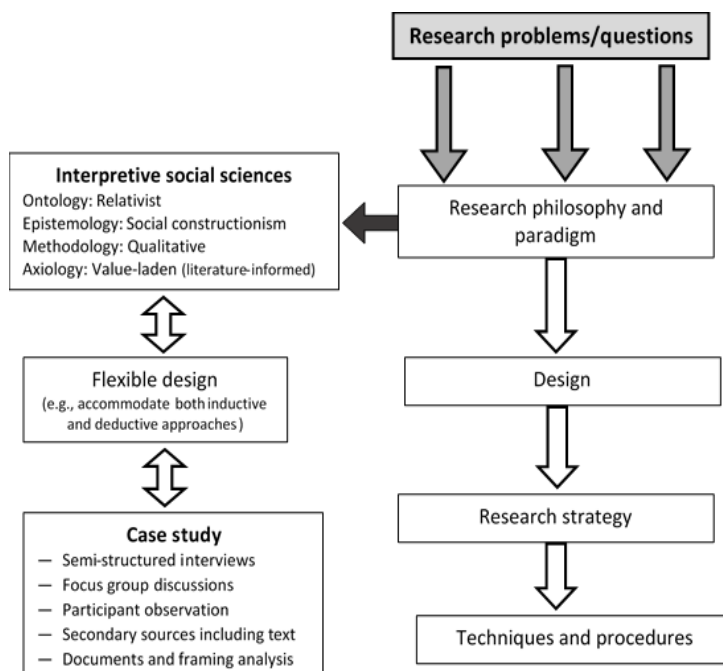


Figure 3.2 Foundations of the current research (Source: Adapted from Tuli, 2011, p. 104)

In summary, a methodological approach built on a relativist ontology and a social constructionist epistemology for interpretive social sciences paradigm was adopted for this research. This research allows flexible design accommodating features of both inductive and deductive approaches. By developing a conceptual framework, the research, essentially, inculcates a deductive approach while the later phase of testing the framework (collecting data from participants) incorporates an inductive approach. Within a case study research strategy, data collection techniques and procedures involve a number of primary and secondary means, which, in turn, facilitate a triangulation process to increase validity and reliability of this research.

3.3 Research Strategy: Single-Embedded Case Study Approach

This study is methodologically anchored in qualitative case-based theory building (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Xiao & Smith, 2006; Yin, 2012, 2014). The research questions, along with the conceptual frameworks developed and presented in the previous chapters, reflect the appropriateness of a case study approach in this research. This research frames a participative decision-making structure pertaining to various tourism resources (identified as capitals) for sustainable livelihood outcomes within the setting of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHTs), Bangladesh. The distinctive nature and feature of the case study region within Bangladesh is described in Chapter Four. The case in this research offers diverse relationships, functional and dysfunctional structures and components (Stake, 2006) to be studied in view of the conceptual framework developed. The framework provides the opportunity to bring together general constructs into intellectual 'bins' (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 18) within the case setting.

Yin (1993) suggested some specific types of case studies: exploratory, explanatory and descriptive. Exploratory cases are sometimes considered as a prelude to social research for focusing on a concept, people, or situation that researchers know little about. Explanatory case studies may be used for carrying out a causal investigation, which involves testing a hypothesis derived from the available theories. Explanatory cases come into action especially when the causal links in real-life interventions are too complex or unexplored (Yin, 2009). Descriptive cases require descriptive theory to be developed before starting the research on a concept, people, or situation that researchers know to some degree, but just want to describe what they found or observed. Thus, the descriptive cases explain an interposition or phenomenon and the real-life context in which it occurred (Yin, 2009). Apart from these types, Stake (1995) recommended intrinsic and instrumental types of cases. Intrinsic cases present the integrity of the case by its distinctiveness while instrumental cases provide insight into an issue or help to build or modify a construct or theory, thereby facilitating understanding of something. The case chosen for this research represents typical features of Yin's 'descriptive' case linked with Stake's 'instrumental' category of cases. This is particularly due to the fact that the researcher develops an initial framework and tests the framework within a case study context (CHTs) for further refinement and to contribute to the existing body of knowledge.

In principle, (Yin, 2014) identified at least four archetypes as a means of framing the investigation of a phenomenon within a case study method. These are: single-case (holistic), single-case (embedded), multiple-case (holistic) and multiple-case (embedded). The following diagram (Figure 3.3) illustrates those four variants.

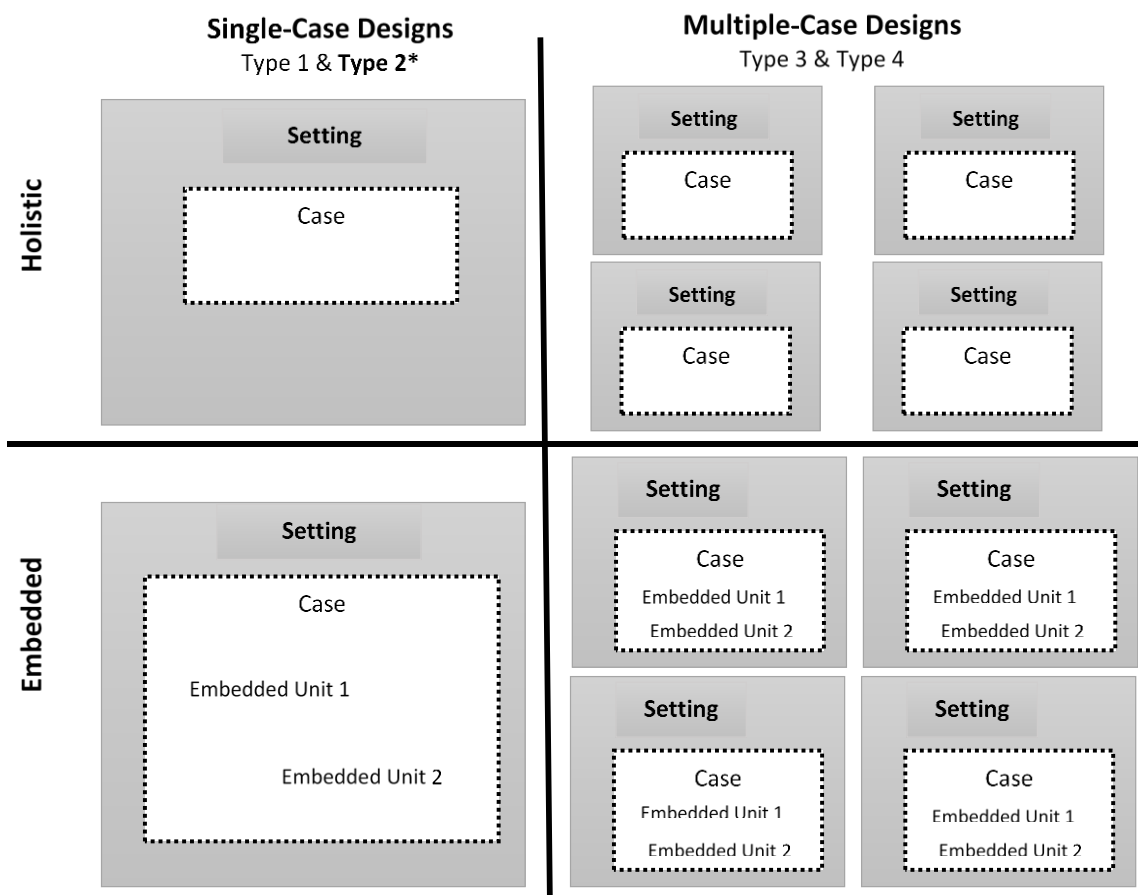


Figure 3.3 Design options for case studies (Source: Adapted from Yin, 2014, p. 50)

In Figure 3.3, the horizontal axis focuses on the number of cases in consideration while the vertical axis, labelled as ‘holistic’ and ‘embedded’, represents the units of analysis. In holistic cases, the unit of analysis is singular and embedded cases support more than one unit to be analysed. The current study stands on a Type 2 or single-embedded classification where multiple units are analysed within a single context. More precisely, two ‘Upazilas’ or sub-districts namely Bandarban ‘Sadar’ (central) and Rangamati ‘Sadar’ (central) from the CHT in Bangladesh were considered for study purposes in this research. The case units were chosen based on a number of factors including the intensity of social capital, locational importance, tourism significance, and expert’s opinions. These criteria are elaborated in Chapter Four (see Section 4.3).

3.3.1 Justification for the Case Study Approach

Case studies have been used so extensively in tourism research that Beeton (2005, p. 37) asserts: “It is such a pervasive methodology in tourism research that it appears that its justification is no longer deemed necessary, if it

ever was.” This may partly due to the fact that tourism experiences and processes happen within a social context and the case study research induces the researchers to examine the context along with other complex components or conditions within a ‘case’. Yin (2009, p. 18) defines the case study approach to research as-

An empirical inquiry about a contemporary phenomenon (e.g., a “case”), set within its real-world context-especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident.

Yin (2003) identifies a number of situations that direct a researcher to select a case study research strategy. The situations are outlined when the research is addressing ‘how’ and ‘why’ type questions (although applicable for quantitative studies as well); when the contextual backgrounds or conditions are unavoidable and have a bearing upon the phenomenon under investigation; when the manipulation of the behaviour of those involved in the study is not possible; and when the boundaries between context and phenomenon are not clear. These situations, together, led the researcher to choose a case study strategy to investigate the current research issues. For example, the contextual background in this research is particularly significant for interpreting the meaning of ‘reality’ and generating knowledge. Accordingly, a whole chapter (Chapter Four) in this thesis is designed on the research setting to understand the context. Yin (2009) also recommends a case study when multiple sources of evidence are used. The conceptual framework of this research requires the researcher to compile evidence from multiple sources to address a particular problem domain. Moreover, holistic and in-depth investigations underpin the researcher in adopting the case study method (Feagin, Orum & Sjoberg, 1991).

The use of case study research strategy is not free from critical comments; Shone (2013) summarises such critiques under two broad labels: lacking academic rigour and capability for scientific generalisation. The first criticism focuses mainly on the processes of evidence collection, analyses and subsequent reporting; where, it is argued, biases may prevail (Bailey, White, & Pain, 1999; Feagin et al., 1991; Flyvbjerg, 2006). Thus, biases remain instilled in human interpretations. Qualitative researchers respond to this criticism by emphasising the research design and methods; for example, the case study design establishes a chain of evidence through data flows from multiple sources (Yin, 2012, p. 4).

While the first criticism is process oriented in nature, the second one is very much place or location-specific (Feagin et al., 1991; Shone, 2013), indicting the degree to which the case findings can be deployed in other cases or locations. To face this challenge, Yin (2010, p. 21) proposed a two-step process and termed it as ‘analytic generalisation’. Yin described the process as follows:

The first involves a conceptual claim whereby investigators show how their case study findings bear upon a particular theory, theoretical construct, or theoretical (not just actual)

sequence of events. The second involves applying the same theory to implicate other, similar situations where analogous events also might occur.

This view is strengthened by the ‘empirical generalisation’ concept of Tsang (2014, p. 371). Empirical generalisation in case studies identifies and isolates the ‘common patterns among diverse cases’ (Burawoy, 1998, p. 19), described as ‘empirical regularities’ by Tsang (2014, p. 379). These regularities, together, form the basis of ‘theoretical generalisation’ (Tsang, 2014, p. 371) and facilitate the second step of Yin’s ‘analytic generalisation’ process. Analytic generalisation influences the overall research process since the research is purposefully designed to test a conceptual framework (reflecting theoretical constructs from existing literature) within a case study setting. In this regard, the strength of a case study approach is observed through the ‘falsification’ (Tsang, 2014, p. 379) test of generalisation, which is associated with the testing of a conceptual framework. The falsification aspect, in general, adds an inductive feature where the initial framework remains open for adjustments based on the case findings. Thus, the case findings can reject the initial hypotheses or conceptual linkages for building a new conceptual framework that can be generalised under specified conditions.

3.3.2 Justifying Single-Embedded Case Study Approach

The underlying motivation for this research lies in developing a theoretical or conceptual framework, and subsequently testing the framework for its applicability that enables wider reflection to the framework. In this respect, the literature claims that a single-case design can be helpful to serve these purposes (Benbasat, Goldstein & Mead, 1987; Dyer & Wilkins, 1991). A single case study can increase the theoretical robustness by elaborating ‘the context of the constructs and the role these constructs play in a particular setting’, which ideally suits the interpretive social sciences paradigm (Dyer & Wilkins, 1991, p. 614). However, such a view is countered by researchers, such as Yin (2010) and Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007), who believed in the analytic power of multiple cases or situations to provide accuracy and greater generalisability being multiplied with the number of cases in consideration. In order to mitigate this limitation and to provide greater integrity to the conceptual framework, this research uses a single case with two embedded units. Baxter and Jack (2008, p. 550) prefer single case with embedded units when:

The ability to look at sub-units that are situated within a larger case is powerful when you consider that data can be analysed within the subunits separately (within case analysis), between the different subunits (between case analysis), or across all of the subunits (cross-case analysis).

The embedded units are considered as separate cases, which are believed to normalise the context or background significance while examining situations to strengthen the generalisability. These two issues are closely associated such that Sechrest and Sidani (1995) observe that without a clear understanding of the contextual nature, the reported data are not generalisable. Moreover, the diverse nature of stakeholder groups, especially community

residents, direct the current research to adopt a single-embedded case strategy. This is signified in the conceptual development phase where broader (tourism) stakeholder involvement and participation remains a key consideration for sustainable tourism development and the destination communities' wellbeing.

3.4 Qualitative Research Methodology

This thesis adopts a qualitative research methodology to gather and interpret information about the application of a co-management approach to tourism resource decisions for generating sustainable livelihood outcomes in the CHT. The qualitative research methodology has gained wider acceptance as 'an alternative methodological approach' following its recognitions in many fields, including education, anthropology and sociology, etc. (Riley & Love, 2000, p. 165). It is also widely accepted in tourism research (Ritchie, Burns & Palmer, 2005). With specific reference to a developing country context, Camfield, Crivello and Woodhead (2009) found an aptness for a qualitative methodology especially when the study requires people's active involvement in the research process. Similarly, Berg and Lune (2011) claim that qualitative methodology facilitates an investigation of the social settings and individuals (social actors/stakeholders) within those settings. Mitleton-Kelly and Subhan (2002) and (Stacey, 2007) also recommend qualitative research methods while addressing a complex social phenomenon that requires individual or group observations and interpretations of the phenomenon. Tourism, as a socially constructed phenomenon, is complex and remains contested when accompanied by such terms as sustainability, development, etc. This research focuses on developing a participatory tourism resource decision-making structure and processes to contribute to sustainable livelihoods, which necessitates the involvement of various social actors within the research setting.

In principle, a qualitative approach aligns with Max Weber's concept of 'verstehen' or 'empathetic understanding' as identified in earlier section. Hence, qualitative researchers immerse themselves into the natural settings as 'human instruments' to generate 'tacit knowledge' about the phenomenon under investigation from the participants' standpoints through an interactive process (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, pp. 39-40). Sarantakos (1998) observes that the research methodology directs and guides the choice of research methods. Qualitative research does not stipulate a specific category or method but rather encourages multi-methods to generate meaning and increase validity and reliability of the research findings (Brewer & Hunter, 2006; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, 2002). Including this perspective in the current research enables the researcher to consider multiple methods and incorporate the various opinions of the participants for a better understanding and interpretation of the local phenomena. Adopting multiple methods contributes towards the internal validity and external reliability of the results (Simmons, 1985) through triangulation. Triangulation helps to integrate and strengthen the findings from multiple sources while trading-off one method's strengths for another method's weaknesses (Calantone, di Benedetto & Bojanic, 1988).

3.5 Data Collection Techniques

This research involves a three-stage process of theory construction to generate knowledge. The process entails developing a conceptual framework (CCSLF), testing the framework's application in the empirical world and modifying the framework based on the research findings. Each stage of this process involves varying research techniques and procedures. For example, the first stage of building the initial conceptual framework follows an extensive document analysis and a desk-based literature review along with a systematic phase analysis (SPA) procedure. This framework provides a basis and facilitates data collection from the field (case study settings), which remain consistent with Bouma's (1996, p. 18) observations who states that "data cannot be collected without some idea about the answer to the question." Accordingly, the other two stages reflect the field data as well as relevant published and unpublished materials pertaining to their accumulation and analysis. However, the final stage concerning modification of the conceptual framework is exclusively informed by the data analysis procedure, which is discussed in the next section.

In collecting data under a case study research design, several techniques might be employed. These include interviews, questionnaires, archival records, direct observation, participant observation, documentation, physical artefacts and focus group discussions (Patton, 2002; Yin, 1993, 2014). Concerning the data collection complexities in a case study research design while emphasizing stakeholders' participation, which is also motivating the current research, Simmons (1994, p. 98) stated: "Many authors advocate greater public involvement few have tested or evaluated methods appropriate to secure local residents' interest and support for tourism planning." Consequently, Simmons investigated three different forms of stakeholder participation in Huron County, Ontario, Canada: stakeholder interviews, surveys and focus groups. Several researchers agree that no single method has absolute superiority over another; rather, they are complementary (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Seale, Gobo, Gubrium & Silverman, 2004; Simmons, 1994).

This research uses both primary and secondary techniques of data collection consistent with a qualitative methodology. The primary data are associated with the research subjects or participants and collected by the researcher's direct involvement as a 'human instrument'. Under the primary data scheme, three techniques were utilised: semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and participant observation. In contrast with primary data, the secondary data, which were published and unpublished second-hand information, include documentation/document analysis and framing analysis.

3.5.1 Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with community residents and institutional representatives. These two categories were informed by the CCSLF in which 'stakeholder identification theory' persisted as an implicit element. The definition of 'community' under the current research theme clarifies the delineation of sample units with two

major categories that include the indigenous and migrated (*Bengali*) community residents. The institutional representatives include key institutional personnel (based on power and position) representing (formal) institutions, both political and economic in nature, at local, regional and central levels. A few institutional category participants are also included on-site through snowball sampling procedures and encapsulated under other relevant institutional sub-categories, such as army, or an official from an ongoing tourism project, etc. More precisely, this research has conducted a total of 52 semi-structured interviews including one pilot interview, which was piloted in December 2015. The rest of the interviews (total 51) were carried out from March 2016 to July 2017 with an average duration of 75 minutes each. Out of these 52 interviews, 20 interviews were conducted in *Rangamati Sadar*, 26 interviews in *Bandarban Sadar*, and the remaining six in Dhaka. At this point, it should be noted that there were an additional three interviews (key institutional representatives) for which the consent forms were not signed. The interviewees disagreed with providing a signature on the consent form but gave oral permission to use the information as outcomes of 'informal discussions'. In addition, the researcher faced three unusual situations during the course of face-to-face interviews. In those situations, the researcher had to allow more than one participant (two participants in each situation) in the interview process in which participations were voluntary and welcomed by the referred participant. The researcher found these associated particularly with the culture and characteristics of the overall social setting within which the study has been conducted. Since this research holds the principle of empathetic understanding, the researcher encouraged those participations with a view to generate rich-information from the study sites. However, in counting the total number of interviewees, each situation was counted as a single interview although the researcher secured consent forms signed by all those volunteer participants.

The researcher used the CCSLF-generated themes as a guide for the question patterns in semi-structure interviews. It did not necessarily mean that the discussions were confined or controlled within those conceptual themes rather the researcher encouraged the interactive nature of communication and formulated questions immediately following the responses or discussions flow. In so doing, the researcher followed "double attention" principle of Wengraf (2001, p. 194) indicating:

You must be both listening to the informant's responses to understand what he or she is trying to get at and, at the same time, you must be bearing in mind your needs to ensure that all your questions are liable to get answered within the fixed time at the level of depth and detail that you need.

A semi-structured interview technique was selected as a primary data collection tool for a number of reasons. This method is one of the most accepted qualitative techniques for data collection especially when the investigation comprehends the stakeholder aspects and political issues within a case study location (Murray, 2006; Taylor, Bogdan, & DeVault, 2015). The political and socio-cultural context of the study setting in this research highly encourages

adopting such a method. Apart from the contextual elements, the interpretive social sciences paradigm also reassures the selection of the semi-structured interview technique. This data collection technique enables the researcher to grow an empathetic understanding while encouraging the participation of the informants with a view to generating meaning from the informants' standpoint. Moreover, interviews serve as an appropriate technique to discuss and explore historical information that is actually working within a research setting thereby developing interpretations to shape the findings of the study. Another advantage of using the interview method is that it can work in tandem with other data collection techniques, such as participant observation and focus group discussions.

Sampling

The current research uses purposeful sampling accompanied by the snowball technique. The most comprehensive discussion on this approach as part of primary research methods is evident in the works of Patton (1990, 2002). Patton (1990, p. 169) rationalises the method for information-rich cases and comments:

The logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research, thus the term purposeful sampling.

Patton has identified 16 different strategies for purposefully selecting information-rich cases. Under the current research theme, 'stratified purposeful sampling' and 'snowball sampling' were consulted. The stratified sampling follows the stakeholder classifications, as discussed earlier in aligning the sample units. Regarding this approach, Suri (2011, p. 70) states "Stratified samples are samples within samples where each stratum is fairly homogenous." Such an orientation helped the researcher to develop an overview of the research informants (see Appendix A) to start initially. These preliminary informants were interviewed following the snowball approach to overcome the challenges associated with qualitative research vis-à-vis predetermination of minimum number of sample sizes to ensure the adequacy of the sample size (Sandelowski, 1995).

Snowball or chain referral sampling technique is selected as a means to overcome the problem of securing representatives from adequately qualified subjects in the sampling frame (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981; Dusek, Yurova & Ruppel, 2015; Heckathorn, 2011). Moreover, a lack of past research left no significant ground studies together with socio-political background of the case study areas directs the researcher to choose this particular sampling method. In the social context, the presence of indigenous communities is noteworthy. They make their decisions customarily in a collective societal environment. Therefore, identification of key influential spokespersons from a community through references had better served the current research purpose than surveying at the individual level. The long on-going political conflict is another important issue for choosing the technique; Cohen and Arieli (2011) specifically

recommends a snowball sampling method (SSM) to deal with methodological problems of research conducted in a conflict-prone environment.

However, the strength of the snowball technique is undermined by its nature of a non-probability method leading to biasness and lack of statistical measurement to decide when to stop interviewing (Sadler, Lee, Lim & Fullerton, 2010). On this note, the current study has been conducted within a complex social setting in which social capital or, more specifically, social networks play a significant role in relation to resource decisions. Put simply, the social context cannot be fully free from bias. In addition, the assessment of various capitals (e.g. social capital including social network) towards sustainable livelihood outcomes remains a fundamental consideration of this research. Using a snowball technique is believed to complement the research objective theoretically since the snowball approach is used to predict and measure the depth of social networks in social science research (Goodman, 2011). In conducting the research through snowball sampling, data redundancy leads the researcher to determine the ultimate sample size in the process of empirical evidence collection. Correspondingly, the interviews stopped when the researcher observed data saturation had begun, indicating no new information coming from the investigated phenomenon from the informants. For example, within a particular category of participant (e.g., indigenous community resident) a participant was questioned from several dimensions (data triangulation) by requesting elaboration of alternative explanations about the themes which already emerged (e.g., militarisation).

Administering Fieldwork for Semi-structured Interviews

In order to design the research tool properly for use in the semi-structured interviews, the researcher undertook a pilot interview with one institutional representative during a pre-fieldtrip visit in December 2015. The participant was informed that his participation would be regarded as a 'pilot interview' to guide the research tool. The informed consent of the participant was taken at that time with a declaration that after receiving the human ethics approval, his consent would be taken formally to consider the information for further processing in the research. The researcher failed to convince and include more participants for pilot interview as the human ethics application was submitted but not approved at the time of pre-fieldtrip visit. Moreover, it was not the aim of pilot interview to increase the number of participants, rather the aim was to provide the researcher with key insights on the research instrument (e.g. semi-structured questions) and facilitate training on the interview process before the main phase of data collection (Barriball & While, 1994). Thus, the pilot interview was meant to test and redesign, if necessary, the semi-structured questions and their flow and ask the right questions in the right way with a view to create better responses in the main body of the research (Kim, 2011). For this investigation, the process helped the researcher to change the flow of the discussion, design it in a more synchronized way rather than picking each element from the conceptual model and asking for elaboration or explanation.

The main phase of data collection for the semi-structured interviews began in March 2016 and continued until July 2016. The researcher used a custom-designed spreadsheet with different colour codes to track the progress of the fieldwork that essentially covered all the data collection techniques including the interviews. This process provides psychological satisfaction (the progress always remained visible) to the researcher while effectively managing the fieldwork. A sample of these documents are enclosed in the appendices (see Appendix G, Table A.3 and Table A.4). To ensure anonymity and confidentiality, the identifiable sections were kept blank. Table 3.1 presents the matrix of participants along with the different phases of the interviews.

Table 3.1 Sample coverage and phases of interviews

Phases	Locations	Institutional Representatives [Public and Private]				Community Residents [People]	
		Public			Private [tourism, NGOs, and others]	Indigenous	Migrated/ Bengali
		Central	Regional	Local			
1 st Phase <i>Policy framework</i>	Dhaka	n = 2					
2 nd Phase <i>Collecting data from case units</i>	<i>Bandarban Sadar (BS)</i>	n = 1	n = 1	n = 4	n = 6	n = 10	n = 4
	<i>Rangamati Sadar (RS)</i>	n = 1	n = 1	n = 4	n = 4	n = 7	n = 3
3 rd Phase <i>Policy integration</i>	Dhaka	n = 3					
Sub-total (n)		n = 7	n = 2	n = 8	n = 10	n = 17	n = 7
Total (n)		n = 52 [including one pilot interview; audio records for 45 and only notes taken on seven]					

Table 3.1 depicts the three phases of interviewing conducted after the pilot phase. The first phase involved interviewing central government representatives with a view to explore the broad policy orientation to the tourism development in the CHT. Thereafter, the researcher went to the field and gathered data by which to examine the conceptual framework (CCSLF) via informants from the case units. Finally, the data from the case units were tested with the central government representatives from a policy integration perspective. To identify the stakeholder features among the research informants, at the case site levels of BS and RS, 80 percent (n=8) of the institutional representatives under ‘private’ category along with the same percentage from the combined total of regional and local government representatives appear with the features of a “definitive stakeholder” (Mitchell et al., 1997, p. 878). Under the ‘other’ sub-category (within private category), the researcher interviewed two military personnel (came from the chain referral process) who were exhibiting features of “dormant stakeholders” by possessing only the

‘power’ construct (Mitchell et al., 1997, p. 876). Table 3.1 indicates that a reasonable number of participants might identify themselves as ‘indigenous’ (total 17 participants from 2 cases). For this study, it is of note that the literature review has not addressed indigenous tourism (per se) in great detail. By way of explanation, the current research focuses on tourism resource governance within a sustainable livelihood framework rather concentrating on the indigenous tourism where indigenous cultures and practices are the primary foci of development. Thus, wide representation from diverse communities was sought to examine the intensity and impact of social capital as a key consideration. Indigenous communities however provide an important frame within the research context. Notwithstanding the above, a future study could focus attention on these (local) features and be correspondingly broadened to employ indigenous methods.

The researcher went to the field with a Global Positioning System (GPS) tracking device to locate the interviewees and present it in the thesis. The location mapping has been carried out with a view to provide a spatial context of the informants’ locations. In so doing, it exhibits how discretely or closely the informants were situated within the case settings. This phenomenon, in turn, was observed with a social network lens since snowball or chain referral technique has been employed to secure informants in this research. Figures 3.4 and 3.5 show the informants’ locations under the ‘community residents’ category.

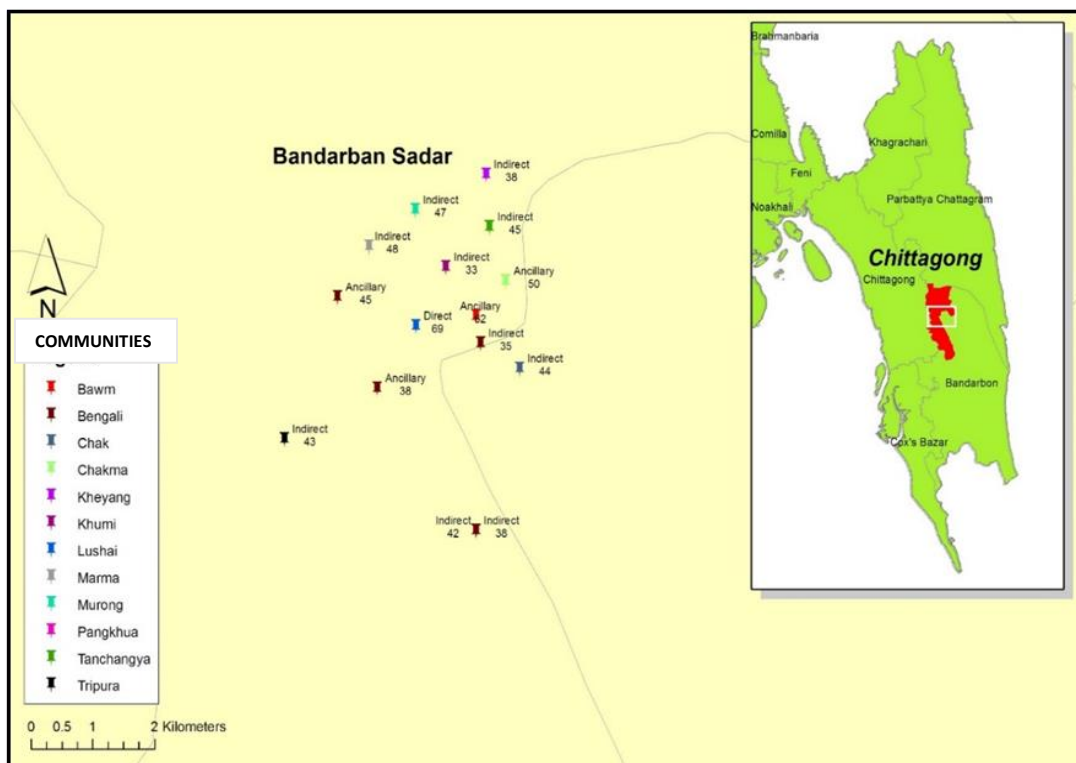


Figure 3.4 Location mapping for the community resident informants in BS

Along with the geographic location, the identifiers also display the demographic data and the informants' professional linkages to tourism. Accordingly, the researcher considers their ethnic backgrounds, ages and their relationship to tourism. In the figures, the informants' locations are shown with different colour legends indicating the diversity of ethnicity among the research participants. The ages of the participants are considered to visualise the overall range of ages for the informants. Finally, their relationship to tourism, essentially, brings a livelihood focus by analysing their dependence in tourism.

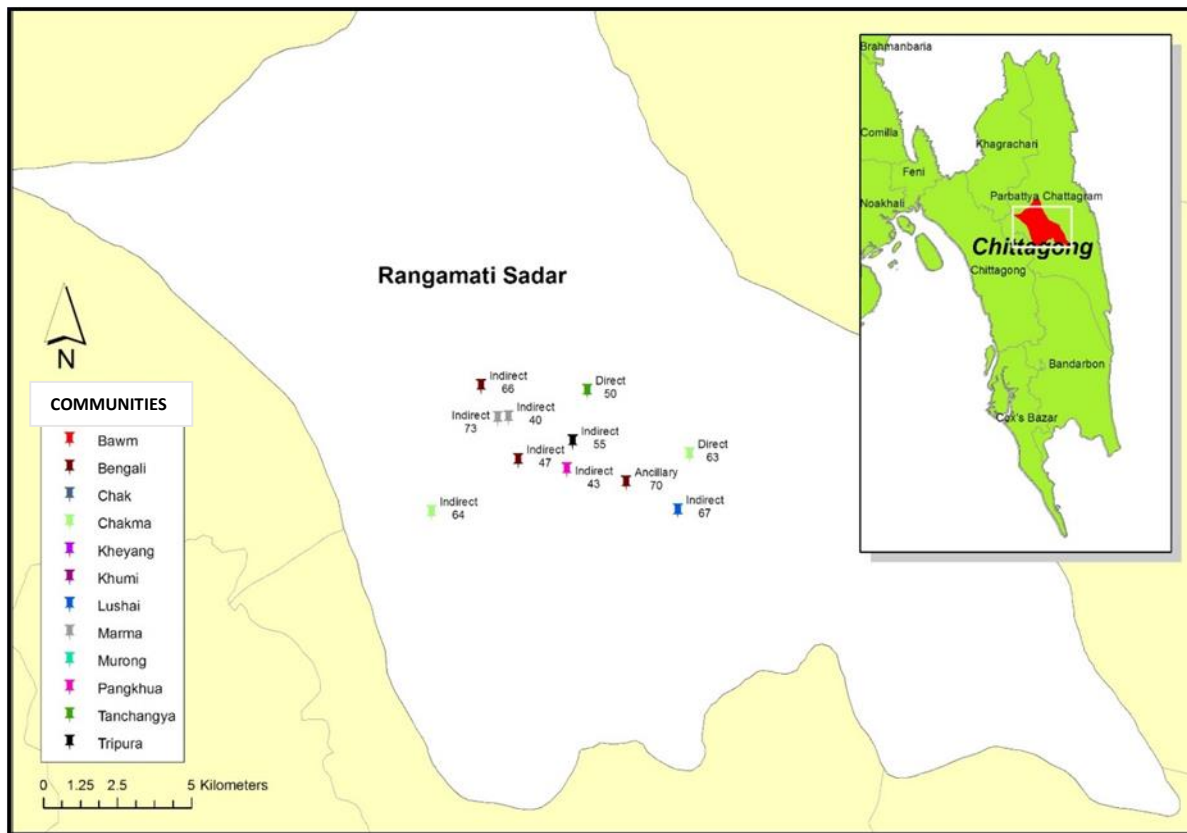


Figure 3.5 Location mapping for the community resident informants in RS

The typologies of the research participants' (stakeholders) relationship to the tourism sector has been assessed as direct, indirect or ancillary. The term direct indicates the participant has a direct involvement in tourism affairs and considers tourism as a primary occupation whereas ancillary involvement indicates tourism as an additional form of livelihood (not realised very often though). On the other hand, indirect involvement attributes no direct or ancillary involvement in tourism rather being affected by tourism activities (both positively and negatively) indirectly as a social actor within the settings. The figures generalise and it is evident that community involvement in tourism is not intense within the case sites and, most importantly, tourism as a livelihood means remains largely absent, which resembles the broader picture of CHT (see Chapter Four, Section 4.3).

Figures 3.6, 3.7, and 3.8 illustrate the informants' locations under the 'institutional representative' category.

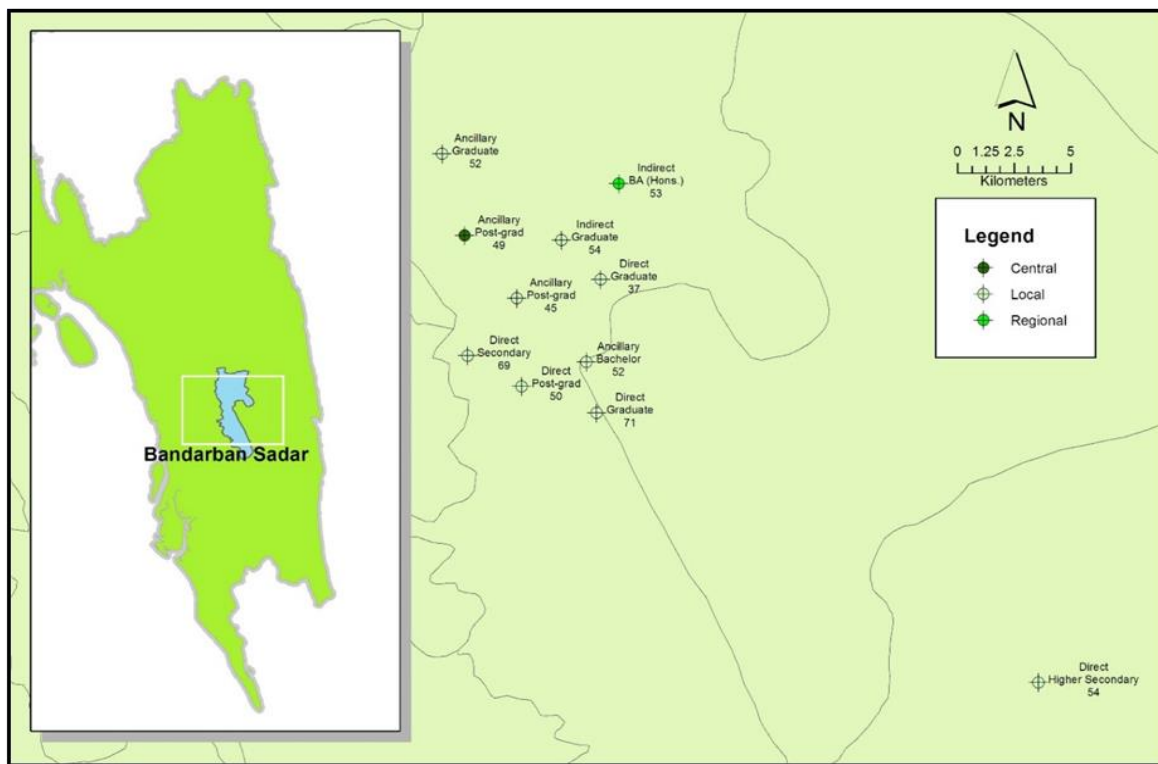


Figure 3.6 Location mapping for the institutional representative informants in BS

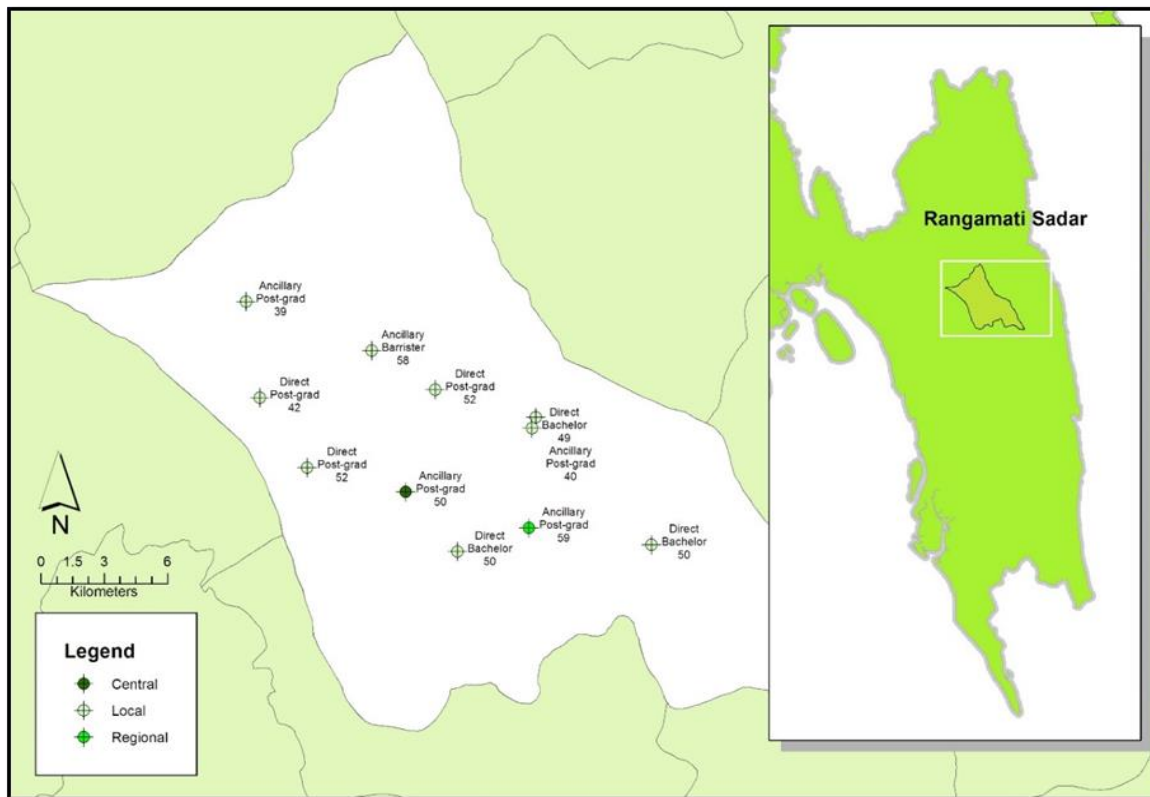


Figure 3.7 Location mapping for the institutional representative informants in RS

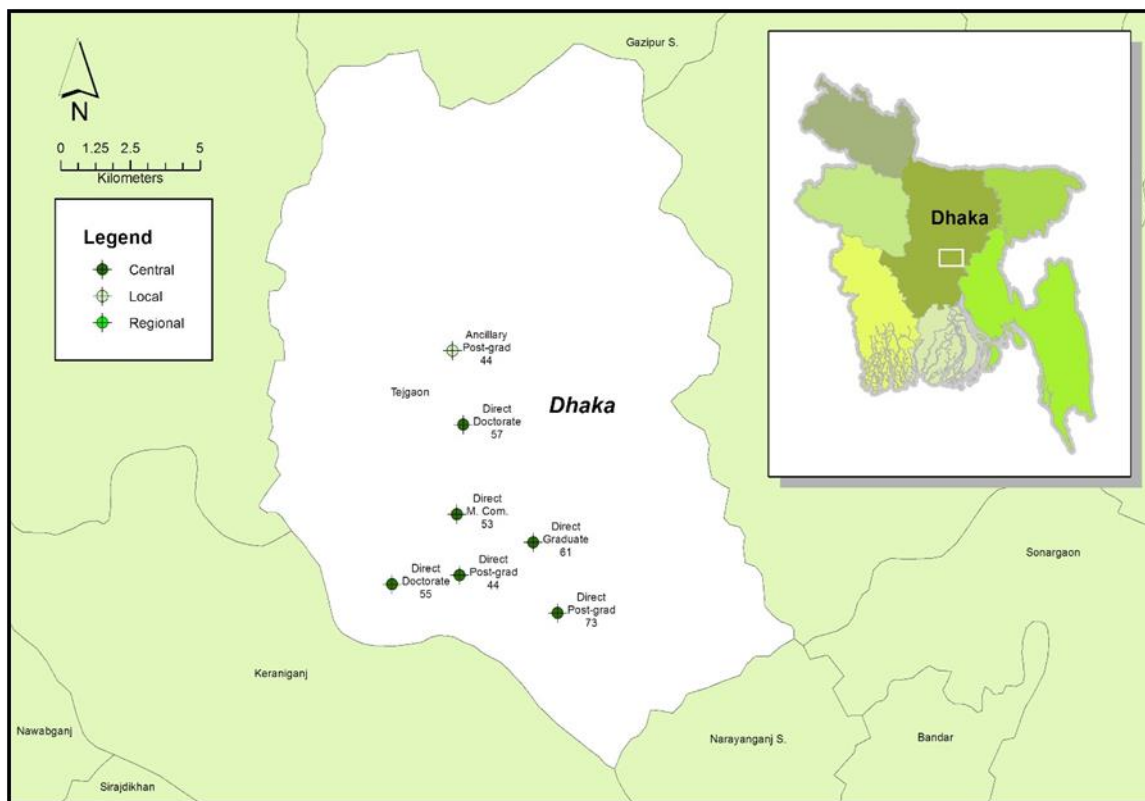


Figure 3.8 Location mapping for the institutional representative informants in Dhaka

In these figures, the pointers identify the level of affiliation (local, regional and central) while an additional feature has been added to display the educational qualifications of the participants. The educational feature has been brought in, in particular, to scope ‘human capital’, in general, within the different institutions. For convenience, all the economic and other institutional representatives are considered as local representatives functioning at the local level rather emphasising ‘local government’, as indicated in Table 3.1. However, Figure 3.8 principally represents the central level (in this case government) informants located in the capital city of Dhaka. Since this researcher encouraged sympathetic participation, the researcher prioritised the appointment at the discretion of the participants. Consequently, one appointment of a local level representative was set in Dhaka, as shown in Figure 3.8.

3.5.2 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

The semi-structured interviews were complemented by a series of focus groups. Focus groups or group interviews are defined as “a research technique that collects data through group interaction on a topic determined by the researcher” (Morgan, 1996, p. 130). From this definition, Morgan identified three aspects of focus groups: first, it is a method for collecting empirical evidence; secondly, this empirical evidence is generated through an interactive process; and, finally, the researcher plays an active role in conducting the session. These features of focus groups are also evident in the literature under varied explanations (Carey, 1994; Kitinger, 1995; Rabiee, 2004). In social sciences

research, focus groups are usually used in combination with other data collection techniques. This research uses focus groups along with semi-structured interviews and participant observations. This approach was taken to create a balance and strengthen the overall methodological combinations in this research. Participant observation provides a means to observe the seen and unseen while interviews generate rich information while focus groups synchronize the goals associate with both techniques (McLafferty, 2004). Morgan (1996, p. 134) finds the use of focus groups with interviews is uncomplicated as both are represented by qualitative methods and they complement each other by ensuring 'greater depth' in the interviews and 'greater breadth' in the focus groups.

Five focus group sessions were conducted in August 2016: four of which were carried out in the case study sites and one (exclusively represented by tourism industry people) in Dhaka. Figure 3.9 provides location map for those focus groups along with the number of participants in each session. The focus groups were conducted after a pre-analysis of the interviews' findings, which provided a basis for conducting those sessions. The number of participants in the focus groups varied from 6 to 18. The literature suggests that there is no ideal size for focus groups but generally recommends a group consisting of 8-12 members can generate better outcomes (Fern, 2001; Jennings, 2010; Krueger & Casey, 2014). This range is neither too large to face controlling difficulties, nor too small to produce rich information. However, the literature reported that the size could vary from five members to 20 (Hess, 1968; Sampson, 1972). Within this spectrum, the ideal size depends on the layout of the venue as well as the attitudes and requirements of the researcher (Greenbaum, 1998; Wells, 1974) to serve the research purposes. In addition, the availability of a group of people on a particular date and time also remains critical. The researcher faced this challenge in the field and addressed it in a careful and unhurried way to ensure the maximum representation.

Given the socio-cultural and political sensitivities associated with the case study settings, the researcher observed that sometimes an individual does not express himself or herself openly than at a group forum. This feature was particularly evident among indigenous community participants, who found easier expression in a group environment (i.e., with other indigenous members). Thus, the researcher used focus groups particularly to ensure the richness of information while facilitating methodological triangulation. In this regard, an initial design for the focus groups was represented by a sub-set of the interviewees. After the pre-analysis of the interview data, the researcher approached the interviewees from each site where the diversity of stakeholder representation was considered as a theoretical base. It was challenging to arrange sessions with a consensus about time, especially when participants were involved in diverse occupations with varying working hours. Accordingly, from the *Rangamati Sadar* unit, the researcher found eight participants (approached 16 participants) whereas from *Bandarban Sadar* unit, six participants (approached 14 participants) attended the session although nine participants initially agreed.

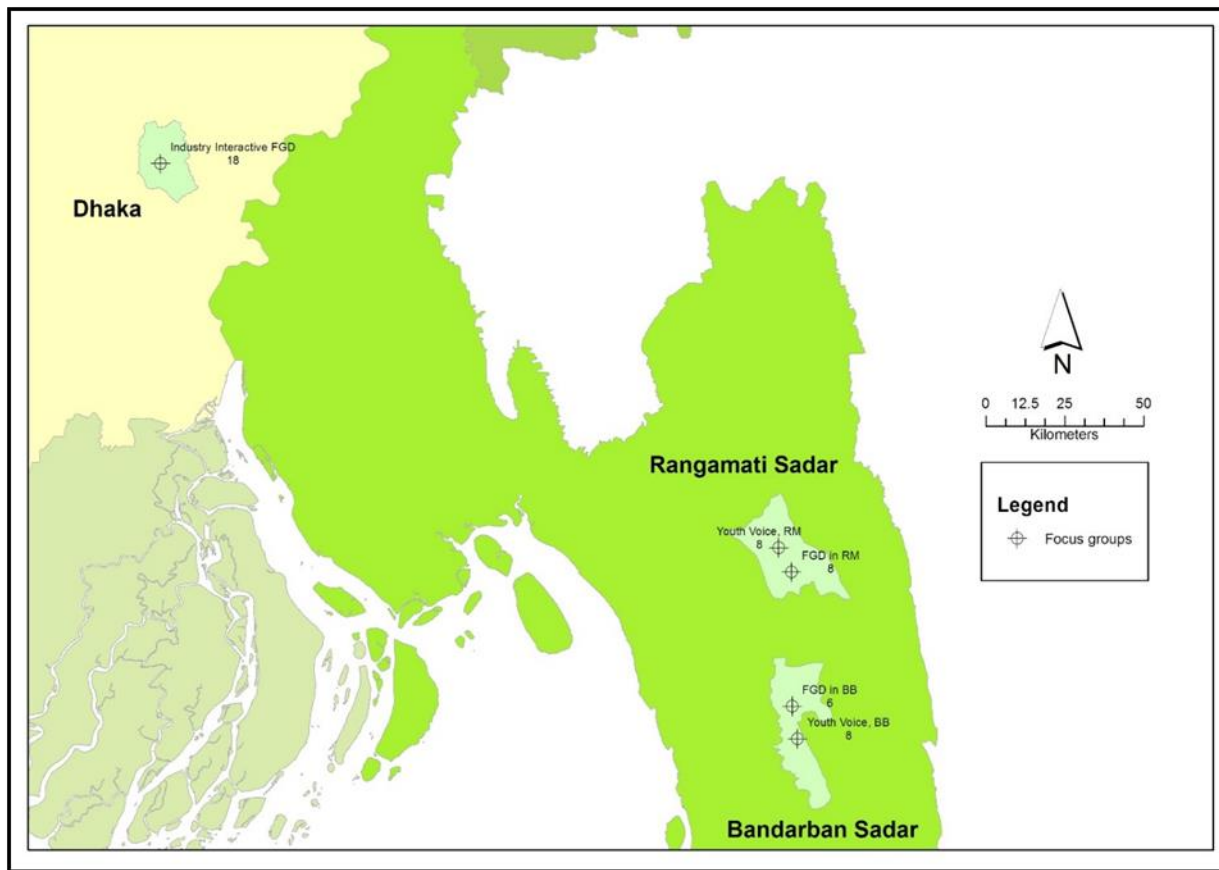


Figure 3.9 Location mapping for the focus groups

Apart from the sub-set of interviewees, three more focus groups were conducted based on the immediate field response obligations. In the preliminary analysis, it was evident that all the informants were aged above 30 (reported in Figures 3.4 to 3.8). The researcher observed this as a limitation, as the voice of the youth (generation Z) were largely absent (within case sites as community residents). Consequently, the situation was responded to by pursuing a plausible in-field strategy. The researcher conducted two youth focus groups (one at each case site) to incorporate the youth voice into this research where the participants' age-range was from 18 to 30. The selection of youth groups was followed by a straightforward approach in which the researcher found the presence of one tertiary level educational institution in each embedded unit. Those institutions were supposedly the most promising sources of targeted participants especially for the age range. Moreover, the researcher found it realistic to seek participants from an organised environment within a short time to respond the challenge promptly while maintaining uniformity of source. Another important motive that worked behind the selection of tertiary level educational institution was the capability to participate. Added to this observation, students from those institutions are supposed to lead society therein and are expected to participate in tourism decision-making and the implementation processes. Subsequently, the researcher contacted the head (principal) of the institutions concerned and briefed them about the research

objectives and requirements. The principals, in cooperation with other teachers, recommended the participants for youth focus groups. The participant selection process, in principle, followed the snowball technique and secured eight participants for each session.

Following the case studies, one industry interactive focus group was carried out in Dhaka; the institutional stakeholders, mostly tour operators, who do business in the CHT based in the capital city and policy stakeholders (who are involved in central level policy-making) represented the group. This session also came about as in response to field necessities. By the time the researcher completed his fieldwork, the industry people became aware that academic research was going on CHT tourism and requested the researcher present the research ideas in front of them as they were eager to give some inputs from being a ‘definitive’ stakeholder in tourism. The researcher took this as an opportunity to gather additional information to ensure the “richness of the empirical materials collected” (Jennings, 2010, p. 181). Accordingly, the industry people were contacted and brought together to generate information. The researcher was aware that not all the information out of the session would be meaningful but it would likely help in data triangulation and thereby contribute towards the validity of the qualitative research.

3.5.3 Participant Observation

This research has been conducted within a complex social setting in which different social actors were consulted on a one-to-one, as well as on a group basis. The participant observation technique was employed to understand the diverse perspectives of the participants within the settings. This technique is theoretically rooted in traditional ethnographic research and has been found useful to learn diverse perspectives when a researcher immerses into the socio-cultural contexts of the study settings (Mack, Woodsong, MacQueen, Guest & Namey, 2005). Participant observation as a qualitative method requires employing a vision in the course of data collection (Sarantakos, 1998). The degree or intensity of involvement or immersion and the employing vision in the observed phenomenon may vary widely. Such variations were discussed as differing role models for participant observation by Adler and Adler (1987); Gans (1982); Junker (1960); Lewins (1992). Jennings (2010) develops a comparative table considering all these role models as follows:

Table 3.2 Role models comparison for participant observation (Source: Adapted from Jennings, 2010, p. 179)

Lewins (1992)	Junker (1960)	Adler & Adler (1987)	Gans (1982)
Etic	Complete observer	Peripheral membership	Total researcher
	Observer as participant		Researcher participant
Emic	Participant as observer	Active membership	
	Complete participant	Complete membership	Total participant

The researcher utilised participant observation at three different stages: first, during the semi-structured interviews; secondly, at the time of focus group sessions; finally, through participation in two monthly meetings of the 'District Law & Order Committee Meeting' organised by respective hill district's administration at the Deputy Commissioner's Office, and one workshop organised by the *Bandarban* Hill District Council. In the course of interviews and focus groups, the researcher uses an 'etic' model as a complete observer based on peripheral membership. The researcher also attended the meetings and workshop based on peripheral membership. However, attending those sessions enabled the researcher to observe closely how decisions are made within the settings thereby this adds an insider perspective, which, in turn, is supported by the 'emic' model. In order to create a balance between emic-etic perspectives, the researcher spent considerable amount of time in fieldwork including 4.5 months in the case study areas (2.5 months in *Bandarban Sadar* and 2 months in *Rangamati Sadar*) and 1.5 months in Dhaka.

The participant observation method is used in this research for a number of reasons. This is an effective method to understand the cultural milieu of the research settings, which provides invaluable insights about the research issues (Mack et al., 2005). Besides rendering first-hand information, this technique considers the behavioural patterns and events that the participants may not be willing to share (Jennings, 2010). Thus, participant observation facilitates considering issues that may not be apparently visible and that can enrich overall understandings of the investigated phenomenon. Apart from these, the researcher uses this technique for its time-efficient nature as participant observation can be conducted simultaneously with other methods (Jennings, 2010). Participant observation generates widespread empirical materials (Jennings, 2010); however, the analysis and reporting processes inherently requires subjective interpretations and this may limit the effectiveness of the method. To overcome this limitation, an understanding is emphasised between the observed phenomenon (objective) and interpretations (less objective) being filtered out by personal biases, which needs practice (Mack et al., 2005). In this regard, the researcher took several field notes along with explanations during the time of observations. To exemplify, the field observation notes from the workshop is presented in the appendices (see Appendix I, Sample field observation notes) where the relative dominance of observed phenomenon to shape interpretations (resulting in fewer personal biases) is evident.

3.5.4 Document Analysis

Document analysis formed a strong basis for reviewing the secondary data in this research. Bowen (2009, p. 27) defined document analysis as "a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents—both printed and electronic (computer--based and Internet--transmitted) material". Documents from the case study settings were collected and analysed putting tourism in context and to grow an academic rigour out of the processes. Documents that were considered for further analyses in this research included local books describing the case sites, government

reports and contracts, policy and planning documents, promotional brochures, meeting minutes and a number of unsorted documents collected instantly from institutional informants' offices.

As noted, there is no sufficient evidence of academic literature or background studies highlighting the CHT vis-à-vis tourism development or destination development perspectives. Thus, the documentary sources played an integral role in understanding and contextualising the research setting by providing basic information such as communities' background, resources description with a particular focus on the tourism resources, political intricacies and other related historical issues. The techniques for analysing documents under consideration in this research involves an 'iterative' process featuring elements from both content analysis and thematic analysis (Bowen, 2009). For the thematic analysis, the document analysis follows the data analysis framework being utilised in this research (see Section 3.6). In relevant cases, findings from this technique were cross-checked against the findings from other sources such as interviews or focus groups.

3.5.5 Framing Analysis

Framing analysis is used in this research to complement the other methods and to widen the data collection techniques to facilitate methodological triangulation for validity in qualitative research. Framing theory or analysis is commonly used in 'political communication research' with a view to identifying and investigating the power relations by analysing the 'frames', which influences the construction of messages that makes decision making processes perceptible (Santos, 2005). Bateson (1972, p. 188) observed the utility of frames and stated that "any message which either explicitly or implicitly defines a frame ... gives the receiver instructions or aids in his attempt to understand the message included in the frame." Framing analysis is particularly used to analyse mass mediated narratives.

The researcher used 'textual procedures' in analysing and to interpret the content of various mass media narratives (Santos, 2005, p. 152). Under a framing analysis, the outcome of textual procedures and analysis lies in the fact that understanding the background frame, which constitutes the message, is important rather than simply by counting the frequency of variables and deriving conclusions as in the case of conventional content analysis (Santos, 2005). Thus, framing analysis in this research is enabled by 'latent content analysis' (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1283), where, revealing the implicit meanings of the words or contents is of primary focus. The derived meanings would be meaningful when these could be mapped against a firm theoretical construct, as expressed in the current research process. Santos (2005, p. 156) highlights the importance of a sound theoretical and/or conceptual context for framing analysis to be effective as follows:

With insufficient theoretical discussion of their findings researchers might end up with just descriptive accounts, thus there is need to incorporate a strong theoretical framework and discussion to better understand how, in this particular case study, tourism destinations are represented and why they are represented in the ways they are.

To frame data collection under this method, this research considers news published for the last three years mostly in three local (study sites) newspapers; one magazine dedicated to tourism (*Parjatan Bichitra*); a leading travel publication in Bangladesh published fortnightly (The Bangladesh Monitor); and other leading newspapers including 'The Daily *Prothom Alo*', 'The Daily *Kaler Kontho*' etc. Articles or narratives in which the words 'The Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHTs)' or '*Parbatya Chattagram*' appeared with 'tourism', 'travel', 'adventure', 'destination', 'land', 'peace treaty', 'wellbeing', 'community', or 'hill district council' were identified. The sorting process excluded articles with fewer than 250 words.

An added technique was employed along with framing analysis about analysing visual materials such as news accompanying photos, maps, figures, independently collected photographs, and videos. The acceptance of visual evidence analysis in tourism studies is increasing, especially when the study permeates socio-cultural aspects (Jennings, 2010). Visual materials, by nature, differ from textual or written materials. However, Jennings (2010, p. 191) finds interrelatedness between these two approaches and asserts that "while there is a distinction between visual and written materials, they are also interrelated and have ties to other forms of sensory interaction, expression and interpretation." The analysis of visual materials followed a similar principle as in the case of framing analysis.

3.6 Data Analysis Procedures

Data analysis in research should address what is going to be analysed and why. After collecting data in the field, the raw data were analysed following a rigorous course of action of organising, categorising and interpreting the collected data meaningfully (Creswell, 2003). This research uses descriptive or within-case analysis technique being guided by the research design.

Although three local translators were initially recruited to acknowledging the language diversity among indigenous communities, no translator was in fact required during the interviews and community visits. Participants reported themselves as willing participants comfortable at being interviewed in the national Bengali language. This may particularly due to the locational factors (surrounding district and sub-district hub) or coupled with the influence of the snowball sampling technique that was deployed. As the interviews and focus groups were conducted in Bengali, the interviews were first written in Bengali then translated into English before data extraction. Using an anonymous format (for research informants), the translated version was checked by an English Professor at the University of Dhaka to ensure the authenticity of the work. The initial translated version along with fieldwork notes (for non-recorded interviews) were communicated to participants for their approval to use in the thesis. This was done with a view to ensure that the participants' viewpoints were truly captured in the research, thereby to bring to reality 'low inference descriptors' (Johnson, 1997). In this process, the interviews and focus groups data were transcribed and

fine-tuned for further processing. To clarify, a transcript is represented by what is translated with some minor modifications, which ensures the reflection of conceptual or theoretical constructs (Davidson, 2009; Nikander, 2008).

The transcribed data have undergone an iterative and thematic analysis to develop new concepts and revise the initial CCSLF by criticising conceptual definitions and examining conceptual linkages. The entire process was targeted towards answering the core research questions. Figure 3.10 illustrates the analytical framework for this research, which, in turn, is informed by the research paradigm in this research (interpretive social sciences).

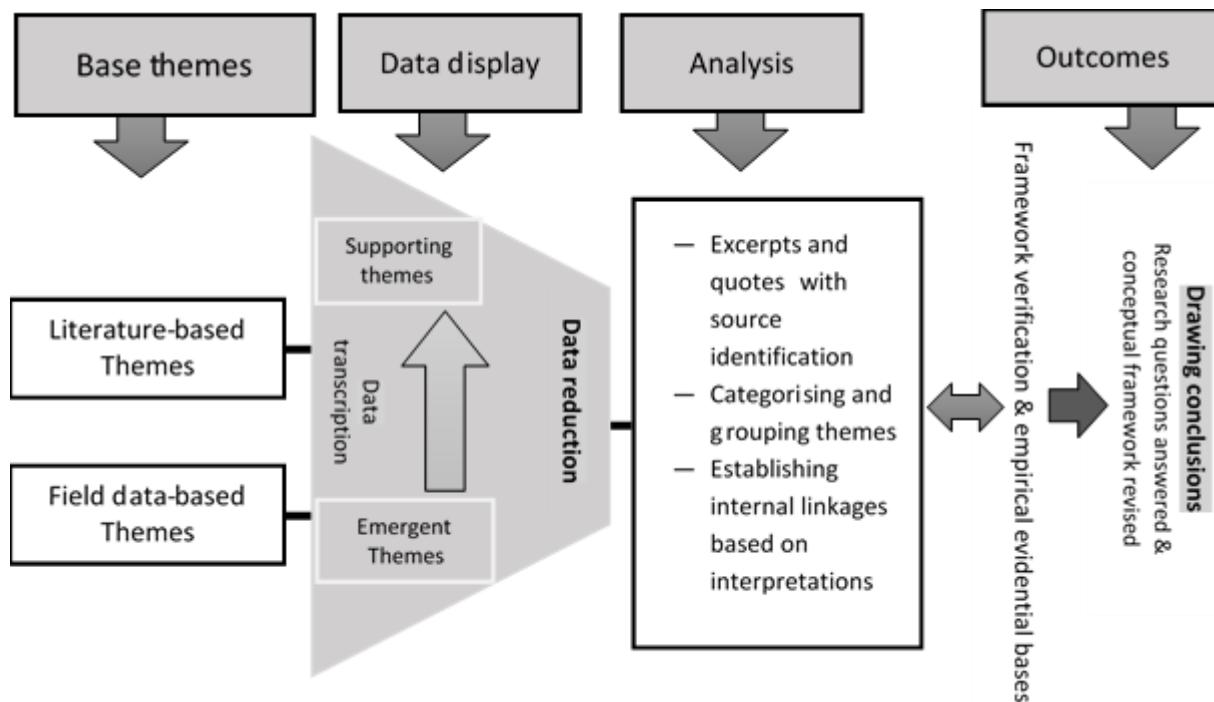


Figure 3.10 Data analysis framework

The analytic framework (Figure 3.10) follows three activities for the qualitative data analysis of Miles and Huberman (1994): data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing (verification). The base themes for data analyses were generated from the literature (as expressed in the CCSLF) as well as from the field data. Analyses of the transcribed data provide emergent themes and a group of supplementary themes that essentially represent the respective emergent themes. This process ensures data reduction while targeting the most relevant points from interview transcriptions to inform the research objectives. The next phase involves assembling the data thematically to draw conclusions, which are later verified in consultation with the relevant literature and/or available empirical evidence from other sources. Subsequently, the interpretations are reported in the form of results to address the research questions and modify the CCSLF.

Following the above analytical framework, the researcher developed a five-column 'analytical table' (ANABLE) structure to operationalise the analyses (see Appendix I; Table A.6 to Table A.10). The columns include emergent themes, supporting themes, transcript excerpts hyperlinked to the destination files, treatment and interpretation with references and source codes (interview and focus group codes). The notion of emergent and supporting themes have already been discussed whereby the supporting themes helped to elaborate emergent themes and informed by the 'interpretation' in the fourth column. The fourth column remains particularly important by providing a direction for the use of the transcript excerpts within the research findings and results. On this note, the researcher used three types of descriptors in abbreviated forms to indicate the treatment. These descriptors include implicit meaning (IM), critical observation (CO) and direct quotation (Q). Implicit meaning, in turn, indicates that the meaning from the excerpts is recognisable through interpretation while critical observation mostly linked one inference to another (ensuring data triangulation). Thus, ANABLE itself ensures validation and facilitates the presentation of research results on a coherent basis. The researcher developed six different ANABLEs, five for different categories of interviewees and one exclusively for focus groups.

Apart from the methodological justifications, the data analytical framework also influences the overall chapter layout in this thesis. The findings from the study are reported in Chapters Five and Chapter Six covering the two embedded units separately. Finally, an integration, comparison and discussion is provided in Chapter Seven for developmental considerations, which leads eventually to the conclusions of this research.

For the secondary data analysis, the collected documents were analysed mostly based on a content analysis technique whereas the framing analysis data followed textual procedures. Although content analysis and textual procedures resonate a similar meaning, there is a small difference exists in terms of their orientation. Babbie (2013) contends that each text document possesses two types of content features - manifest and latent. The manifest content focuses on what is apparently visible while the latent content embraces the underlying meaning complemented by personal interpretations. Correspondingly, Santos (2005) finds that content analysis is associated with manifest content while textual procedures is dedicated to the latent content of text documents. Finally, in interpreting or (re)constructing visual materials, the researcher adopts a 'critical' visual methodology approach which accommodates both the socio-cultural and textual features in interpretation (Rose, 2001). More specifically, this research employs 'identification' and 'read' techniques in the interpretation of visual materials (Emmison, Smith & Mayall, 2012; Pink, 2003).

3.7 Validity and Reliability in Qualitative Research

The notions of 'validity' and 'reliability' remain highly contested concepts within social sciences research. In principle, validity refers the degree of accuracy of research results while reliability indicates the extent of consistency or

reproducibility (Black & Champion, 1976; Lehner, 1998). Historically, these concepts are fundamentally rooted in positivist paradigm and associated with a quantitative approach (Golafshani, 2003). In qualitative research, the understanding of these concepts is different from in quantitative research. In fact, Jennings (2010, p. 150) proposes a set of alternative terms, including ‘trustworthiness’, ‘authenticity’ and ‘goodness of fit’, which she argues replace ‘validity’ and ‘reliability’ concepts in qualitative research. This view is also reflected in Janesick’s (1998, p. 50) observations, who states that “validity in qualitative research has to do with description and explanation, and whether or not a given explanation fits a given description.” The contested views of reliability and validity are discussed throughout the literature. Table 3.3, therefore, summarises and compares different reliability and validity typologies, as discussed by Cho and Trent (2006); Maxwell (1992); and Yin (2014). In view of this table, the researcher establishes a frame of reference to elaborate validity and reliability of the current research.

Table 3.3 Typologies of validity and reliability in qualitative research (Source: Adapted from Cho and Trent, 2006; Maxwell, 1992; Yin, 2014)

Cho and Trent (2006)	Maxwell (1992)	Yin (2014)
Transactional validity	Descriptive and interpretive validity	Construct validity
	Theoretical validity	Internal validity
Transformational validity	Theoretical validity Generalisability	External validity
		Reliability

To describe Cho and Trent’s typologies, transactional validity focuses on the data, methods or techniques, the researcher and the theory to ensure accuracy while transformational validity emphasises the representation ability in qualitative research. In its axiological foundations, this research proclaims the value-laden nature that essentially contextualises (typical to the socio-cultural and geo-political conditions) the research and makes it difficult for ‘transformational’ validation. Considering all the inherent features of the various typologies shown in the table, above, the researcher explains three criteria for justifying the research design employed in this research: construct validity, internal validity and external reliability. Alongside this, methodological triangulation is also discussed relating to these criteria.

3.7.1 Construct Validity

Construct validity can be ensured through the identification of appropriate operational methods and continuation of rigorous data arrangement in a research process (Yin, 2014). To confirm construct validity, the researcher established a chain of evidence from multiple sources and adopted a meticulous data management approach. The data analysis section discusses the researcher’s efforts towards effective data arrangements to ensure construct validity, where

initiatives are taken to cover the aspects of translation validity and content validity (Drost, 2011). The discussion signifies the principles of participant feedback, low inference descriptors, and data triangulation strategies to promote construct validity for this research (Johnson, 1997, p. 283). Besides, there are multiple techniques used in this research to compile empirical evidence. These are described along with justification from present research perspectives under the data collection section. Therefore, methods triangulation is also used as a strategy to improve the notion of construct validity for this research (Johnson, 1997).

3.7.2 Internal Validity

Under a case study research strategy, this research stands on the features of descriptive cases in which an initial conceptual framework is developed highlighting the theoretical relationships among the different concepts. The conceptual development embraces the researcher's reflexivity and assumes a cause and effect relationship between tourism capitals and sustainable livelihood outcomes when mediated by a shared decision-making and resources deployment framework. Yin (2014) observes the prime concern for internal validity is to establish or confirm the causal relationships especially when associated with a preliminary theoretical and/or conceptual framework. In order to enhance the internal validity of this research, the researcher follows a series of strategies that includes pattern matching, extended fieldwork, theoretical triangulation and peer debriefing (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Johnson, 1997; Yin, 2014).

At the time of analysis, the researcher employs a pattern matching technique where a number of predictions are made and a specific pattern is found with empirical evidence from multiple sources confirming a prediction. A researcher's lens or viewpoint can influence the rigour of validity (Creswell & Miller, 2000); for example, decisions regarding time coverage for fieldwork. In this research, the researcher spent six months of fieldwork in studying the contexts, participants and their settings to enrich understanding about their complex relationships. Both the extended fieldwork and the pattern matching techniques contributed to the integral propositions of the conceptual framework, which had been developed based on various theoretical and conceptual constructs. This process leads the researcher to conform to the theoretical triangulation process and by this means improve the extent of internal validity in this research. The researcher also discusses interpretations and conclusions from analyses with peer groups informally as well as in seminars; they debate, criticise and, sometimes, challenge the observations of the researcher. This is believed that the process makes the ultimate research outputs inherently coherent, valid and reliable.

Apart from all these techniques, it is also argued that data triangulation and using multiple methods or 'methods triangulation' also work in favour of internal validity in qualitative research (Johnson, 1997; Simmons, 1985).

3.7.3 External Reliability

External reliability refers to the extent to which the researcher's findings can be generalised to other contexts and expresses the combined features of external validity, reliability, and generalisability. Being driven by qualitative research methodologies, external reliability is not a key concern for this research as Johnson (1997, p. 289) states "generalizability is not the major purpose of qualitative research." Rather, numerous qualitative researchers advocate for a rough generalisation. Accordingly, this research adopts two different strategies to ensure external reliability: 'theoretical generalisation' (Tsang, 2014, p. 371) and detailed profiling of the research settings.

Theoretical generalisation is underpinned by the concepts of Yin's (2010) 'analytic generalisation' and Maxwell's (1992) 'theoretical validity' or in more operational terms 'theoretical triangulation'. In doing this, the researcher develops interpretations and explanations for conceptual constructs and their relationships as evidenced in the conceptual framework. The advantage of theoretical generalisation in qualitative research is that it presumes practical consistencies within the research settings (Tsang, 2014), which, in turn, discounts the exact reproducibility of the research findings. Such an observation is reinforced by Stake's (1990) 'naturalistic generalisation'; in which generalisation for qualitative research is suggested, based on the similarities of people and contexts of the research settings. In view of this understanding, this thesis incorporates a separate chapter profiling and contextualising the research setting. The implication that this will help contemporary researchers to seek out commonalities and dissimilarities pertaining the setting, should they seek to reproduce or replicate the research findings. Additionally, methodological triangulation contributes to external reliability. Marshall and Rossman (2010, p. 253) assert "designing a study in which multiple cases, multiple informants, or more than one data gathering method are used can greatly strengthen the study's usefulness for other settings."

3.8 Methodological Limitations

The researcher encountered several issues during the study process, which demarcated this research and potentially affected the research reliability. First, this research is constrained by resources availability, which is mentioned repeatedly in this thesis. There were no background studies (academic) available within case study settings in relation to tourism development. Moreover, data regarding the tourism or tourists flow, tourism planning and policy were not available. Mostly, these data do not exist as the researcher consulted multiple sources. At the central level, some data exist but those were not suitable for the current study context. In terms of tourism, planning and policy at the regional and local level is still in progress. Secondly, although the researcher assumed some forms of co-management structures existing within the case study settings but the practices found no recognisable existence of such an approach. However, in the local government decision-making body, there is a mixed representation of institutional and community participants but those are 'controlled' under the current political practises. This issue directs the

research interpretations focus as mostly prognostic and related profoundly to future policy considerations. Finally, the uniqueness of the research setting makes it difficult for generalising the research results; thus, the research outcomes may be specific rather than having a universal appeal. This issue is complemented by the time limitations. If the researcher could spend more time in the field and cover more cases within differing contexts that would be useful in mitigating many of the above issues. Notwithstanding the above challenges, the researcher holds that the results reported as a fair and accurate (valid) representation of (tourism) development at an early stage destination in a developing country such as Bangladesh.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

This research has been undertaken with the formal approval of the Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee (see Appendix E). Accordingly, the researcher has conducted this research within a set of 'moral' and 'professional' guidelines to uphold the rights and interests of various stakeholders including society, the scientific community, government, the research participants and the researcher (Jennings, 2010). These guidelines are discussed broadly within the methodological literature and reflected in the Human Ethics Application.

The research was conducted by embracing the principles of anonymity, confidentiality, and informed consent. To ensure these, the researcher supplied copies of the research information sheet (see Appendix B and Appendix D) and consent form (see Appendix C and Appendix D) to each informant at least 24 hours before the interview or focus group session. At the time of providing those documents to the informant, the researcher discussed the ethical issues involved in this research. The researcher believed that this process brought twofold benefits in the research: first, it helped to earn the credibility of the researcher within a complex socio-cultural environment; secondly, it gave enough time for the participant to provide 'informed consent'. Subsequently, on the interview day, the researcher took the consent form signed by the participant before commencing the session. However, on three occasions, the participants declined to sign the paper although they showed interest in the discussion sessions and gave the oral consent to use the information within this research only as a source of 'informal discussions'. Apart from this, seven participants ticked on the 'Take notes of the interview' box only and requested the interviews not be audio-recorded. As such, the researcher responded by taking notes from those sessions. On a number of occasions for those interviews, which were audio-recorded, the participant mentioned the word "*off the record*" and requested not to be quoted. The researcher did not include that information in the translation or subsequent transcription data.

The issue of anonymity and confidentiality was asked for further clarifications on several occasions; the researcher observed such concern, perhaps, instigated by the distracting socio-cultural and political conditions prevailing within the study settings. Shone (2013) observes that such a concern can be associated with research on sensitive subject areas, such as 'stakeholder relationships and politics of decision-making'. The researcher addressed the anonymity

and confidentiality issues by coding the interview numbers (see Appendix H) and not putting any individual name when reporting the findings, rather, using a generic category (e.g., 'indigenous community resident' or 'local government representative'). Besides, the interview date was omitted from the in-text personal references to ensure participant confidentiality.

3.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter has systematically described the research methodology being utilised in this research covering the philosophical aspects, research strategy and methods for data collection and analysis. Given the research objectives, this research stands on the interpretive social science paradigm holding the social constructionism epistemology, relativist ontology and qualitative methodology. A case study research approach has been employed in designing the research, where the researcher follows a single-embedded case study. Within a single context of the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh, two different units (*Bandarban Sadar & Rangamati Sadar*) are considered for study purposes. The justifications for case study as well as single-embedded design are discussed.

In terms of research methods, three primary and three secondary sources were consulted. The primary sources include 52 semi-structured interviews, five focus groups and participant observations; whereas, the secondary sources covered document analysis, framing analysis and visual evidence. Such a wide range of methods were sought to overcome the limitations in the availability of background studies and quality data, thereby generating meaningful and valid results to accomplish the research objectives. In analysing the primary data (interviews and focus groups), a thematic approach was used following an analytical framework (Figure 3.10). For participant observation, field observation notes were prepared to complement other techniques. Secondary sources of data were analysed mostly based on content analysis and textual procedures. For analysing visual evidence, a critical visual methodology approach was followed in which the researcher employed 'identification' and 'rad' techniques.

Following the research methods, the validity and reliability issues are discussed briefly, which confirms a robust and defensible methodological stance of this research. Finally, the research limitations are pointed out along with research ethics to ensure the standard practices in the research process helps the reader of this thesis not to exaggerate the findings. The next chapter will now create a profile and contextualise the broader case study setting – the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh for this research project.

Chapter Four

Contextualising the Research Setting

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides background details of the research setting and identifies core situational factors that influence the functioning of tourism systems within this setting. In doing so, a particular focus has been given to various resource decision-making processes. The chapter begins by outlining the geographic, demographic and administrative profile of Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHTs) in Bangladesh. Following an overview of the CHT, the selection criteria of embedded units (cases for study) is outlined and emphasised. Thereafter, the chapter employs ‘framing analysis’ and ‘document analysis’ methods to explore the core situational factors. Finally, a sustainable tourism development perspective is analysed in parallel with the identified policy issues to highlight the National Tourism Policy 2010. Simultaneously, the current state of tourism in the CHTs has been conceptualised to signify tourism’s resource decision-making needs and realities. The overall framework of this chapter is designed and presented in such a way as to facilitate reporting the research findings in the subsequent chapters, thereby meeting the research objectives, as outlined in this thesis.

4.2 Overview of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHTs), Bangladesh

The Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHTs or the Hill Tracts for short) or ‘Parbatya Chattagram’ in Bengali is a unique hilly area located in the south-eastern part of Bangladesh (21.25° to 23.45° north latitude and 91.45° to 92.50° east longitude) sitting under the broader Chittagong Division. The hill tracts comprise a total land area of 13,295 square kilometres, being distributed among three hill districts: Khagrachari, Rangamati and Bandarban. The land area is dominated by seven valleys that extend south-northwest. These valleys were created by four main rivers: Feni, Karnafuli, Sangu, Matamuhuri; and their tributaries, the Chengi, Kassalong, and Mainee (Royhan, 2016; Tripura, 2012). The valleys are surrounded by a range of small hills with semi-evergreen (deciduous) or tropical evergreen vegetation, featuring dense bamboo, tall trees and creepers (Haque, 2001). The CHT has a sub-tropical climate with an annual average rainfall ranging from 2032 mm to 3910 mm; and a mean monthly maximum temperature that varies from 10.17°C to 35.06°C depending on the season (Rasul, Thapa, & Zoebisch, 2004; Shelly, 1992). Figure 4.1 provides the map of the CHT as well as its relative proportion in relation to the whole country. It also locates the case study units used for this research.

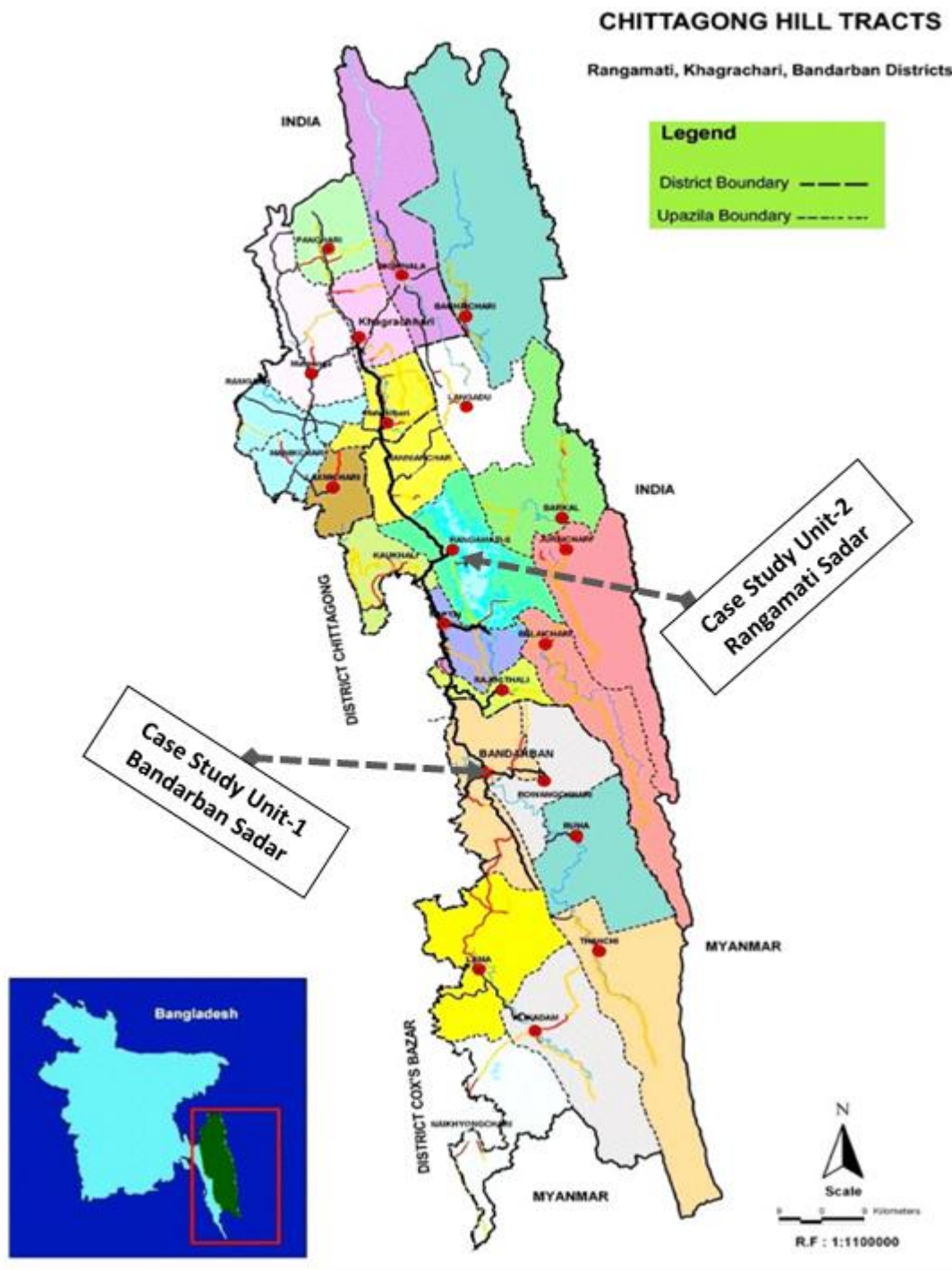


Figure 4.1 Map of the CHT region (Source: Tripura, 2014)

The CHT region holds significant geopolitical values, in that it represents 10 percent of the total land area of Bangladesh and shares land borders with two neighbouring countries: India and Myanmar (Burma). Although the CHT occupies one tenth of the total land area, all the land is not equally suitable for cultivation or living. Only 3.2 percent is considered as good agricultural land and this is mostly located near the river basins. Elsewhere, around 78.4 percent

is covered by steep slopes having low moisture-holding capacities which, in turn, is regarded as very poor non-agricultural land and, as such, is being used for forestry, including reserve forests (Royhan, 2016). The land use pattern has a direct impact on the carrying capacity and density of the population of this region. The distribution of indigenous and Bengali populations throughout CHT is also shown by the land capacity, where the Bengali people tend to live near district or sub-district headquarters or business centres and indigenous people prefer to live in the hilly and forested areas (Lewin, 2015).

The following sub-sections discuss the population and cultural aspects, as well as the distinct administrative and political history of this region.

4.2.1 People, Society and Culture

CHT's population in 2011 was 1,598,231 consisting of 51.95 percent male and 48.05 percent female (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c). A large proportion of the Buddhist worshipping population lives in this region alongside Muslim, Hindu and Christian religious groups. However, a few indigenous groups follow their own religions other than those mentioned above (e.g. 'Mro' has their own religion). Historically, CHT remains the ancestral home of indigenous populations who are also simultaneously identified by several other terms, such as *Adivasi*, tribal, *Pahari* (people who live in hills) and small ethnic communities (as used by the Bangladeshi government). Since this research does not have an anthropological stance, all these terms are used interchangeably throughout the thesis.

Shelly (1992, pp. 44-45) identifies 13 indigenous communities, including *Chakma*, *Marma*, *Tripura*, *Tanchangya*, *Chak*, *Pankhu*, *Murang*, *Bawm*, *Lushai*, *Kyang*, *Khumi*, *Riang*, and *Mro*. However, other sources commonly refer the existence of 11 ethnic groups, merging *Mro* with *Murang*, and excluding *Riang* from the list above (Amnesty International, 2013; Ministry of Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs, 2018; Royhan, 2016; Tripura, 2016a). Each separate group has its own distinctive culture, physical traits, language, religion, attire and farming methods. Beside these groups, mainstream people, as indicated above, who usually live close to the business and administrative centres, also reside there. Thus, the CHT presents both unique landscapes and high cultural diversity within the context of the country of Bangladesh. Figures 4.2 to 4.6 provide visual representations of such diversity.



Figure 4.2 Different communities in the CHT [Photo sources: (Bangladesh Ethnobotany Online Database, n. d.; Ministry of Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs, 2016, p. 15)]



Figure 4.3 Alphabets used by different communities showing the language diversity in the CHT (Source: Collected from Khudra Nri Goshtir Sangskritik Institute, Bandarban)



Figure 4.4 Unique ornaments bearing the identity of a particular indigenous community (Source: Photo taken by the researcher from *Khudra Nri Goshthir Sangskritik Institute Museum, Rangamati*)



Figure 4.5 Utensils used by different indigenous communities (Source: Photo taken by the researcher from *Khudra Nri Goshthir Sangskritik Institute Museum, Rangamati*)



Figure 4.6 Different musical instruments unique to each indigenous community (Source: Photo taken by the researcher from *Khudra Nri Goshtir Sangskritik Institute Museum, Rangamati*)

The series of images presented, above, demonstrate the extent of the variation among the various indigenous groups in the CHT. Nevertheless, they share a mutual historical experience in that they strive to avoid the influence of their non-indigenous (Bengali) counterparts (Van Schendel, 1992). In this process, they are collectively identified as the ‘Jumma’ people. Chowdhury (2008) observes that ‘Jummaism’ or ‘Jumma Nationalism’ is a movement initiated in the 1960s to unite the disparate tribal communities under a single umbrella to establish their rights to access and control resources through the formation of their identities. The nucleus of such a movement, and its successive formation into a political party called *Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti* (PCJSS), is aligned with the changing composition, over time, of the Bengali community people in comparison with the indigenous communities.

From 1872 to 1991, Bengalis in CHT increased 431 times whereas the indigenous people grew by only eight times (Adnan, 2004, p. 55). Table 4.1 summarises the changing patterns of indigenous-Bengali populations over a period of around 140 years, starting from 1872. The data in the table indicate the dramatic increase of non-indigenous, or Bengali people, in the CHT region, especially after the post-independence era. The percentile changes during the British era perhaps could be explained under the lens of ‘natural migration’. This was evident in the description by Lewin (1996, 2015) who highlighted a prime motive for Bengali people visiting CHT was business and, later, for their business convenience they started to live there.

Table 4.1 Indigenous-Bengali population composition corresponding to the administrative eras. (Sources: Adnan, 2004, p. 57; Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c, n. d.; Dhamai, 2014, p. 12; Haque, 2001, p. 52)

Year	Indigenous		Bengali		Total (100%)	Administrative Era
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage		
1872	61,957	98.26	1,097	1.74	63,054	British
1901	116,063	92.98	8,762	7.02	124,825	
1951	261,538	90.91	26,150	9.09	287,688	Pakistan
1961	335,069	87.01	50,010	12.99	385,079	
1974	409,751	80.60	98,628	19.40	508,379	Post-independence: Bangladesh
1981	441,796	59.17	304,873	40.83	746,669	
1991	501,144	51.43	473,301	48.57	974,445	
2001 ²	736,682	54.86	606,058	45.14	1,342,740	
2011 ³	845,541	52.90	752,690	47.10	1,598,231	

The migration rate of Bengalis had begun increasing, with government support, since the end of East Pakistan (before independence Bangladesh was known as ‘East Pakistan’ while what is now called Pakistan was called ‘West Pakistan’). The underlying reason for such government policy lies in the political distrust coupled with a fear of being merged with neighbouring countries. For example, the hill leaders were divided in ratifying the India-Pakistan partition of 1947 and hoisted the Indian flag, at Rangamati, and the Burmese flag, at Bandarban, on 15 August 1947 (Chowdhury, 2006, p. 40; Faiz & Mohaiemen, 2010; Yasmin, 2014). This incident is believed to have created a feeling of distrust between the government (then East Pakistan) and indigenous leaders or communities, in general, which was reflected through the liberation of Bangladesh.

From the table, it is obvious that the largest increase in the Bengali population took place between 1974 and 1981. This trend was followed in subsequent years by slower increases except for slight fall in 2001, although in terms of

² The official census data of 2001 did not categorize indigenous and Bengali populations. Data shown in the table is sourced from Dhamai (2014, p. 12).

³ Following 2001, the official district statistics data did not disaggregate indigenous and Bengali populations except the Khagrachari one where the ‘tribal’ population counted as 316,987 encapsulating Chakma, Tripura, Marma and others. Data shown in this case is also sourced from Dhamai (2014) while the total number of population is cross-checked with other sources.

percentage only. The rapid increase of the Bengali population is argued by Dhamai (2014, p. 11) as ‘a government population transfer (‘rehabilitation’) program that was carried out in order to outnumber the local Indigenous population’. Adnan and Dastidar (2011) however, found that the state structured massive Bengali settlements as a counter insurgency strategy of the state against the Jumma or Pahari rebels led by the PCJSS. The government supported Bengali populations started being marked widely as ‘Bengali Settlers’ or ‘Political Migrants’ (Adnan & Dastidar, 2011, p. xxi) by different development agencies and local indigenous people. Until now, they are differentiated from early Bengali dwellers as “*Adi Bengali*” (a term derived from informal discussion notes from fieldtrip as well as formal interview sessions).

This significant change of population composition eventually altered the cultural geography of the CHT region. For example, a growing number of settlers were given shelter near or inside indigenous villages, which were commonly referred to as ‘*cluster villages*’, to destroy the ongoing social harmony and employ ‘*divide-and-conquer techniques*’ (Gray, 1994, pp. 62-63). At the same time, increased number of Bengalis in the region influenced overall religious patterns. Religious practices were largely dominated by Buddhism before the influx of the Bengalis. In regard to religious practices, with special reference to the CHT, Bengalis are broadly categorised into three religious subdivisions: Muslim, Hindu and Barua, or Buddhist, while the majority is represented by Muslims. In 1981, the percentages of the Buddhist and Muslim populations were reported as 52.46 percent and 34.53 percent, respectively (Adnan, 2004, p. 60), which increased over the years and to become 43.89 percent and 42.60 percent, respectively in the census data of 2011 (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c).

4.2.2 Administrative and Political History of the CHT

Until 1760, CHT held an independent kingdom status and used to pay revenue (as ‘*Karpas*’ or cotton) to the Mughal Nawab (Faiz & Mohaiemen, 2010). This independent status continued until 1780 even after the fall of Nawab Siraj ud-Daulah, in 1757, the last independent Nawab of Bengal, to the British East India Company. During the period between 1760 and 1780, CHT maintained the status of a ‘tributary state’ under the British Empire paying revenue to the British rulers (Royhan, 2016). By the end of 1777, Chakma warriors rebelled against the British rule, especially because of increased taxes. Consequently, a series of fights took place between 1778 and 1787 in which all military invasion attempts by the British East India Company failed (Faiz & Mohaiemen, 2010; Royhan, 2016). Eventually, the East India Company changed its strategy and imposed economic restrictions to overpower the hill people. This worked well and the Chakma King surrendered which, ultimately, gave full authority over the region to the British Empire. Although CHT lost its independence to the British Empire, the British regime administered the CHT from 1787 to 1860 without much interference into internal administrative matters (Royhan, 2016, p. 103).

The administrative and political histories of the CHT are best understood along with the timeframe of the three different political reigns, British, Pakistani and Bangladeshi, as indicated in Table 4.1.

Era of British Supremacy (1860-1947)

Until 1860, CHT was a part of the Chittagong district. Based on the 'Raid of the Frontier Tribes Act XXII of 1860', the region was declared as a separate district under the administration of a 'Superintendent' who worked under the authority of the 'Divisional Commissioner' of the Chittagong Division (Tripura, 2012, p. 7). Soon after the introduction of the 'superintendent' as an administrator, the increased level of functions and responsibilities convinced the ruling authority to change the status to a 'Deputy Commissioner (DC)', in 1867, and Captain T. H. Lewin was appointed as the first DC of the CHT district (Royhan, 2016). Initially, the district headquarters were located in 'Chandraghona' and, later, in 1868, they were shifted to Rangamati for administrative convenience.

The most remarkable administrative reform in the CHT was achieved by the British colonial regime in dividing the district into three revenue circles: the Chakma circle, the Bohmong circle and the Mong circle. The British completed this division in 1881 and introduced the territorial chief concept by appointing a circle chief for each circle, also known as 'the King' or '*Raja*' (Royhan, 2016). This was carried out with a view to ensure efficient revenue collection and to foster the practices of traditional justice as Chakma (2012, p. 122) observed:

The collection of revenues and dispensation of traditional justice in social courts were done by the three circle chiefs (Chakma, Bohmong, and Mong) of the region. The British colonial administration adopted certain principles to limit interference by the civil administration in local affairs; indeed, a policy of no-interference in local customs and social norms was pursued. The British colonial administration allowed limited self-rule in the CHT.

In the early twentieth century, the British colonial regime instigated 'the Chittagong Hill Tracts Regulation 1900', commonly called the 'Hill Tracts Manual', which superseded all prevailing acts and regulations in the CHT region. The Regulation created three sub-divisions in parallel with the three circles being supervised by a sub-divisional officer for each sub-division; again, each sub-division or circle was divided into further units, which were known as '*Mouzas*' and these *Mouzas* were comprised of village(s) (Chakma, 2012; Ministry of Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs, 2018; Royhan, 2016; Shelly, 1992; Tripura, 2012). *Mouzas* were regarded as the smallest revenue units and the *Mouza* chief was known as the '*Headman*', whereas, the village or para chief was called the '*Karbari*' or '*Bazar Chaudhuri*'. Although the circle chief position was hereditary, the headmen were appointed by the sub-divisional officers (at present, the DC) in consultation with the circle chief; both the circle chiefs and headmen then appointed the '*Karbari*'. It is to be noted that this system of traditional administration is still in practice.

The Hill Tracts Manual was amended in 1920 and the Chittagong Hill Tracts (Amendment) Regulation was introduced as a 'key' of administrative ruling in the CHT, which is still prevailing, although some sections have subsequently been

amended (Tripura, 2012). As per the Manual and Regulation, it is the duty and responsibility of the headmen to collect revenue and hand it over to the Circle Chief for submission to the DC. The presence of such a dual administration identified the region as having a unique status. In fact, the Chittagong Hill Tracts (Amendment) Regulation 1920 declared the CHT as an 'exclusive area' and the Government of India Act 1935 stated the region to be a 'totally excluded area' (Chakma, 2012, p. 123).

The Pakistan Era (1947-1971)

The British colonial regime ended and the British sub-divided the broader Indian sub-continent into two countries before their departure. Subsequently, India and Pakistan were separated in 1947 and CHT became a part of the, then, East Pakistan. As noted earlier, the hill leaders were divided about ratifying the division and some wanted to be a part of India while others supported Burma (now Myanmar). This issue, including the flag-hoisting event, created a degree of political distrust and insecurity, which were reflected through the policies and activities of the Pakistan government. In general, the government took three strategies to create immediate, medium and long-term impacts. First to respond immediately, the government employed the army to settle the flag hoisting issue and take control over the region (Faiz & Mohaiemen, 2010, p. 26). Secondly, as a medium term strategy, the government started transferring indigenous government employees working in the CHT to other parts of the East Pakistan to establish central government control (Chowdhury, 2006). Finally, a long-term impact was planned through the systematic rehabilitation of Bengalis (people from East Pakistan) into the region. In the early 1960s, the government commissioned the 'Kaptai Hydroelectric' project in Rangamati, which rehabilitated several thousands of Bengali into the CHT region (Roy, 2000).

The CHT was administered remotely from the city of Lahore. The government took the first administrative move by amalgamating the local police force of the CHT into the East Pakistan police, which contradicted and, ultimately, ended the CHT Frontier Police Regulation of 1881 (Chakma, 2012). However, the first constitution of Pakistan, in 1956, retained the status of the CHT as an 'Excluded Area'. Afterwards, in 1964, a constitutional amendment took effect and the region's status was changed to 'Tribal Area' following the administration of tribal areas in West Pakistan. In the following year, the government made an amendment to Rules 54 and 34 of the Hill Tracts Manual 1900, which restricted the power of the Deputy Commissioner and assisted the settlement of the non-indigenous (Bengali and others) people in the CHT (Shelly, 1992).

During the period between 1950 and 1963, the government carried out two massive development projects with the assistance of foreign funds. The first project was the '*Karnafuli Paper Mill*' and the second, as mentioned earlier, was the '*Kaptai Hydroelectric Project*'. Both the projects dislocated the indigenous peoples from their traditional lands but with an inadequate rehabilitation plan. The paper mill completely failed to provide any visible benefits to the

local indigenous peoples as the majority of jobs were taken by outsiders and hill-people only occupied one per cent of the total workforce, mostly in lower-skilled categories (Adnan, 2004; Mohsin, 2003; Roy, 2000). Moreover, they started losing resources essential for their daily lives; for instance, the mill required bamboo and softwoods, which were traditionally used by indigenous peoples. In order to ensure supply, the government created 'Protected Forests (PF)' that forced the indigenous people to move away from their lands and this affected their forest life (Mohsin, 1997). Similarly, the hydroelectric project also displaced a large number of indigenous people. Shelly (1992, p. 31) and Roy (2000, p. 96) noted that the creation of the artificial '*Kaptai Lake*' and the hydroelectric project submerged a total area of 1,036 square kilometres (400 square miles), including 54,000 acres (21853.04 hectares) of cultivable land. It was also noted that the submerged land area comprised around 40 percent of the total settled cultivable land which, in turn, ejected 100,000 persons from 10,000 farming families and 8,000 Jhumia (people who follow traditional Jum cultivation methods) families. Although 280 million rupees were allocated for rehabilitation purposes in this project, only 20 million were reportedly released (Shelly, 1992). This incidence severely affected the socio-economic life of the local indigenous peoples and many were compelled to migrate over the border into Tripura State in India.

On the positive side, a progressive approach can be observed in government activities as it intensified education by establishing many primary and secondary schools, between 1958 and 1968 (Shelly, 1992). The Chakma community mostly appreciated these efforts. Accordingly, their literacy rate reached over 50 percent by 1970. Education raised their political awareness and they took the lead in the 'Jumma' rights movement, which is still evident in the present day.

The Bangladesh Era (1971-Present)

Bangladesh got liberation from Pakistan in 1971 after a nine-month long bloodshed war. The political distrust that prevailed throughout the Pakistan regime, however, was sustained, to some extent in the Bangladeshi period as well. For example, the role of indigenous people in the liberation war was almost labelled as having a 'pro-Pakistani' stance, although a few hundred of Jumma people fought for Bangladesh (Faiz & Mohaiemen, 2010). Such a claim was generalised based on the role played by some tribal leaders, such as Raja Tridiv Roy, and some youths in the Civil Armed Forces, which was formed by the Pakistan military (Shelly, 1992, p. 33). However, indigenous people as a whole became confused and took a neutral position.

After liberation, and during the drafting phase of the national constitution, in 1972, a group of indigenous representatives from the CHT headed by Manobendra Narayan (MN) Larma, then a Member of Parliament, met the Prime Minister, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, and raised four points to be in the constitution. The points demanded autonomy for the CHT; retention of Hill Tracts Regulation 1900 along with future provision against any amendment

of the Regulation; continuation of the circle chief's office; and imposing a ban on the influx of Bengali people (Chakma, 2012, p. 125). In response, the Prime Minister denied the opportunity for those points to be addressed in the constitution and advised them '*to forget their ethnic identities*' and remarked that they had become engrossed with '*Bengali nationalism*' (Ahsan & Chakma, 1989, p. 967). Arens and Chakma (2010, p. 23) noted further that the PM threatened the delegates with the deployment of a large-scale military presence and the settlement of more Bengalis in the CHT if they insisted on their demands. Thereafter, in the course of parliamentary debates on the draft constitution, Mr. Larma showed his discontent with the constitution on behalf of the hill-people by undertaking a single-member walk-out from parliament. Indicating the cultural differences, Mr. Larma conveyed the message in the national assembly that 'I am a Bangladeshi (citizenship) and Chakma (national identity) not a Bangladeshi and Bengali' (Chakma, 2012). Following the loss of his motivation, M. N. Larma formed a regional political party 'Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti', or PCJSS, in 1972, as mentioned earlier. One year after its formation, PCJSS introduced its armed wing named '*Shanti Bahini* (Peace Brigade)'. Thus, from the very beginning the policies of the Bangladesh administration fostered a tribal problem in the CHT region that remains today as a deeply rooted political background.

Even though the PM, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, was inconsiderate about the demands of the tribal leaders, he did not undertake massive militarisation or force on Bengali settlements during his leadership (Arens & Chakma, 2010). The political administration of Bangladesh changed overnight on the back of a military coup leading to the assassination of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his family, on 15 August 1975. Soon after, the democratic struggle of PCJSS faded as successive governments took on aggressive policies and deployed large-scale military action which, ultimately, turned the CHT region into an armed conflict-prone area (between the military and Shanti Bahini). This policy focused principally on the long-term strategy, as mentioned under the Pakistani regime, as well as the threat from the PM, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, i.e., the settlement of Bengalis to outnumber the indigenous population. In 1976, General Ziaur Rahman formed the Chittagong Hill Tracts Development Board (CHTDB) and started the government-backed settlement of Bengalis in the CHT region; the settlers were redistributed onto land sourced from tribal or indigenous people, along with being given government help for their living expenses (Faiz & Mohaiemen, 2010). In this regard, Chakma's (2012, p. 127) claim is worth mentioning- "the Bengali settlers are the only people in the CHT who have received uninterrupted rations from their arrival in the late 1970s and early 1980s to till date". In response to massive Bengali settlement, *Shanti Bahini* operated their first attack on a military outpost, in late 1976, to express their discontent (Arens & Chakma, 2010). This incident gave the government a valid reason to extensively militarise the region to fight such insurgencies. By mid-1977 the ratio of armed forces to CHT residents was 1:5 (Faiz & Mohaiemen, 2010, p. 27). Attack and counter-attack continued for the next two decades and thousands of hill people fled to the neighbouring country of India as refugees, while around 25,000 people were killed (Chakma, 2012, p. 126). A number

of initiatives were taken in the meantime to settle the conflict in CHT. Finally, on 2 December 1997 the long-awaited Peace Treaty was signed between the, then, Prime Minister, Sheikh Hasina led Awami League government and PCJSS.

Alongside the ongoing conflicts, CHT region experienced administrative reforms in the early 1980s as a part of countrywide administrative restructuring. All the subdivisions of the country were raised to 'District' status; subsequently, all the three subdivisions of CHT; namely, Rangamati, Bandarban and Khagrachari were elevated to districts by 7 November 1983 (Tripura, 2012). A 'Deputy Commissioner (DC)' who is appointed by the central government runs the district administration. Under the previous structure, each sub-division was divided into a number of 'Thanas' (Police Stations) and each Thana, in turn, consisted of 'Unions' and each Union was made up of a number of 'Wards'. The administrative reforms split the district administration into 'Upazilas' or 'Sub-districts,' which hold resources' allocation authority for the 'Unions'.

In 1989, the government of Bangladesh created three 'Local Government Councils (LGCs)' for each of the three hill districts based on the 'Hill District Local Government Council Act 1989; Act Nos. 19, 20 and 21'. Following the peace treaty, in 1997, these LGCs are now known as 'Hill District Councils (HDC)' and, essentially, represent one of the key local government structures for the hill district people. The peace treaty also initiated a regional body in the name of 'Chittagong Hill Tracts Regional Council (CHTRC)' with a view to monitoring and coordinating the local governments' (e.g., HDCs) activities while maintaining communication with the central government. Apart from local and regional structures, a separate ministry was formed at the central government level in accordance with the peace treaty, which is called the 'Ministry of Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs (MoCHTA)'.

In general, the researcher found the overall administrative structure of CHT was confusing and, to some extent, with overlapping administrative structures. There were no meticulous sources found to report with an explicit structure or organogram that could essentially clarify the reporting structures and the territories of organisational duties and responsibilities within CHT. Keeping aside the military administration, at least three administrative structures are noticeable in the CHT, as illustrated by the following figures (Figures 4.7, 4.8 and 4.9). The figures are presented in the most comprehensible way. To develop these structures and overcome the limitation of unique sources to cite, the researcher considered a variety of sources, including consulting government officials, field observation notes, the relevant ministries' websites and other published documents, such as the CHT Peace Accord 1997, the CHTDB Act 2014 and the CHTRC Act 1998. Finally, after developing these structures, they were communicated to one local government (HDC) representative and one central government representative (research participants) to ensure crosschecking and to increase the validity of the reporting process.

Figure 4.7 indicates a general administrative structure prevailing elsewhere in Bangladesh, which indicates a three interconnected layer of local government administration encompassing the District, Upazila and Union Councils. These offices are operated under the controlling authority of the local government division at a central level while being represented by an elected chair.

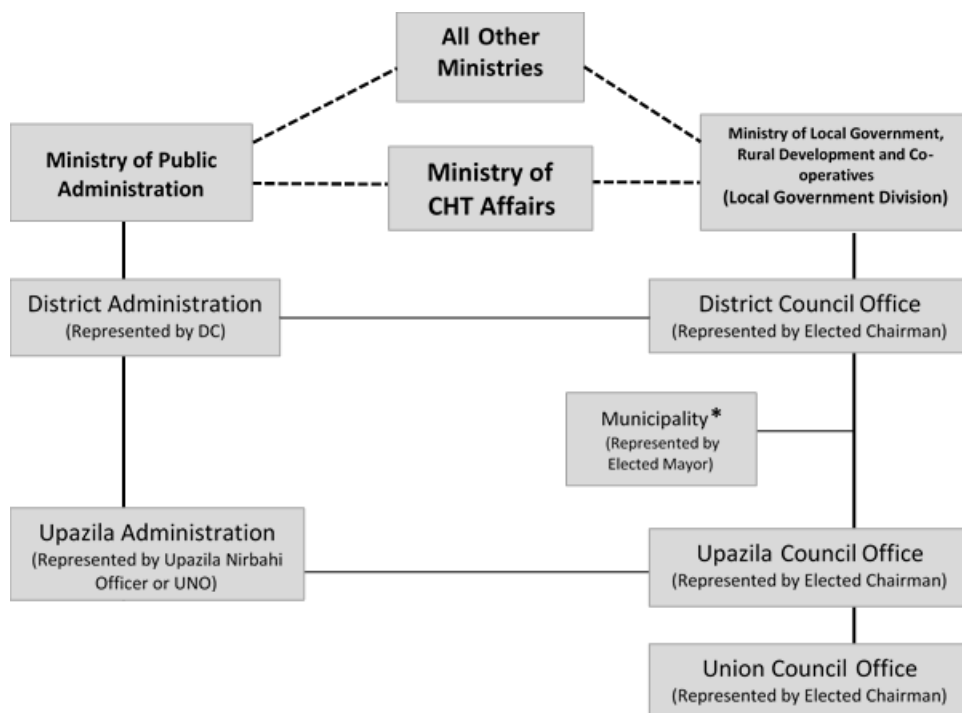


Figure 4.7 General administrative structure

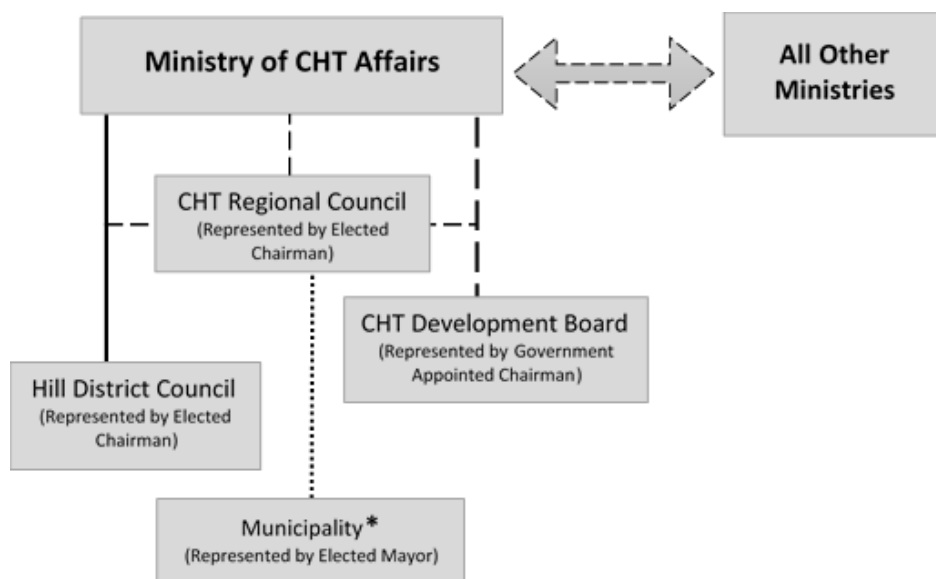


Figure 4.8 CHT local government's administrative structure

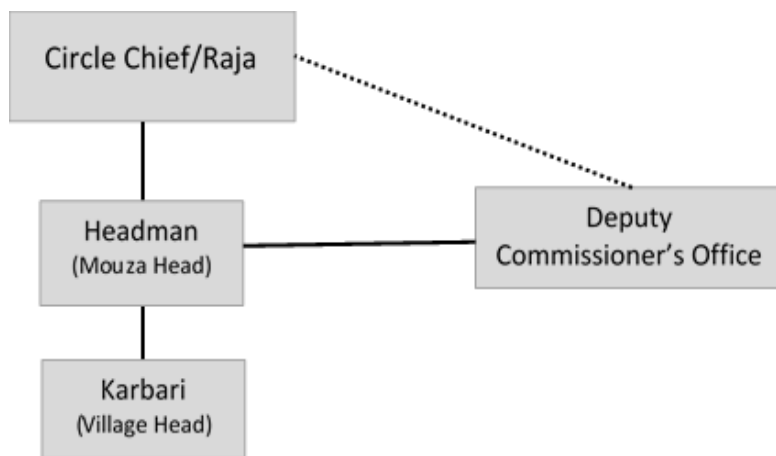


Figure 4.9 Traditional administrative structure

Apart from those three layers, an additional structure is also visible, a ‘*Pourasava*’ or ‘Municipality’, which is principally a town-centric arrangement and not available for every upazila or not such as, in Bandarban where there are two municipalities. An elected mayor represents a municipality. All these organisations work in collaboration with each other. Beside these local government configurations, the DC represents the District Administration Head, which is a line with the central government. However, the DC works as the chief operating officer of the ‘District Council’ although this is not equally applicable for the hill districts. At upazila level, the UNO plays a similar role to the DC and serves the Upazila Council. At the central level, CHT matters are coordinated through the MoCHTA. The dotted line in each figure indicates an informal working relationship and communication for better-coordinated outputs.

Figure 4.8 has been drawn exclusively from the observations on the CHT Peace Accord 1997, the CHTDB Act 2014 and the CHTRC Act 1998. The figure illustrates a typical local government structure that is unique to the districts of CHT. The Peace Accord predominantly introduced CHTRC as a semi-autonomous body to co-ordinate and supervise the activities of local government institutions. This can be observed from Section 9 (a) of Part ‘C’ of The Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Accord (1997, p. 9):

The Council shall coordinate all the development activities carried out by the three Hill District Councils, and shall also superintend and harmonize all the affairs of and assigned to the three Hill District Councils. Besides, in the event of lack of harmony or any inconsistency being found in the discharge of responsibilities given to the three Hill District Councils, the decision of the Regional Council shall be final.

However, the overall reporting and controlling structure of the HDC is aligned with the MoCHTA. Alternatively, the Peace Accord and the relevant act suggest MoCHTA follows the recommendations from CHTRC (as a regional body) and HDCs. Besides HDC, the Accord mentions that CHTRC shall regulate local councils, including the municipalities, as well as the regional development board, i.e., CHTDB.

Figure 4.9 signifies the structure of the traditional administration within which the British introduced three different circles (the Chakma circle, the Bohmong circle and the Mong circle). The central government appoints the circle Chief or Raja, although the position is hereditary, and the circle chief works independently. The DC of each district is required to consult the respective circle chief for the nomination of a 'Headman'. Finally, the DC as per the Hill Tracts Manual appoints a Headman. The major responsibility of circle chiefs is to collect revenue from the circles with the assistance of 'Headmen' and 'Karbaris' and to hand over a portion of the total revenue to the central government representative or DC.

Taken together, the political history of CHT since the independence of Bangladesh is marked with distrust and remains contested. On the other hand, these overlapping administrative structures create confusion about the responsibilities, functions, jurisdictions and authority of individuals as well as organisations working in the CHT.

4.3 Selection of Embedded Units or Cases

It is already mentioned in earlier chapter (Chapter Three) and identified in Figure 4.1 that within a single case of CHT, two embedded units of analysis were chosen as Bandarban '*Sadar*' (central) and Rangamati '*Sadar*' (central). The selection criteria of these embedded units are briefly discussed in the following sub-sections. Theoretically, the embedded units of analysis themselves are treated as 'cases' and guided by the same factors that rationalise the choice of 'single-case' design; for example, the research questions (Benbasat et al., 1987; Yin, 2014). Based on the conceptual framework (see Figure 2.8) being informed by literature, this research finds a stance on 'theory-guided' case studies, in which 'theoretically specified aspects of reality' receive focal attention (Levy, 2008, p. 4). These aspects interact with the evidences and direct the empirical analysis 'within-case' and 'across-case' contexts of the embedded units to refine the initial conceptual framework.

4.3.1 Presence of Social Capital

The initial conceptual framework in this research highlights the critical importance of formal and informal institutions (social capital) in forming a shared decision-making platform towards tourism capital decisions for sustainable livelihood outcomes. The formal institutional actors realise almost equivalent power spectrums while the social actors (communities) representing the informal institutions differ variably within the CHT context.

For current discussion, the choice of embedded units of analysis (cases) is influenced by the exemplification of indigenous communities. The proportion of Bengali or migrated community to the CHT indigenous communities practically remains the same for all the three hill districts. However, the concentration of indigenous communities vary considerably within each district and sub-district level. According to census data and relevant websites information (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c; Ministry of Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs, 2018),

Khagrachari district exhibits the existence of only three indigenous groups out of 11: Chakma, Marma and Tripura; whereas, the targeted two sub-units themselves accommodate all the 11 groups. This scenario leads the researcher to a purposive selection of the embedded units of consideration assuming the fact that the presence of representable and high level of social capital within the embedded units. In this research, social capital remains a core dimension for the conceptual framework and emphasises in the research questions as well. Besides, the integral part of the conceptual framework is about a decision-making mechanism that adopts multi-level stakeholders' involvement. In this essence, the reflection of all the indigenous communities' viewpoints into the study is imperative.

4.3.2 Geo-political Significance

From a geographical viewpoint, the CHT comprises one-tenth of the total land area of Bangladesh and exhibits unique landscape with thousands of hills. Out of the three hill districts, Rangamati is the biggest and Bandarban is the second biggest. Thus, the targeted study areas of *Rangamati Sadar* and *Bandarban Sadar* literally represent the largest section of the total CHT.

Beside geographical representation, one of the most influential issues is political contexts. In the CHT, there were long going tensions (as discussed in earlier section), which are still ongoing to some extent centring the implementation of the Peace Treaty of 1997. This issue in turn is intensified by the regional political parties and '*Rangamati Sadar*' remains the headquarters for all the regional parties in CHT. However, *Bandarban Sadar* is also important from political point of view as the current Hon'ble State Minister representing the Ministry of Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs is from *Bandarban Sadar*. It should be noted that the Hon'ble State Minister represents the ruling political party from national level; such a representation can influence the bargaining power of the regional parties in Bandarban or *Bandarban Sadar*. On this note, this is assumed that holding diverse political interests with national and regional focus (differing power-concentration) may create formal institutional intricacies within a shared decision-making framework especially when there exists overlapping and confusing administrative structures. Consequently, this brings into the targeted embedded units for consideration in this research.

4.3.3 Tourism Potential

The selected study units have been identified as common gateways to all the destinations in the hill tracts (Rumi, 2015) indicating tourists must enter these points to reach further destinations. Tourism attractions in the targeted units are mostly based on local natural resources, predominantly green hills and lakes. In recent times, Rangamati and Bandarban as a whole attracting the attention of the tourism investors as well (from a rough observation by the researcher on tourism-based establishments over a few years' time). Such attention is motivated by the development goals and policies, which in turn, require a well-adjusted economic, socio-cultural and environmental focus.

4.3.4 Regional Centres

From internal capacity viewpoints, the targeted embedded units are embodied with similar facilities and represent the central point of respective district. Added with this, the diverse demographic nature of the sub-units fosters a comparison of the study results on the basis of ‘across-case’ (see Chapter Seven). This approach helps in refining the theory perspectives and proposing a modified conceptual framework, thereby confirming the ‘theoretical replication’ (Benbasat et al., 1987, p. 373). Apart from this aspect, the nature of regional centres ensures better accessibility to attend research participants. This criterion of accessibility was complemented by the time-boundaries in the field. The researcher was required to finish the fieldwork within six-month (maximum) time.

4.3.5 Experts Opinion

Within a single-case design, identification of the embedded units remains always a matter of confusion. To minimise the level confusion, Yin (2014, p. 34) suggests “*one recommended practice is to discuss the potential case with a colleague*”. In this response, Yin also suggests to share the research design along with the research questions with such colleague or expert. Before finalising the embedded units, the researcher also followed Yin’s recommendation by contacting and sharing the research idea with the industry experts in Bangladesh (local, regional and national level).

4.4 Inside the CHT: Core Situational factors

In view of contextualising the research setting, this section critically employs secondary sources; namely, published public media reports and uses framing and document analysis techniques, in general. The frames of reference used for this purpose include Chittagong Hill Tracts (*Parbatya Chattagram*), tourism, travel, adventure, destination, land, peace treaty, wellbeing, security, community, regional politics and hill district council. Consequently, Table 4.2 summarizes the broader category of the frames under observation and the frequency of articles citing the frames.

Table 4.2 Bases of frames and the number of articles reviewed

Frames of Reference	Frequency	Newspapers/Magazines
Land Issues	19	The Daily Prothom Alo; The Daily Kaler Kontho; The Bangladesh Monitor; The Daily Star; Parjatan Bichitra; Daily CHT; The Daily Sun; Pahar24.com; New Age; BBC News Bangla; Adibashi Barta;
Politics and Peace Treaty/Accord	17	
Tourism (include travel, adventure, and destination)	16	
Indigenous Identity and Culture	06	
Militarisation	04	
Security	04	

Total article reviewed	66	Hillbd24.com; parbattanews; and Dhaka Tribune.
------------------------	----	--

Finally, this section categorises four core situational factors: land ownership, the CHT peace accord and its status, an identity debate about indigenouness and conflicts, and militarisation. These factors are discussed briefly as follows.

4.4.1 Land Ownership Conflict

CHT land issues remain, by far, the most complicated ones to be solved on a priority basis to claim success for the CHT Accord from the government's side and to facilitate the ownership of resources. The land issues are discussed here in light of a political, legal and administrative lens aligning the CHT Peace Accord.

Fundamentally, CHT Regulation 1900 and customary or traditional laws regulate land administration in the CHT region (Chakma, 2014). The High Court Division declared the CHT Regulation 1900 as a 'dead law' on a verdict in a civil case in May 2003 referring to a writ petition filed by Rangamati Food Products Ltd. The writ challenged the legality of the commissioner of customs' decision of reject reimbursing BDT 177,296, realised as advance income tax and VAT, for discharging imported goods (Moneruzzaman, 2017). It was disputed that the 1900 regulation exempted industries from paying provisional income tax and VAT in the hill tracts. The top body of the Supreme Court's Appellate Division finally gave the judgment to reinstate the Hill Tracts Manual on 22 November 2016 (Moneruzzaman, 2017). The Hill Tracts Manual (CHT Regulation 1900) supports individual and community ownership of lands without holding written documents identifying the CHT region as a homeland for indigenous people (Adnan, 2010; Chakma, 2014; Chowdhury, 2008). It is claimed that the original section 34 of the CHT Regulation was a bar against transferring land ownership to non-indigenous people; which was later amended in 1971 and 1979 to accommodate and facilitate Bengali settlements (Chakma, 2014, p. 63). At present, the DCs of the respective districts have been executing the process of change, acquisition, settlement, and the lease of CHT lands. A flowchart exhibiting the process of land title transfer in CHT and a table summarising customary resource rights, along with the regulating aspects, are in the Appendices (see Appendix J). However, this unilateral power exercise by the DC offices contradicts Section 26(a) of Part-B of The Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Accord (1997, p. 5) which states-

Notwithstanding anything contained in any other law for the time being in force, no land and premises, including the leasable Khas lands, within the territorial limits of the Hill Districts shall be transferable by Ijara, settlement, purchase or sale except with the prior permission of the Council; Provided that this provision shall not be applicable in respect of the area of Reserved Forest, Kaptai Hydro-electric Project, Bethbunia Satellite Station, State-owned industries and factories and the lands recorded in the name of the government.

In this regard, Section 34 of Part-B outlines a range of *subjects*⁴ to be transferred under the jurisdiction of HDC, including Land and Land Management, Tribal law and social justice, local tourism, and so on. The current implementation status of Section 26 of the Peace Accord is shown as ‘under process’ while Section 34 is ‘partially implemented’ signifying some subjects have been transferred (Tripura, 2016a, pp. 66; 72-75). PCJSS (2016, pp. 18-19) contends that few subjects have been transferred to HDC although the key subjects, such as land and police (local), are still ongoing. The report by PCJSS (2016, p.18) also claims that the dismantling of the CHT Accords favours the land grabbing practices in CHT; such that, under the authority of the DCs, “thousand acres of lands are being acquired in the name of forestation, expansion of cluster villages, establishment and expansion of army camps and training centres including establishment of tourism centres.” Thus, a clear sense of alienation is prevailing among the local indigenous political members.

A major output of the CHT Peace Accord is a requirement for the Land Commission to solve resource (lands and premises) and related disputes. Sections 4, 5, and 6 of Part-D discuss the jurisdiction, formation and tenure of the Commission (The Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Accord, 1997). Even 19 years after the signing of the Accord, the Land Commission is still not functional. It was largely challenged on the grounds of the authoritative power of ‘decision-making’ by the chairperson (a retired justice) when the committee members failed to reach a consensus (Chakma, 2010; Islam, 2016). After negotiating with the CHTRC, the Cabinet Division approved an amended version of the Land Commission Act, in which the CHTRC demanded 23 amendments, while 14 were finally negotiated (Mamun, 2016, August 1; Prothom Alo Special Representative, 2016). The amendments acknowledge that one of the main demands from the HTRC is about replacing the authoritative power of the Commission Chair. Under the amended act, decisions must be made on a majority basis ensuring a four-member quorum, including the chair. The revised version gives the land commission a much more democratic and fairer outlook than under the previous structure (Islam, 2016).

However, the Bengali community, especially those who migrated to the region during the late 1970s and early 1980s, found the changes a threat to their survival and expressed their discontent about the present Land Commission (BBC News Bangla, 2016). To protest the amendment and to cancel the ‘CHT Land Dispute Resolution Commission (Amendment) Law, 2016’, different organizations under the banner of ‘Bengali’ called for a dawn to dusk strike on 10 August 2016. At that time, the researcher was in the field at Rangamati Sadar and observed the difficulties as well as importance of land issues and other conflicting issues pertaining to the effective implementation of the CHT accord. Finally, on 6 October 2016, the law was passed in the National Assembly (Bangladesh Sangbad Sangstha, 2016).

⁴ As per the Peace treaty, the term ‘*Subject*’ indicates an issue that requires supervision, controlling, and management attention from the relevant authorities.

4.4.2 CHT Peace Accord and Its Status

The historical background to the CHT Peace Accord has already been discussed in earlier sections. Immediately after the signing of the Peace Accord on 2 December 1997, it was criticised on numerous grounds. For example, the, then, opposition party chief claimed the Accord would establish a parallel government in the country; the lack of a third party other than a liaison agent at the time of the negotiation process and so on (Rashiduzzaman, 1998; Roy, 2003). Moreover, a group of hill people rejected the Accord in demand of the full autonomy of the region and introduced a new regional political party in the name of United People's Democratic Front (UPDF) (Rahman, 2012). Whatever the critics may be, the Peace Accord at least sets out a point of discussion or indicator for further negotiation processes.

The Accord is divided into four main parts and contains 72 sections in total. Part-A of the Accord declares CHT as a '*tribe-inhabited region*' and includes four sections, all of which, as claimed by the government, have now been fully implemented. Part-B has 35 Sections emphasise the Hill District Councils. Part-C forms the 'CHT Regional Council' and shows the configuration, power and functions of the CHTRC in 14 sections. Lastly, Part-D contains 19 sections under the heading of 'Rehabilitation, General Amnesty and Other Matters', which outlines a range of issues, including the rehabilitation of both returning Indian refugees and internally-displaced refugees, the composition and jurisdiction of the land commission to settle land ownership conflicts, and instructions for a Ministry exclusively dedicated to CHT. The government of Bangladesh claims that out of 72 sections, 48 sections have been fully implemented (Tripura, 2016b); in contrast, the signee of the Accord Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti asserts that "the ground reality shows that only 25 provisions of the CHT Accord have been implemented as of now" (PCJSS, 2016, p. 5). Therefore, a clear difference from both parties' standpoints is visible. Table 4.3 describes the unimplemented core issues, as observed by PCJSS.

Table 4.3 Unimplemented core issues in the CHT Peace Accord. (Source: Adapted from PCJSS, 2016, pp. 5-6)

Issues as observed by PCJSS	Explanation
Preservation of tribal-inhabited-region feature of CHT and legal and administrative measures for preservation of tribal-inhabiting features in CHT	Identity issues
Devolution of powers and functions to the CHT Regional Council and three Hill District Councils pertaining to General Administration; Law & Order; Land and Land Management; Police (Local); Forest, Environment, etc.	Empowerment of local government (subjects transfer)
Holding elections for the CHT Regional Council and three Hill District Councils and, for this purpose, formulation of Election Rules of chairmen and members of the HDCs and Electoral Roll Rules for preparation of voter list with permanent residents of CHT	Empowerment of local government (ensure democratic process through election)
Resolution of CHT land disputes by bringing an amendment to the contravening sections of CHT Land Dispute Resolution Commission Act 2001	Land issue

Rehabilitation of Internally Displaced Jumma families and India-returnee Jumma refugees and returning of their lands and homesteads back	Rehabilitation issue (written in the Accord)
Withdrawal of all the temporary camps, including de facto military rule 'Operation Uttoron' (Operation Upliftment)	Demilitarisation
Cancellation of lease of lands given to the non-residents	Land issue
Appointment of permanent residents of three hill districts in all jobs available in CHT on the basis of priority given to the Jumma peoples	Prioritising and empowering local indigenous people
Amendment to the concerned laws applicable in CHT, including the Charter of the Duties of Deputy Commissioners and Superintendent of Police in-consistent with the CHT Accord	Revision of laws to represent the CHT context
Rehabilitation of Bengali settlers outside CHT with dignity and honour, etc.	Rehabilitation issue (not written)

Close observation of the core-unimplemented issues identifies broad areas to focus on political and constitutional rights, land-based problems and demilitarisation. However, all the issues listed, above, (in Table 4.3) are not part of the written contract; for instance, the last one stating the rehabilitation of Bengali settlers was not mentioned explicitly in the Peace Accord. These are supposed to be a succinct summary of the PCJSS's major claims in observance of the Peace Accord. Recently, the chairman of the PCJSS and CHTRC commented (Prothom Alo Reporter, 2017) "The agreement that was made in 1997 had two forms: written and unwritten. The unwritten agreement embraced that the five hundred thousand outsider Bengali who were rehabilitated during the Ziaur Rahman regime in CHT would be brought back to the plain. As a fact, no one was taken back rather the rehabilitation of the outsiders is ongoing." Thus, the overall implementation status of the Peace Accord remains highly contested and is influencing the operational aspects of any endeavour inside the CHT region.

4.4.3 An Identity Debate of 'Indigenusness'

It has been claimed that the non-indigenous people as well as central government officials generally perceive 'indigenusness' as a way of exhibiting tribal cultures, such as tribal dances wearing tribal dresses and ornaments (Sathi, 2016). However, the legal status of 'indigenusness' is far away from being acknowledged by the government of Bangladesh. Similar to this, Jamil and Panday (2012, p. 177) identify the policy of government to destroy '*the ethnic identity of the indigenous Jumma people*' in an effort to achieve a homogenous Bengali society is the foundation of the CHT crises. In reality, numerous terms have been used to identify indigenous peoples in Bangladesh. This research uses these terms interchangeably since it does not have any anthropological focus. In addition, as already mentioned in an earlier chapter this research is focussed on tourism resource governance rather than indigenous tourism. The researcher does however use the common word 'indigenous' in interpreting the findings of this research. The researcher's preference is partly shaped by practical reasons such as the universal application of the 'indigenous'

term in various international instruments. Since the issue of identity needs significant attention, this section provides a small narrative on the debate of 'indigenouness' and the history of indigenous identity movements in CHT.

It is difficult to define the term 'indigenous' as it largely depends on the culture, history, and current situation, which invariably vary from country to country. The Asian Development Bank (1998) and the United Nations (2008a) developed the working definition of 'indigenous peoples' in line with ILO Convention No. 169. Both definitions outline the two core criteria required to be classed as indigenous: the ancestral roots of inhabitants in a country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs at the time of conquest or colonization or the establishment of the present state boundaries; and maintain partial or full ownership of unique socio-cultural, economic and political institutions irrespective of their legal status. However, the International Labour Organization (2013) notes these as objective criteria for defining 'indigenous peoples', which is set alongside the subjective criteria requiring self-identification. Likewise, practitioners and academics emphasize the '*evolving cultural tradition*' and '*significance of geographic homelands*' in defining indigenous peoples (Corntassel, 2003, p. 78). In an attempt to generalize indigenous and tribal peoples, the International Labour Organization (2013, p. 2) points out that tribal peoples' socio-economic and cultural conditions separate them from the mainstream, and their status is partially or fully regulated by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulations. It is to be noted that the ILO Convention 169 ascribes the same set of rights to both groups. In addition, the International Labour Organization (2013, p. 3) asserts "Indigenous and tribal peoples are often known by national terms such as adivasis, mountain dwellers, hill tribes, hunter-gatherers, and many countries have developed specific registers of these peoples". Such an observation strengthens the researcher's standpoint on using different terms interchangeably in this research.

The indigenous identity movement, which is literally an ideological descendent of 'Jummaism' or 'Jumma Nationalism' in CHT, has taken root since 1993 (Chowdhury, 2008; Jahan, 2015). In fact, 'Jummaism' paved the way for scattered ethnic groups in CHT to form an individual self-identification lens and distinguishes the hill people from Bengalis, which was later articulated in the 'indigenous identity' movement. Chowdhury (2008) observes the 'Jummaism' or later 'indigenous identity' movements for the formation of a unified identity have socio-political interpretations and are strategically aligned with the claim of citizenship rights for control over resources as set out by the multilateral organisations; for example, the UN, ILO, and so on.

However, in response to the indigenous identity claims, various government documents, including the constitution, different acts and laws, statements made by central government representatives and, even, the Peace Accord, clearly defy the existence of 'indigenous' peoples in Bangladesh; rather, the groups are identified with alternative terms, such as small ethnic groups, tribes/tribal, ethnic sects, ethnic minorities, and the like (Barkat, 2015; Gerharz, 2015;

Jahan, 2015; Sathi, 2016; The Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Accord, 1997; P. Tripura, 2014). Jahan (2015, p. 11) summarises some key comments made by the government representatives about indigenous identity as follows:

In the discussion related to CHT Peace Accord with foreign diplomats and UN agencies Bangladeshi former foreign minister Dipu Moni commented that as per historical documents tribal people of CHT did not exist before 16th century, that's why the tribal living in CHT are "ethnic minorities" not "indigenous." When special rapporteur of UN presented study report on "Status of implementation of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Accord of 1997", in that session Iqbal Ahmed, first secretary of the Bangladesh Mission in New York said - "Bangladesh does not have any indigenous population"... Moreover, in the closing session of two-days national conference on "land, forest and culture of indigenous peoples", the Law Minister Barrister Shafique Ahmed as chief (guest) denies the demand and analyses them as they are "tribal" people, not "indigenous" in light of the International Labour Organization (ILO) convention No 169.

Thus, the issue of 'indigenouness' is far from being settled within the broader context of Bangladesh and the specific context of CHT. The indigenous people themselves identify and claim 'indigenous' but, to create an impact and ensure resource accessibility and rights (from indigenous perspectives), government recognition is required. However, the statements given by key government representatives (as cited above) at different times on various national and international forums add complexities to the situation. At the community level (local/indigenous), these statements are creating confusion and dissatisfaction. The affected populations (indigenous) are continually identifying themselves as being alienated from (community) resources ownerships and rights.

4.4.4 Conflicts and Militarisation

As mentioned under the 'Administrative and Political History of CHT' section, the East India Company attempted several times between 1778 and 1787 to invade the CHT by deploying the military. However, after getting the control over the region through economic subjugation the British introduced a para-military unit to guard the eastern border with a view to controlling arms smuggling in their new 'CHT District'. Thus, the policies of deploying military in the CHT region had a historical background. In this regard, Roy (2003, p. 4) finds strategic as well as economic motives and asserts:

In case of the CHT, the British were motivated both by strategic and economic interests, and they achieved their aims through military deployment and diplomatic subterfuge, leading ultimately to an exploitative trade treaty, and ultimately, direct colonization.

During the British era, in the 1870s, the ratio of military policeman to CHT residents was 1:96, whereas, after liberation, in 1977, the ratio went up to 1:5 (Faiz & Mohaiemen, 2010; Mey, 1984). The statistics depict the vulnerability as Chakma (2012, p. 135) states: "[T]he hill people perceive the Bangladesh military to be the main source of their insecurity." Over time, the policy for the deployment of the military remained the same but the

strategy and purposes changed. The British brought limited military forces into action to ensure overall security. On the other hand, subsequent governments (in different reigns) deployed armed forces to control the political movements in the name of counter-insurgency and to gradually increase state control. The armed forces were deployed during the Bangladesh reign with a mission named '*Operation Dabanol* (Operation Wildfire)', which was changed in 2001 and renamed as '*Operation Uttoron* (Operation Upliftment)' (PCJSS, 2016). The deployment of large scale armed forces limits the practice of political and legal rights by the residents, especially the indigenous people. Notwithstanding the government's recognition of the tribal groups in CHT as indigenous, such a situation contradicts Article 5 of the more recent 'United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples' (United Nations, 2008b, p. 5)-

Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinct political, legal, economic, social and cultural institutions, while retaining their right to participate fully, if they so choose, in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the State.

It has been reported on numerous occasions that the presence of military force in CHT is resulting in serious human rights violations (Amnesty International, 2013; Chowdhury & Chakma, 2016; Gray, 1994; Yasmin, 2014; Zaman, 1982). As well as that, it also restricts administrative freedom as the army holds '*supreme jurisdiction over general administration*' (Arens, 1997; Jamil & Panday, 2012, p. 175); hence, there is a conflict in power structures. Furthermore, the development of Bengali settlements by military force in CHT is also widely discussed throughout the literature (Arens & Chakma, 2010; Mohaiemen, 2010).

The political group PCJSS, and its affiliated armed wing (*Shanti Bahini*) responded to the increasing militarisation and Bengali settlement by becoming involved in a relationship of conflict based on resource ownership and rights and established a movement against the state armed forces and Bengali settlers. In reality, the ongoing conflict has led to a situation where each party wants to maximise its own interests, while collectively they are in a lose-lose situation (Ochieng Odhiambo, 2000). Moreover, resources and rights-based conflicts, essentially, loosen the entire fabric of society, especially if they remain unattended by the highest authority of the state. The impact of such events in the CHT context is described frequently in a recent report of Amnesty International (2013, p. 5) as -

The conflict followed calls by Pahari for recognition and protection of their rights to traditional lands and autonomy, and their resistance to government attempts to assimilate them within the mainland Bengali majority culture. From 1976 to 1997, an internal armed conflict between Bangladesh's armed forces and the Pahari insurgent group Shanti Bahini ("peace force") racked the region.

Several attempts by various governments were taken to 'settle down' the conflicts during the period from the early 1970s to the early 1990s, all of which failed. In response, successive governments turned the region into a militarised zone to ensure greater state control in opposing the claim for local autonomy (Gray, 1994; Zaman, 1982). Finally,

following years of unrest, an agreement, widely known as the 'Peace Treaty' or the 'Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Accord', was enacted between the government of Bangladesh (GoB) and the PCJSS. Among the main clauses of the treaty, Section 17 of 'Part-D' focuses on the demilitarisation of the CHT stating that all the temporary camps shall be withdrawn. The government document shows the status of this clause as 'under process' (Tripura, 2016a, p. 99). In a recent speech at the inauguration ceremony of the CHT indigenous complex, Prime Minister, Sheikh Hasina, claimed that the government had already started withdrawing from the military camps as a commitment to the Peace Accord, and only four brigades shall remain there (Bangladesh Awami League, 2016). However, the report of PCJSS (2016) explains the deceptive position of the government in this regard as there was no timeline set for the withdrawal in the Accord. The report also claims that only 70 temporary camps were withdrawn between 1997 to 1999 and 35 camps during 2009 to 2013 (PCJSS, 2016, p. 32), while no attempts were made from 2000 to 2008.

4.5 Current State of Tourism in CHT

Tourism is still at the very early stages in the CHT in comparison with other tourism destinations in Bangladesh. This is partly because this region was under security threats for long periods during the insurgency and this affected the region's accessibility. After the signing of the Peace Accord, tourist movements, especially domestic tourists, dramatically increased. There are no formal statistics recorded to explain this increase, the conclusion is drawn based on a rough deduction from the number of tourism-based superstructures (mainly accommodation) being built before and after the period. Previously, there were only Parjatan motels, government rest houses, and a few private boarding houses. From the early 2000s, this changed with private investment establishing new forms of accommodation, including luxury hotels and resorts. The number of quality restaurants also started to increase. However, the increase of facilities in CHT is being decided by the market, based on the area's natural appeal rather than being backed by pro-active planning and policy guidelines from local governments, both regional and central. Within the CHT tourism context, the researcher's observations confer that the destination, in general, is experiencing 'curious' tourists in an utterly unmanaged environment.

The (local) government is failing to convince the communities and incorporate community viewpoints into tourism development in CHT, which is evident in the livelihood strategies of the locals. Dewan (2014, p. 27) identifies 35 different types of income strategies in the CHT under the broad categories of agriculture and non-agriculture. The study points out the farming, including agro-labour, plain land and jum cultivation, remains the primary occupation for 46 percent of the household-heads whereas 11 percent are dependent on non-agro labour and 16 percent on business. It has been reported that ecotourism and/or cultural tourism, a sub-category of non-agricultural sector, can develop as a promising livelihood strategy in the CHT (Dewan, 2014, p. 30). However, these livelihood strategies can be diversified and interlinked with various types of tourism; for example, agro-tourism can play a significant role in this regard but needs to be guided by policy and planning imperatives.

Given the situation, as discussed and with specific reference to Butler (1980) Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) model, tourism in CHT is still in the early stages of 'involvement'. The potential has been explored and acknowledged, now the community needs to get involved under the guidance and directives of the government (local). At such an early stage of tourism development, Cooper (2011) identifies the importance of researching the power structure within which tourism decisions are made. Added to this observation, the situational factors being discussed in this chapter reveal the confusing and conflicting power structure in CHT. At this point, the question remains: where does tourism fit to bring people together to ensure peace (community wellbeing)?

4.6 Reviewing National Tourism Policy: Scoping for CHT

Tourism was acknowledged in Bangladesh from right after independence. In 1972, Presidential Order-143 created a national body named the '*Bangladesh Parjatan Corporation (BPC)*' to oversee all tourism sectors in Bangladesh. The government of Bangladesh also recognised tourism as an 'industry' in 1999. Simply acknowledging the potential or giving recognition is not enough for developing a dynamic and ever-changing industry, such as tourism. It requires a clear vision backed by effective policy guidelines and planning to coordinate diverse resources to produce the desired outcomes. This is the point where the country fails, even after 47 years of independence. There is a ministry (Ministry of Civil Aviation and Tourism), a couple of national level organisations (BPC and Bangladesh Tourism Board) and a few bureaucratic structures at national and local (district-level) levels working for the development of tourism. It is a collective failure that even after having many institutional platforms and structures, Bangladesh still does not have a master plan to manage tourism resources for sustainable development. Moreover, the presence of multiple institutional structures is creating coordination problems while competing for resource allocations in the same sector. The impact is realised accordingly in terms of insignificant contributions to national income or Gross Domestic Product (GDP). In 2014, tourism contributed merely 2.2 percent of the total GDP and offered 3 million jobs (Khondker & Ahsan, 2015, pp. 7-9).

In 1992, the country received its first National Tourism Policy (NTP). In order to ensure planned and integrated tourism development, the NTP of 1992 was further revised and amended, in 2010. The policy predominantly provides a narrative on Bangladesh's tourism but with a very limited focus on setting guidelines. The policy was developed in Bengali and included six chapters (Ministry of Civil Aviation and Tourism, 2010). The first chapter briefly discusses the background, identifies the prospects and rationalises the development perspectives for tourism. At this point, the policy agrees that there are huge prospects for tourism in Bangladesh but the country fails to benefit from this sector. The second chapter outlines the goals and objectives of the NTP where it emphasises sustainable tourism development through the local community and the local government's institutional involvement. The third chapter explores different key considerations of the Tourism Policy. This chapter highlights different types of tourism while contemplating destination resource realities. The fourth chapter is about the strategies for implementing a tourism

policy. This chapter develops a practical bureaucratic viewpoint; for example, it suggests coordinating activities among 15 different ministries to realise sustainable tourism. It also discusses five different structures and committees (four at the central/national level and one at the district level), which indicate the long time-frame of the tourism decision-making processes. Chapter Five generalises initiatives for implementing the NTP. The final chapter underscores different activities with a particular emphasis on marketing and promotion. In this chapter, the need for a master plan is highlighted in a very shallow way. Altogether, the revised NTP largely fails to set directives about how to manage tourism destination resources and prioritise the resource allocation needed for tourism development. Moreover, it holds sustainable tourism development as its goal but the implementation strategies and initiatives mostly centre on bureaucratic decision-making structures. Thus, an absence of community perspective is noticeable in reference to tourism resource decisions and their subsequent implementation (equally applicable for CHT).

A critical observation about the National Tourism Policy-2010 is the lack of tourism expertise to provide research supports to formulate policies, plans and strategies that would assist broader tourism stakeholders. Until the early 2000s, the National Hotel & Tourism Training Institute (NHTTI), a wing of BPC, was offering limited certificate courses in various aspects of tourism and hospitality studies. From the mid-2000s onwards, a number of public and private universities have started offering fully-fledged Bachelor and Masters level courses. Therefore, studying and researching tourism is a recent inclusion into the academic environment of Bangladesh. This phenomenon ultimately challenged the researcher to incorporate relevant local literature to enrich this research. To overcome the limitations in the local background literature, the researcher largely employs a 'framing analysis' technique to achieve a broad picture of CHT tourism. In doing so, the researcher observes a general tendency to report on the prospects and descriptions of tourism destinations rather than addressing the imperfections in the efficient functioning of the Bangladeshi tourism system.

The government has recognised the potential of tourism and declared 2016 as 'Tourism Year', which shows the government's interest in the tourism sector. Moreover, the government has started a separate allocation for tourism development in the national budget, albeit inadequate, as remarked by industry stakeholders (Islam, 2015); but it does, nevertheless, reflect a commitment from the government. The government has the intention to utilise the potential of tourism and has targeted attracting 1 million inbound tourists by 2018. This aspirational target seems challenging particularly when the country lacks an effective tourism policy and master plan at neither the national or local destination level. The ineffectiveness and vagueness of the current policy has been mentioned on numerous occasions with suggestions and recommendations for improvement (Hassan & Burns, 2014; Karim, 2014). One of the major limitations of the broader NTP is the failure to develop and accommodate regionally-based tourism plans within an integrated framework; for example Karim (2014, p. 141) asserts 'region based Bangladesh Tourism Policy earns very insignificant 0.66% of the national GDP'.

In reference to the CHT region, the NTP largely fails to acknowledge the uniqueness of the region. For example, although the policy mentioned the CHT in a few cases, it was not considered in the discussion of ‘nature-based’ and ‘cultural’ aspects of tourism (in Chapter Three of the NTP), both of which are considered unique to CHT within the Bangladeshi context. In addition, it is not indicated who shall prepare and execute a regional tourism plan for CHT, and how such a plan shall be operationalized and integrated into the national plan (Chakma & Chakma, 2016). Further details of this issue have been reported in the discussion and policy implications chapter (see Chapter Seven).

Tourism in CHT is currently based on nature and the ethnic lifestyles of its diverse indigenous groups. CHT has a unique landscape in comparison with other locations or tourism destinations in Bangladesh, exhibiting green hills, forests, wildlife, waterfalls, rivers and lakes. Besides, the distinctive lifestyles of indigenous groups, which can be demonstrated through languages, clothes, living patterns and other cultural elements, and can foster a desire among tourists to visit the region. Nonetheless, the political context, as described earlier, is increasing the complexities in realising tourism benefits from CHT. On this note, the strength of tourism to build peace and force political stability needs to be taken into consideration (within policies/plans) (Kelly, 2012; Webster & Ivanov, 2014; Wintersteiner & Wohlmuther, 2014). Hence, two associated potential issues needing investigation persist: what role does and/or can tourism play in promoting peace and how? This issue did not initially fall directly under the governance focus of the current research but emerged as an issue in a variety of situations and contexts. Given the historical commentary on governance, it stands as a useful topic for future research.

The prospect of tourism in CHT is recognised at the administrative level but the problem rests with setting effective policy guidelines for the sustainable development of tourism. Again, the formulations and implications of the policy guidelines have been directly associated with a decision-making framework (Hassan & Burns, 2014), which necessitates broader stakeholder participation to create sustainable outcomes. The importance of a participative policy framework, involving local expertise and the ideas of numerous people, is emphasised for tourism development. The ‘Strategic Framework for Sustainable Development in the CHT’, as set out by the central government, also acknowledges the necessity for policy planning and local inclusion towards community-based ecotourism development. The strategic framework confers (Tripura, 2016a, p. 136):

A comprehensive tourism master plan including development of new destinations and trails, as well as product and service development is required to help tap the potential of tourism in the CHT, including in the Kaptai lake area. Specific measures are required to engage local people in planning and developing tourism in order to create ownership and ensure that the benefits of tourism are accrued locally.

Although the strategic framework, as well as other relevant documents, prioritise local stakeholders’ involvement and the benefits of sharing propositions for CHT tourism development, these documents fail to propose a mechanism

to operationalise the concept while considering resource realities and the unique background of the region. Hence, the current research encompasses an integrative decision-making perspective within a context of tourism policy and planning in the CHT.

4.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter describes the research settings to provide a base from which to interpret the study findings and, subsequently, concludes that the cultural geography and overall geopolitical situations give the CHT region a unique status within Bangladesh (and presumably in the world). This is the exclusive 'mountainous' area of Bangladesh and historically remains the hub of different indigenous/ethnic groups. The political milieu of the CHT region continues over time with a level of distrust between the government and indigenous leaders and/or regional parties. The region has been impacted by a militarisation policy along with Bengali settlement plans by the government, which was revolted against by indigenous political groups. Thus, armed conflict prevailed in the region for years and, after years of unrest, the government signed a treaty with the indigenous groups. The implementation of the treaty remains questioned though. Besides the contested political background, the CHT experienced a conflicting and overlapping administrative structure, which has been illustrated through three noticeable structures, including a unique traditional administration. Within a broader context of CHT, a number of factors such as overall reflection of social capital, geo-political significance, tourism potential, representing regional centres and opinions from experts, determined the selection of embedded units for current study.

This chapter identified and reported on four core situational factors that broadly affect the overall functioning of any development endeavours, including tourism, within the CHT context. These are: land ownership conflicts, CHT Peace Accord and its status, an identity debate about indigenousness and conflicts and militarisation. These factors are identified by applying 'framing analysis' and 'document analysis' techniques. Understanding those factors is important to interpreting the results of this research while connecting with policy implications. However, all the complexities are overshadowed by the natural beauty and cultural diversity (exclusive resources from the country's context), which eventually uphold the tourism potential of this unique region. The potential is acknowledged at all levels but not reflected in the livelihood strategies and/or activities of community people. In this regard, the lack of policy guidelines is highly evident which, in turn, necessitates effective decision-making frameworks involving key stakeholders. The chapter concludes by analysing the current state of tourism in CHT and reports that tourism is happening in an unmanaged way and requires policy interventions with a particular focus on participative decision-making structures.

Chapter Five

Research Findings from Case Study Unit-1

5.1 Introduction

This chapter reports the findings from case study unit-1, Bandarban Sadar, following the key elements of ‘Capitals Co-management for Sustainable Livelihood Frameworks’ (CCSLF) in tourism. The chapter begins with an overview of *Bandarban Sadar* in which the tourism development and tourism operating contexts are briefly discussed. Thereafter, the chapter reports findings based on the various elements of CCSLF, including tourism and community resources, formal institutional arrangements, vulnerability context, co-management frameworks and processes, and sustainable livelihood outcomes for destination communities. The findings are reported to reflect the research questions of this thesis.

5.2 Overview of Bandarban Sadar

Bandarban Sadar (BS) is one of the seven upazilas or sub-districts within the Bandarban Hill District. The upazila comprises an area of 501.98 square kilometres. The administrative units are divided into five unions with a land area of 435.47 sq km, reserve forest 64.39 sq km and riverine area 2.12 sq km (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2013a). The location and unions are shown in the map below (Figure 5.1). The population of BS in the census data of 2011 was 88,282, with a male:female ratio of 117:100. Of the three hill districts in Bangladesh, *Bandarban* is the most culturally diverse. One can find representatives of almost every indigenous community (from Chittagong Hill Tracts) living in BS. Unlike *Rangamati* or *Khagrachari*, where the *Chakma* community represents the majority among indigenous communities, in Bandarban (including BS), the *Marma* community is the majority representing around 54 percent of the total tribal population as evidenced in 1991 census data⁵ (Shelly, 1992, p. 50). Apart from this indigenous diversity, other issues regarding people, society and culture characterise the overall scenario, as discussed in an earlier chapter (Chapter Four). Pertaining to livelihood activities, no specific data were found except those elaborated from a broader context in Chapter Four (refer to section 4.4).

The upazila administration is run by the *Upazila Parishad*, which reports directly to the Deputy Commissioner’s (DC) office, indicating a central government line authority (see Figure 4.7). Accordingly, the administrative and political history also reflect the broader context as explored in Chapter Four.

⁵ The census data after 1991 did not show any internal division of indigenous population.

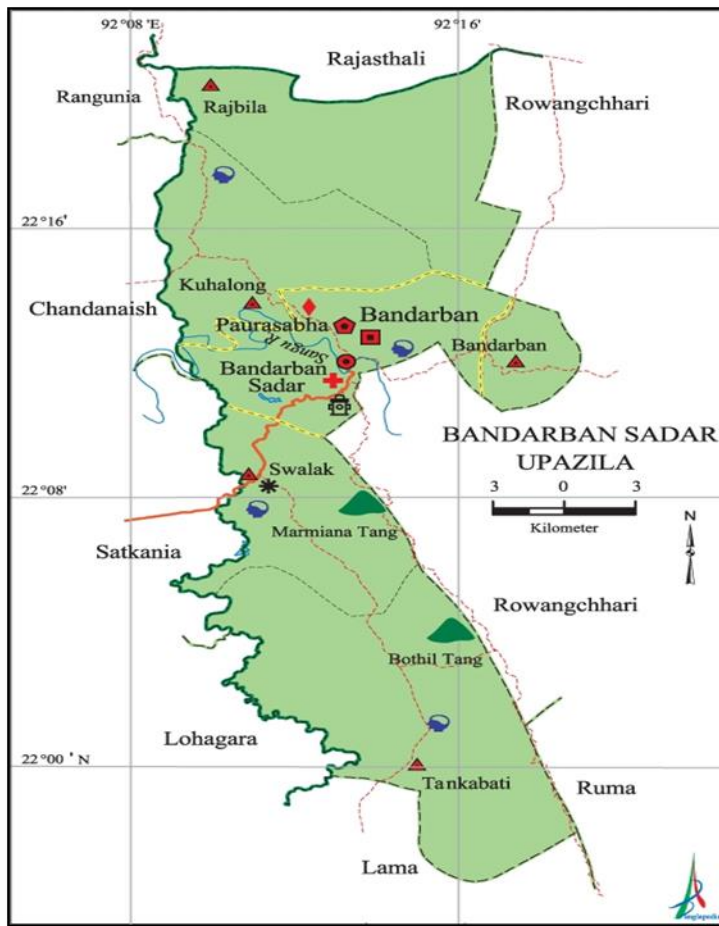


Figure 5.1 Map of Bandarban Sadar (Source: Banglapedia, 2014a)

The prospect of tourism in BS has been reported widely in local and national Bangladesh newspapers, travel magazines and blogs. The major tourism destinations in BS as listed on the Ministry of Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs (2018) official website include the *Meghla* Tourism Complex, *Chimbuk*, *Shoilo Propat*, *Prantik Lake*, the *Nilachal* Tourism Complex, Golden Temple and the new Bridge River View. Besides these, other prominent tourism sites in Bandarban (covered under different sub-districts) include *Nilgiri*, *Boga Lake*, *Rijhuk* Waterfall, *Ali's Cave*, *Keokradong*, *Tajingdong*, *Mirinja* and *Rainkhong* Lake. Following the National Tourism Policy 2010, the district administration branded Bandarban as 'Amazing Bandarban' and characterise the destination in terms of different titles, such as 'the daughter of tourism', 'the Darjeeling of Bengal' or 'the mountain of clouds' (Bandarban Hill District Administration, u. d.). However, considering both the development and operation aspects of the overall tourism context of BS, the destination is still in a very early stage of the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) model of Butler (1980). The term involvement stage may best reflect the current tourism context of BS when typifying key features, including visitor numbers increasing with regularity, some locals offering core tourism services such as accommodation, notable contact between visitors and locals and a basic market begins to flourish.

Tourism development is influenced by the profiles of the tourists, be they domestic or international (Çakir et al., 2018). Attracting international or inbound tourists requires better tourism products, suggesting higher investments in comparison to domestic or internal tourists. Implicit in this observation, as destinations mature over time more investment is sourced from different national, regional and international mediums (Keller, 1987) and directed towards diversification of markets. Currently, BS attracts mainly domestic tourists; although research participants and newspaper publications claim that the number of domestic tourists is increasing, no authentic source cites specific numbers. Tourists are served chiefly by the locals. For activities such as transportation jobs are exclusively occupied by the locals (both indigenous and Bengali) whereas a few accommodation sector jobs (mostly managerial level) are recruited from outside the CHT. The broader operating conditions within the CHT setting itself restricts the accessibility of international tourists to BS. Different institutional involvement in tourism is noticeable in BS such as the *Nilachal* Tourism Complex is owned and operated by the DC office, whereas the *Nilgiri* is run by military. Although Bandarban Hill District Council (BHDC) is the formal authority of local tourism (as central government transferred tourism to BHDC), their contribution has been criticised on numerous grounds. In general, tourism operations of BS are typified by multiple institutional involvement with a lack of coordination among institutions. In addition, several situational factors (as discussed in Chapter Four) influence the functioning of tourism operations within the research setting. This issue is equally emphasised by the research participants, which is evident via the following reporting sections.

5.3 Resources for Tourism Development

To ensure sustainable tourism development through community wellbeing outcomes, a variety of required resources were identified by the research participants. These include natural resources, community's cultures, people and society, financial resources, government institutions (formal institutions), infrastructure for general use and superstructures for tourism use. These resources are examined by employing different methods, both primary and secondary (see Chapter Three), aligning the CCSLF in tourism (Figure 2.8) and are reported accordingly.

5.3.1 Natural Capital

Natural capital as conceptualised in this research to include landscapes, forests, wildlife, and environmental systems being informed by way of legal and societal protections to the existing natural resources stock. In BS, the natural resources consist of lakes, forests, hills, the river (*Sangu*), and waterfalls. It is believed that the combination of these resources create a unique tourism opportunity within the country, although the primary usage of these resources is to ensure household livelihoods, especially for the indigenous community members. This is a view expressed by all

indigenous community participants, one Bengali participant (01_CRBBB_01)⁶, and two institutional representatives (03_IRTRO_01 and 04_IRTRP_01) having the features of 'definitive stakeholder'.



Figure 5.2 Natural landscape and local livelihood dependence on natural resources (*Source: Photos taken by the researcher*)

A major drawback rests with the natural capital, as there is no proper inventory made for natural resources, which eventually impacts upon the monitoring of their management. It has been reported that natural resources are decreasing noticeably and two core issues (derived from the relative emphasise given by each participant and the number of participants mentioned those issues) are influencing such a high rate of depletion: weak institutional governance and lack of community ownership or involvement.

Out of 26 interviewees from *Bandarban Sadar*, a broad majority of participants recognised institutional governance as a root cause of the natural resources depletion, which was again reconfirmed by focus group participants and complemented by participant observation and informal discussions. The interviewees mostly mentioned 'corrupt practices' (directly mentioned in 20 interviews) as an expression of weak institutional governance. For example, one indigenous community member from BS (02_CRIBB_01) said:

Each day, on an average you'll find six loaded trucks of woods are being trafficked. Now you simply imagine, this is happening for the last two decades. In comparison to this, plantation is not done that much. Government department claims that they have taken necessary steps but functionally it is not like so. Trees can't be trafficked in a pocket of a shirt or pant; it must be transported by roads and there are so many check-points. So tell me, how it is happening? Communities can play their roles but they are not doing so, assuming this is the responsibility of the government.

⁶ A description of codes for research informants is attached to Appendix H.

Institutional representatives, except those from central government (public), also affirm the above view of community participant such as one private institutional participant (05_IRWCC_01) claims that forest department's officials are not observing their duties and responsibilities with high ethical standard. Although central government participant remains sceptical on this, both the regional and local government participants endorse the above view. For instance, a regional government representative (06_IRRG_01) noted the existence of corrupt practices, saying that "The contractors are exploiting natural resources and they are obtaining permission through bribing the corresponding offices or officers."

However, a forest department official defended the role of the government forest department, identifying four key limitations: lack of workforce, lack of funds, obsolete legal instruments and lack of institutional coordination (09_IRDFO_NOTES). In terms of workforce, it was revealed that the forest department in general runs below capacity. For example, in Bangladesh there are 114 Divisional Forest Officer (DFO) posts available and 69 posts are occupied; similarly, of the 160 posts of Assistant Conservator of Forest (ACF), around 50 percent (80 posts) are vacant. The greatest scarcity has been reported for Forest Rangers (FR) who work in the field. There are 503 posts available for FR but only 197 are filled. It has been argued that the reserve forest areas are mostly controlled by local militant groups and the forest department cannot access much because of the lack of workforce and defensive instruments (e.g. gun) (09_IRDFO_NOTES). Added to the concern for quantity of workforce as raised by the forest department official, community participants observed the importance of quality of labour force serving the Forest Department. For instance, one community participant (04_CRBBB_02) highlighted that lack of knowledge at institutional level in setting standards to manage resource usage was causing the high rate of natural resource depletion along with corruption. The participant stated accordingly:

To protect the natural resources, some departments and divisions of government are working. Our observation is that these organisations work mostly to secure the capital of the capitalistic society rather than protecting the resources for communities and this is why the resources are at risk... Stone collection/withdrawal is forbidden. There is no scientific measurement or standard that we can withdraw 10,000 cf or some other amounts, but if you can convince those who are in charge then you can withdraw. Thus, we lack the knowledge; at the same time, the organisations are highly corrupted.

Aside from workforce, budget realities were also found to be a deterrent to the effective management of natural resources. Bangladesh has a large national budget, but for forest conservation there is not enough sanctioning. From 1995 to 2011, the Forestry Sector Development Budget received a total amount of 14,920.1 million BDT (approx. USD \$267 million), representing only around 13.6 percent of the Forestry Sector Master Plan requirement (Mazumder, u. d.). Although the data both for workforce and budget have been cited for a broader national level, their shortcomings are unavoidably reflected within the local level context as well.

Obsolete legal instruments for protecting natural resources remained another drawback, as Bangladesh still follows the 1927 Forest Act. This act should be updated to comprehend contemporary challenges. Finally, strong institutional coordination was emphasised to (formally) share responsibilities across different government institutions and ensure a balanced platform in managing and protecting natural resources.

Institutional (formal) coordination must accommodate community perspectives. Community residents in this research recognised the critical role of community members in overcoming some of the limitations already mentioned. In connection with this, recognition of the indigenous knowledge and ownership creation were particularly emphasised. For example, one indigenous community resident (08_CRIBB_05) during interview said: “How can we save a stream/waterfall? It is better understood by the indigenous people/knowledge, but there is no participation of local people in any of the development project.” Likewise, another participant (10_CRIBB_07) hinted at a conceptual flaw in forest department actions. The forest department encourages and does plantings, but those plantings are mostly teak trees, carried out with a commercial purpose targeting timber. At this point, representation of indigenous experts (community members) is advocated at the decision-making and policy-making levels together with securing broader community supports through ownership creation. One institutional participant exemplified how community involvement with a sense of ownership can contribute to the protection of natural resources and asserted:

I’ve a suggestion following the example of Nepal. In earlier times, Nepalese also involved in deforestation. Later, the government divided the regions covering forests to the communities and tell them if they cut trees it would be their responsibilities to plant trees and refill. With the ownership concept they are now better-off. If proper forest ownership right has been given to the community, they can play a role to protect the forest.

In this regard, a number of participants (all from indigenous communities e.g., 12_CRIBB_09) mentioned the Village Common Forest (VCF) project, which involved local community members protecting natural resources. Besides this, there exist some unwritten traditional laws in which traditional administration, including the *headman* and *karbari*, decide which particular forest to preserve for the community. Within such arrangements, no one is permitted to cut trees from that forest unless authorised by the traditional administration under special circumstances. In regard to deforestation, one local government representative (14_IRLG_02) has recalled indigenous communities’ ‘slash and burn or jum’ cultivation systems for deforestation and creating negative impacts on the environment.

In BS, land ownership remains the most critical component of natural capital. An indigenous community resident (02_CRIBB_01) highlighted the relative importance of land rights and stated:

After two decades of armed conflict, the government has signed a peace treaty. Almost 18 years have gone but the government failed to implement the treaty and fulfil the main point

in terms of land ownership of our indigenous communities. After we gain our land rights, tourism development will be possible. There are many other problems, but the prime one is the land rights issue.

Such a finding was also reiterated by a focus group participant (FGD_BB_12_08)⁷ who claimed that “... the biggest obstacle here is about the dispute regarding land ownership/rights. After mitigating the grievances on land issue, you can think of something else.” A major issue pointed out in relation to land rights of indigenous residents was collective ownership coupled with lack of formal documents. The government considers such land (with no formal documents) to be ‘Khas’ lands, held in custodianship under the central government authority, ignoring the customs of indigenous people (06_CRIBB_03). On this note, indigenous communities perceive tourism as a means to exploit their land rights. For example, one indigenous member (11_CRIBB_08) said “In the name of tourism, some lands were grabbed by different government institutions, and powerful people as well.” An extended discussion on this matter is arranged in Chapter Seven (refer to section 7.3, p. 168).

5.3.2 Human Capital

Human capital includes knowledge, information, health and skills embodied in people. The assessment of human capital concentrates on educational attainment, life expectancy, ability to labour, and availability of health care. The population census of 2011 reported that the total population of BS was 88,282 and that the average family size was 4.44 (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2013a). There were no precise data available for the family labour or the percentage of population that is working/workable (in Bandarban), but it was assumed from field observations that people aged 10 years and above were providing labour (contributing to livelihoods). This assumption gave a total of 67,795 available to work (37,031 male and 30,764 female), around 77 percent of the total population (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2013a, p. 18). Although a vast number of the population are believed to be searching for (cash based) employment, their limited capacities can be indicated through with reference to literacy rates. The census data (from 2011) reported that the literacy rate for BS as 49.3 percent. However, this was not reflected in the profiles of research participants from BS, as only one participant of 26 in the current study was found to be illiterate (this participant preferred to use the term 'self-educated' rather than 'illiterate'). Since a snowball sampling technique was employed, the researcher observed the situation not as a limitation in this research rather a natural outcome reflecting strong networking across a group of people who held similar social status. Thereby, it appears as an important finding for the social capital prevailing within the research setting. Regarding life expectancy, no exact data were found for reporting; however, from interviewees' comments it was predicted that life expectancy in BS is around 70 years. The interviewees also commented that life expectancy increased significantly from the 2000s, which was linked to communication infrastructure and better medical facilities (although this was still not very accessible to

⁷ See Appendix H for the description of focus groups' codes.

remote places and/or other sub-districts). This was also reflected in the census data available for government health complexes, the number of diagnostic centres and number of physicians (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2013a, pp. 65-66). The data evidenced a disproportionate distribution of health complexes, diagnostic centres and physicians in relation to BS and other sub-districts of Bandarban in which all the facilities were centred on BS.

Tourism industry representatives claimed that there was a mass of workers but that the industry lacked human capital, which ultimately necessitated training for capacity building or making labourers more skilled. For example, one tour operator and accommodation provider (03_IRTRO_01) said that: “I wanted to dedicate my organisation to Paharis and employ them. The problem is that they are not good at all departments - you won’t find good cook or driver among them. There is a great need for training and the initiatives should be taken jointly by the public as well as private sectors.” However, a transportation representative (07_IRTRO_02) slightly disagreed by claiming enough and skilled labour for transportation sector. Given the above discourse, analyses of primary data indicated two basic themes required to build human capital including institutional capacity (to enable); skill building (to operate).

The requirement of capacity building through professional training was also emphasised by all the community participants, both indigenous and Bengali. Although the participants agreed on the need for training to serve the industry with professionalism and commitment, they provided varied opinions regarding which authority was responsible or who should be held responsible for such training programs. Most of the participants remarked upon the critical role of local government in collaboration with central government to provide such services. Local government representatives claimed that local government had around 28 departments (handed over as per the Peace Accord) and that they arranged training programs at different times through the Youth Development Department. However, this claim was renounced by all of the community participants except one Bengali community respondent from BS. Apart from local government, other responsible parties were pointed out: community (emphasised leaders' influential roles), traditional administration, NGOs and respective organisations working in the industry. In summary, an integrative approach was advocated for human capital development in BS, involving all the parties mentioned under the authority of local government. Beyond this, an important finding revealed that changes in peoples' attitudes about labour serving the tourism and hospitality industry was crucial to involving youth in this industry. In this vein, one indigenous community participant (09_CRIBB_06) added:

We need to involve the youth in this respect and change our attitude. My girl fears to work in a resort - why this should be? The attitude should be changed. In Nepal, you'll find teenage girls are selling wine in small store. It becomes possible there as they have grown a positive attitude towards tourism and social life.

Such a view was partially reflected in the observations made by an indigenous cultural institutional representative (10_IRICI_01) who emphasised the unwillingness of indigenous cultural performers to perform in the hotel or motel.

The participant added that convincing communities in this respect is challenging because of the conservative social norms and value systems. This finding shows the typical influence of social capital (with strong emphasis on cultural elements) on human capital, along with the dominant role of social capital to influence other capitals and functioning structures and processes. The finding is confirming the social capital theory of Coleman (1988) in which the dominant role of social capital to form human capital is identified.

5.3.3 Social Capital

Indicators for social capital included trust, networks, values, and cooperative norms that influenced the functioning of other forms of capital, as well as transformation of structures and processes. The indicators were evaluated and reported within community (bonding capital) and across communities (bridging capital) viewpoints. Given the research context, bridging capital was analysed with a dual focus of indigenous-Bengali and across different indigenous groups. Furthermore, community residents' relationships to those with decision-making authority (linking capital) was also reported explicitly by research participants.

In general, research participants reported that people in BS maintained a harmonious relationship, which was reflected in the district positioning statement of '*Sampritisr Bandarban*', meaning 'United Bandarban'. However, participants also stated that busy modern life and differing political ideologies contributed negatively to this harmonious relationship. As mentioned earlier, numerous indigenous communities and Bengali communities live together in BS. The indigenous communities reported with having more favourable social capital (trust, networks and cooperative norms) than the Bengali community for livelihood outcomes in this research. Although several participants highlighted the strength of indigenous communities' social capital, one particular statement made by a local government representative (13_IRLG_01_NOTES) found noteworthy. The participant asserted:

I was the UNO (Upazila Nirbahi Officer) in Alikadam for eight months and I had to deal different complaints everyday regarding various social issues. In these eight months, I only found a single complaint from an indigenous community member; the rest were from Bengalis. What does it indicate? Don't they have any problem among themselves? Surely they do, but they mitigate at lower-level or within their traditional system.

However, this could be alternately viewed as lack of trust of the indigenous communities on the imposed system governed by mostly Bengali people. This is a particular point that essentially derived from a claim made by a focus group participant (FGD_BB_12_08) who stated "... Who is the justice- Bengali; who is the member secretary- Bengali; who will give the verdict- Bengali; who will pull the chain- Bengali; who will record- Bengali; then conclusion is as simple as Paharis won't get the justice." All the participants identified that intra-community relationships and trust worked very well; however, they provided varying opinions on inter-community relationships. In particular, indigenous communities' relationships with the Bengali community were mostly negatively emphasised. On one

occasion, an indigenous community resident (02_CRIBB) said that “In the plain land, you’ll find a division in terms of Awami League, BNP, Jamat-E-Islam, but for the CHTs in general or Bandarban Sadar in particular you’ll find only two groups: Bengali and Paharis.” This was echoed in the focus group discussions, which sounded a strong political statement but reflected low social capital. In another case, one Bengali community participant (05_CRBBB_03) narrated an incident and its subsequent impact on his/her trust level:

We’re here from my early childhood since I was enrolled in class 2. My father used to come here for business purposes then settled here. At that moment, I observed there was a lack of trust on Bengali. When I used to go to the school, I observed that students were sitting in the class based on their social or ethnic orientations. Once, during an exam, I found a boy cheating in the exam and I reported to the invigilator and the boy got punished. After the school hours when I was on my way back home, I found them in an organised form and they literally tried to attack me. At that moment, my trust level fallen down towards the indigenous communities and I couldn’t make friendship with them. Over the passage of time, I recovered and after the peace treaty I found the situation much better.

From the above statement, it was observed that the social cohesion is improving although at a very low-level. This was also endorsed by a few indigenous participants (e.g., 06_CRIBB_03, 13_CRIBB_10) emphasising the business relationships between indigenous and Bengali communities. The role of education in social networking was emphasised as an important indicator, where well-educated, larger communities were reported with higher networking capacity. Apart from business and education perspectives, both community and institutional participants (e.g., 13_CRIBB_10, 04_IRTRP_01, 10_IRICI_01) reported another noticeable indicator about inter-community marriage, which indicated an increased level of bridging capital, although this was happening mostly among indigenous communities.

Though overall trust and networking among indigenous communities were reported as very positive, a clear division was evident in terms of majority and minority indigenous communities, in which the inequitable distribution of benefits was found to be the nucleus factor for such division. For example, one (minor) indigenous community participant (08_CRIBB_05) stated:

The peace treaty is what? It basically came out of a political game. Santu Larma signed the peace treaty but he does not necessarily represent all the indigenous communities. He represents only the Chakma community and this is why they are privileged. Through this process, they gain individually and for their community mostly.

A few other minor community participants also highlighted the importance of equitable distribution of benefits among indigenous communities. The equitable issue was rationalised with a hypothetical example: if the HDC executive board is represented by eight Marma and Chakma community members, then there must be at least one from each minor community (06_CRIBB_03) among the total board members.

Linking social capital was found to be stronger in BS for indigenous communities. All but one indigenous community participant (01_CRIBB_02) emphasised good relationships with the leaders. Such relationships were reflected through the observance of flexible political actions (07_CRIBB_04), for example for relaxed *hartal* (strike). The researcher experienced such flexibility while conducting fieldwork in BS.

This research assumes that social capital expressly includes culture in the form of values, practices, rituals, languages and other similar elements. The participants in this research gave their opinion in favour of cultural preservation and protection as a way forward to community wellbeing as well as sustainable tourism development. They noted that tourism in BS should be planned and developed without any disturbances to the ethnic communities' culture. If culture is disturbed, people will no longer support tourism. In this vein, Dyer, Aberdeen and Schuler (2003) found that when (indigenous) community people perceive some form of cultural commodification (from tourism activities), they withdraw themselves from supporting tourism. The withdrawal can be observed in various forms such as reluctance to perform cultural show, which in turn will negatively affect economic sustainability of tourism. Two major issues were identified in line with the cultural aspects: diversities and sensitivities.

All of the participants in this research acknowledged the cultural diversity in BS as a precious element or attraction for tourism development. The research participants commented that the exhibition of diverse cultural elements in BS was attracting significant numbers of tourists, which was observable during any special occasion such as 'BOISHABI' or 'Raj Punnah'. At the same time, they observed acculturation by way of dress patterns, food habits and so on as negative impacts from tourism (cultural sensitivities). Moreover, cultural recognition, protection and promotion issues were found to be implicitly aligned with community wellbeing (abstract or intangible view of community wellbeing), which was especially affiliated with indigenous communities. For example, one indigenous participant (03_CRIBB_02) stated that: "The problem is the state imposes our identity on us. I must have the right to decide what will be my identity. It should not be assigned by the state. They decide that we are the small ethnic groups; we do not have the right to decide our identity." At this point, given the current livelihood framework, the high importance of culture is recalling a separate attention within the framework. Culture is historical in nature, which essentially directs the pattern and influences the strength of social capital.

5.3.4 Built Capital

Built capital is the most tangible element among the various forms of capital comprising infrastructure, superstructures, tools and equipment that facilitate information, and communication exchange. Major issues identified in line with the management decisions of built capital from the data of BS were moderately favourable communication infrastructure, lack of activity-based tourism facilities, possibility of home stays and planning necessity.

Different stakeholder groups prioritised and emphasised the themes to varied degrees. Local government representatives (13_IRLG_01_NOTES and 14_IRLG_02) found the critical importance of communication infrastructures for ensuring ease of access to tourists. They raised the issue in that if tourist flow is not profitable, then it would become difficult to develop tourism sustainably or contribute sustainably towards the livelihood outcome. Local government claimed the availability of a suitable communication structure at the town (sub-district) level for tourism development. Community research participants confirmed such a claim; for example, one transportation representative (07_IRTRO_02) extended the discussion to cover remote areas and mentioned that “If you go to the remote para (village), you won’t be able to experience better communication infrastructure. This is crucial for tourism development.” It has been reported that tourists are very interested in visiting remote places, rather than staying in towns. However, developing infrastructure in hilly areas costs more and requires technical competence. This is the phase where government intervention is necessary. At this point, local people think the military could be involved with their expertise. In BS (and some other remote places), the military has previously carried out a lot of infrastructural development, such as the road from *Dim Pahar* to *Alikadam* (01_CRBBB_01). The total length of physical communication infrastructure in BS was 665 km of roads and 30 km of waterways. Out of the 665 km of road, only 93 km was metalled and 112 km was semi-metalled, while the rest was unmetalled (*kacha*) road (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2013a, p. 73).

In addition to physical communication infrastructure is telecommunication- and modern technology-based equipment, which facilitates information and communication exchange. It was found that almost all the telecommunication service providers in Bangladesh provided their services in BS. However, only a few (Grameenphone, Teletalk, and Robi) could connect remote destinations such as *Boga Lake* or *Keokradang*, and then only with poor signals. The usage rate of modern technology-based equipment in businesses and offices was low; for example, the Economic Census of 2013 revealed that in BS there were 1,168 manufacturing establishments and only 27 used computer technology (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2013d, p. 47). This has been observed by the researcher as being closely linked to the availability of human capital. In general, the communication infrastructure was reported moderately favourable (inferred from the researcher’s notes asking the participants to roughly rate the overall infrastructure) for the development of tourism. However, the secondary data regarding the physical communication infrastructure as well as the usage of technology-based equipment do not support such findings.

In terms of tourism-based structures, participants (10_CRIBB_07, 11_IRARMY_01 and 03_IRTRO_01) emphasised activity-based facilities that would require tourists to spend and contribute to the local economy, provided the local resources were utilised. Currently, the tourism industry in BS fails to offer activities and entertainment opportunities for tourists. There are 146 restaurants and 39 residential hotels, motels and resorts (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics,

2013a, p. 68) providing core services (food and accommodation), but these struggle for quality as claimed by the participants. In order to attract more tourists or repeat visitors, facilities must be upgraded.

In order to contribute at a basic level to community people's livelihoods, home stay facilities have been discussed on numerous occasions both by institutional representatives and community residents (e.g., 13_IRLG_01_NOTES, 01_CRBBB_01, 04_CRBBB_02, 12_CRIBB_09, 03_IRTRO_01 and 07_IRTRO_02). Industry representatives however have raised the issue of complex multi-institutional environments and underscored home stay arrangements to be recognised by government policies. At present, a few families in *Faruk Para, Milonchari* are offering home stay facilities, but these are limited to personal connections and happening as an individual initiative rather than an organised community initiative being facilitated by the local government.

Participants from local government have acknowledged the necessity of a master plan to integrate all components within a policy framework to ensure sustainable development through tourism. For example, one representative (17_IRLG_03) from the local government said:

There is no proper planning for infrastructural development and tourism establishments in Bandarban at present. Here, tourism is developing on whimsical basis, say - for our community members or higher officials went to visit Nepal or Vietnam and fascinated by some architectures/structures. They'll try to imitate that after coming back. So, the concept of tourism is not clear. If everything is done according to a master plan, then it will instil a long-term focus, which in turn entails the sustainable aspects of development.

Local community residents also found accommodation establishments for tourists (hotels, motels and resorts) to be unsystematically developed, based on individual's capabilities. Lack of planning has allowed accommodation to develop randomly without effective and efficient monitoring of systems. This is also impacting the transportation industry, as one interviewee (08_CRIBB_05) mentioned: "The current facilities are not tourism or tourist-friendly. In terms of tourism, Bandarban is costly. There is no public bus services or tourists' vehicle available to visit nearby sites in Bandarban Sadar. The transportation sectors sometimes irrationally charge the tourists, which is unethical. Local government should monitor these." However, the researcher's field observation notes (as of 10 May 2016) taken from the district law-order and coordination committee meeting (for more about the nature and functioning of such committee refer to Chapter Six, Box 6.1) organised by the Bandarban DC office indicate that the committee fixed some varying rates for different types of vehicles used by tourists. During the session, one civil society representative attending the meeting raised the issue that although the committee decided a fixed fare chart for the vehicles carrying tourists, in practice, it was not followed. The participant thereby emphasising the monitoring needs. The chair (DC) of the committee then asked for the attention of a representative from district police to take necessary actions on this issue. This incidence typically signifies the composite nature of tourism industry, which requires active involvement of multiple agencies.

5.3.5 Financial Capital

Financial capital was examined under two broader themes of availability and accessibility. It was found that community people did not receive financial help or loans for tourism and/or development projects. Loans are only available against security or mortgaged property, which is not accessible for root level community people (a view holds by all the participants from tourism organisations and community members). Additionally, it has been argued that acquiring a loan sometimes requires good networking with bank officials. Such a requirement was also emphasised in the focus group session (FGD_BB_12_08).

It was noted that government has declared three hill districts as ‘special economic zones’ and that the people of Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHTs) were entitled to receive loans at a reduced interest rate of 5 percent (lower than the usual rates, which varied between 8 percent and 10 percent). In addition, a special facility was announced for women entrepreneurs, though this is far from practice. A woman entrepreneur (05_IRWCC_01) claimed that “The government has directed to sanction up to 2.5 million BDT to the women entrepreneurs without any mortgages. In reality, our women are not getting more than 2 to 3 lac BDT (0.2 to 0.3 million) and that also requires submission of huge documents and lengthy procedures to follow.” Such a claim emphasises the lengthiness associated with the red-tape bureaucratic practices. However, a few community residents reported that tourism development and provision for livelihood means do not require large investment and discouraged external investments (external to Bandarban), strongly emphasising the economic leakage issue (income flowing out of the region).

Conflicts of investment among private, public, and people was highlighted. For example, a community member (04_CRBBB_02) critically assessed that:

Right now, in Bandarban Sadar, we are not in a position to welcome bulk investment from outside because this will take the money out of this region. The ownership creation should be the focus. We should be cautious at this point, as the Nilachal tourism project was funded by the DC office or Nilgiri by the army. Now, if individual and/or a particular community financing started fighting against institutional/government funding, then ensuring sustainability would be a concern... Hence, the cell (indicating a joint forum of community members and institutional representatives) as I mentioned earlier should take the responsibility in this regard and finance the community as an entity on shared basis, say for the Boga Lake or Nafakum community.

The involvement of non-government organisations i.e., NGOs (both local and international) was emphasised for micro-credit and small scheme loans by local government representatives (13_IRLG_01_NOTES and 14_IRLG_02). However, unfortunately in BS no NGOs are working or even interested in working in the tourism sector (01_CRBBB_01 and 08_IRNGO_01_NOTES). Two basic reasons were pointed out as background causes: firstly, NGO operations are influenced by the demand of donor agencies and they are apparently not interested in tourism; and secondly, NGO

activities are over-monitored in the CHT, which indicates a lack of a conducive working environment. Dictaan-Bang-
oa (2004, p. 15) claimed that many of the development efforts by NGOs (especially one with foreign funds) in the CHT
region were restricted by the National NGO Bureau. It was further claimed that although central government
encouraged leading national NGOs (e.g., Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee, *Proshika*, etc.) and Islamic NGOs
(e.g., Bangladesh Islamic Foundation) to work in the CHT, they (CG) remained distrustful about the indigenous
peoples' organisations to grant permission for an NGO. The researcher's interpretation critically linked this
phenomenon to the political distrust as prevailing historically within the CHT context (see Chapter Four, Section 4.1).

5.4 Formal Institutional Arrangements

The major themes identified for 'formal institutional arrangements' in association with tourism resource decision-
making entailed numerous institutional (government/public) involvement, lack of empowerment by the HDC (local
government) and lack of institutional governance. The involvement of multiple government agencies in BS tourism
was described by one institutional representative (04_IRTRP_01):

*Here, every institution is doing tourism business. Army is doing business, district
administration (DC office) is doing business, and now we are listening the police department
will start by themselves and the government is approving them doing so. On the other hand,
tourism related organisation like Bangladesh Parjatan Corporation (BPC) is doing business
and they are not successful. Quite interesting!*

An unavoidable consequence following disordered institutional involvement was reported as lack of internal
coordination, which again found ensuing egocentric attitudes among different institutional representatives (mostly
at upper-level management of government agencies). Industry stakeholders (03_IRTRO_01 and 22_IRTRO_03)
claimed that the presence of multi-administration made them somehow confused to accommodate conflicting
instructions from different institutions. Similarly, another participant (05_IRWCC_01) commented that "Here,
institutions have grown up in numbers more than required. When you have too many guardians, you'll be lost with
diverse instructions." One community participant (06_CRIBB_03) however, observed the multiplicity of institutions
from 'effect' orientation rather than the cause and accordingly claimed that lack of internal coordination makes the
multiple institutional entities visible. The participants altogether emphasised the urgency for a specialised
institutional structure under the supervision of the HDC (as the authority of local tourism) to patronise tourism and
subsequently remove the internal coordination issue.

At this point, four key issues were reported in connection with the dysfunctional aspects of the HDC or local
government. Of these issues, two were directly in line with tourism functioning, whereas the other two were more
general. The issues that were impacting tourism functioning included faulty transfer (tourism as a subject transferred
to the local government based on the Peace Accord) and lack of knowledge and expertise. Improper delegation of

authority and the requirement of an elected body to represent the HDC were impacting overall activities, including institutional governance.

Regarding the transfer agreement, it was observed that local government itself was confused, let alone community residents. On a broad spectrum, it was found that perceptions regarding transfer were negative among community residents. For instance, one indigenous community participant (12_CRIBB_09) commented that “the agreement that has been made between the district council and the central government or BPC is very weak; it seems BPC will have the meat and give us the bones.” Coupled with this problem were the limited capabilities or capacities of the HDC, as it was short on workforce both in terms of quantity and quality. The people dealing in tourism lacked a clear conception about the term 'tourism development' (04_CRBBB_02 and 03_CRIBB_02). They embraced a traditional viewpoint of development rather than holding a holistic view. Moreover, it was reported that lack of democratic practices inside the institutions make them less accountable and less responsive to public demands. These issues were reconfirmed in the focus group sessions; for example, one focus group participant (FGD_BB_12_08) said:

... Now, you can tell me that district council is yours and the representatives are also among you. So, everything should go in favour of you! The question remains with the capacity of them. Those who are working in Executive Committee not elected; they represent always the ruling political party. It sounds bitter but true. In addition, local tourism is handed over to HDC but the transfer contract reveals that the chairman of HDC can't control (transfer/promote, etc.) the staffs.

Equally aligned with faulty transfer was the improper delegation of authority, for which typical bureaucratic practices were pointed out. These practices were referred to as concurrently 'rigid' and 'power-centric' (retaining the power at one's own hand). On this point, entry barriers for foreign tourists to Bandarban were recalled several times. One accommodation provider (03_IRTRO_01) reported that “... a Hungarian guest came to our hotel but on the way he was stopped and waited for an hour. Obviously, it disappointed him.” As such, an indigenous participant (08_CRIBB_05) commented on the link between red-tape bureaucracy and the politicisation of institutions:

The dysfunctional and corrupt bureaucracy is creating a huge impediment. You are researching on sustainable tourism. Do you think they will use you or take the knowledge consultation from you? I don't think so. Rather, they will think you as competitor until and unless you are referred by a higher political authority.

Finally, it was reported that the right people were not in the right places, which was contributing to institutional corruption. It was also reported that people were getting jobs through bribery and consequently their initial focus concentrated on securing their investment first; thus, 'corruption begets corruption.' This was found to be a root cause for corruption and misgovernance. Institutional governance was also influenced by the politicisation of institutions. This issue was highly emphasised in the focus group session (FGD_BB_12_08) where a participant

commented that “If you look at the different tourism projects here, perhaps it’ll remind you the proverb- Might is right.”

5.5 Vulnerability Context

Vulnerability issues were identified typically in association with the situational factors as discussed in an earlier chapter (Chapter Four). The most frequently reported factor was social insecurity as a consequence of the large scale military presence. Although one Bengali community resident (01_CRBBB_01) described the military’s role positively in destination image building through the *Nilgiri* Tourism Project, all of the other indigenous participants and institutional representatives (tourism-based organisations) identified the military presence as restricting community participation. For example, one indigenous resident (08_CRIBB_05) commented that “Nilgiri was developed by (the) army - they are doing business here. They should not. They could develop and later handed over to communities after developing their capacities. This is hampering the economic development of local people of this area, as local people can’t participate in their project.” This same view was reiterated in the focus group session. In contrast, military personnel observed that they were well accepted by *the community, especially about tourism development*. A military participant (11_IRARMY_01) said that “... the perception of local people is quite obvious that without the participation of armies, tourism development is not possible at this stage. But armies are not there with a mission of tourism development. So, the alternative arrangements should be sorted out.” These opposing perceptions bring a vulnerability that shadows the setting. In order to get an idea about such phenomenon and how it was impacting decision-making or restricting democratic opinion, see the researcher’s field observation notes presented below (Box 5.1).

Box 5.1 Researcher’s field observation notes from an attended workshop

It was the 3rd May 2016. The researcher was invited to attend a workshop. The workshop was organised under a running project of the Bandarban Hill District Council, funded by the International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development (ICIMOD). The project, named “Rural Livelihoods and Climate Change Adaptation in the Himalayas (Himalica),” was also referred to a few times during the interviews for its community-oriented approach. Although the project involved community people and coffee cultivation (an alternative to Jum cultivation and sustainable agricultural practices), tourism remained an integral part of the project. Through this project, an effort was made to integrate agriculture with tourism while empowering the communities surrounding the project site.

The workshop was organised to discuss Bandarban's tourism vision and actions. The researcher observed a thought-provoking platform where institutional representatives and community people sat together (a perfect theoretical co-management structure) and discussed various issues of Bandarban tourism. Though the workshop was organised by the BHDC, representatives from other public offices, including the DC's office, superintendent of police (SP) office and army, were also present. The community members who attended the workshop were primarily the beneficiaries of the project and located (mostly) in Ruma Upazila, Bandarban. The workshop was divided into two sessions: informal and formal. The informal session was guided by a presentation and a brainstorming task (SWOT analysis) on Bandarban

Tourism involving community people. In contrast, the formal session comprised of speeches by key institutional personnel and one community representative.

The researcher observed that the army representative avoided the brainstorming session, defending his/her position that he/she is not allowed to express opinions in a public forum. Surprisingly, though other institutional representatives remained present, after the departure of the army representative the community members started to talk freely and raised some issues against rigid army instructions, which challenged them to serve tourists as per their need. Noticeably, when the army representative returned to attend the formal session, the participants spoke in a different voice (no complaining tone). This observation evidenced how the presence of the army influenced resource decisions and alienated community participation within a broader context of the CHT and in particular, Bandarban.

Furthermore, when people gave their opinion in a group without any army representation, they mostly talked about the army/military negatively and found them to be a threat to their (community peoples') usual livelihood activities. In some cases, they identified the military as a competitor (from a tourism business perspective). An indigenous focus group participant (FGD_BB_12_08) who raised the following questions highlighted such a view:

Armies are leading here everything from behind the curtain. Now, you talk about Khaleda Zia or current Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina: 'Everyone fears about the black clouds.' The salaries and other operating costs of armies are financed by our taxes. Why they should be involved in business? Why? Are they starving? Why they should build Radisson Hotel or get involved in corporate affairs?

The most alarming aspect was that the youth group had a clear opposite stance against the military presence (YFG_BB_14_08)⁸ in BS. They found (some) army's behaviours disrespectful to their culture as one participant said, "... They sometimes mock at our dresses and cultures. Consequently, our socio-cultural identity and integrity get hurt. This also at times instigate conflict." On this note, military is identified as a potential source for communal conflict, which in turn increases vulnerability.

Apart from the militarisation, other issues were emphasised as lack of political commitment (from the ruling party, opposition parties and/or regional parties) and lack of implementation of the Peace Accord. For instance, one participant from the focus group said that "... Things are not happening the way it should be. Tourism will be sustainable and community welfare can take place when our rights are established and the written agreements are accomplished." Besides, extreme politicisation of institutions, coupled with the autocratic power exercise by institutional representatives, also added vulnerability. In this regard, the researcher's field observation note centred on (tourism) resource allocation and accessibility, as presented below (Box 5.2) created a point of reference. Although the destination or site is not directly included under the case study embedded unit, still it represents broader case setting. Moreover, the situation presented perfectly describes the institution-oriented vulnerability (shocks and

⁸ Code for youth focus group discussion (YFG) in Bandarban.

threats from public institutions) within the CHT context. In general, a holistic purpose of generating empathetic understanding from the social setting reinforces the researcher to include the field observation notes in this thesis. This is believed to form a basis for interpreting the results thereby revealing the reality from a social constructionism viewpoint.

Box 5.2 Researcher's field observation notes from a conflict event at Boga Lake

A conflict event between Boga Lake's Bawm community and Ruma Upazila (sub-district) administration took place on the 8th April 2016. The researcher was in-field at that moment visiting Boga Lake and the surrounding tourism attractions with his supervisor (11th to 14th April). Before discussing the event, it would be helpful to give a brief description of Boga Lake.



Box Image: Photo of Boga Lake (*Source: Photo taken by the researcher*)

Boga Lake, also called Bogakain Lake, is a natural and sweet water lake located in the Ruma Upazila of the Bandarban Hill District of Bangladesh. It was created almost 2,000 years ago by the collection of rain water in the crater of a dead volcano, reportedly 2,700 feet above sea level. It is a closed lake with an area of 18.56 acres (75,100 m²) with an average depth of 125 feet. Several small tribal communities, including the Bawm, Mro, Tripura and Khumi tribes, live around the lake. Their life and living is highly influenced by the existence of the lake.

The serene beauty of Boga Lake is unique and attracts nature-based tourists as well as young adventure groups. At an estimate, the average number of visitors to Boga Lake has increased around threefold over the last 10 years (source: army personnel at the register desk, Boga Lake). This is partly because of the promotion by visitors themselves via electronic means as well as social media. However, individual tourists to Boga Lake claim that the government fails to protect and promote the destination.

Boga Lake is an important community resource, but land ownership around the lake remains unsettled and is a source of confusion. The indigenous communities (mentioned above) are claiming ownership based on their traditional practices, but lack documentation. At the time of the conflict, a community member from the Bawm community started building a tourist accommodation facility (a traditionally-designed cottage) beside the lake. It should be noted that there are other similar kinds of properties owned by other community members from the Bawm community in the area. However, in this case members of the upazila administration came with police and destroyed the building (in-progress), claiming that the structure was built on the land of the upazila administration. The community protested and there was a minor public confrontation. Later, representatives of the upazila administration, along with police, returned to the upazila centre, but later became "vindictive" (as described by one local) and filed cases against a few community members therein.

While talking to the Bawm community members about this event, one member noted that "*They could talk to us. Perhaps we could mitigate the problem in a nicer way, but they instigated a conflictual*

environment by showing their power. What can we do when the state representatives playing against us? We are becoming organised to protest.” At a later date, the researcher found out that one community member had been arrested and that the communities (including Bawm, Mro, Marma and even Bengali) from Ruma Upazila had collectively protested by observing various campaigns, including a human chain.

This event evidenced the vulnerability of communities to the autocratic attitudes of public/government institutional representatives regarding resource decisions. However, the strength of social capital (networking and trust) was reflected through the collective stance of the communities.

5.6 Co-management for Tourism Decision-Making

In Bandarban (Sadar), tourism has been operated unsystematically by different institutions (see earlier notes). Although HDC was supposed to play the ‘catalyst’ role, in reality it was largely absent from playing the active role. Moreover, community perspectives were kept far away from tourism resource decision-making processes, indicating rigid, and hierarchical top-down decision-making processes. Thus, a collective sense of decision-making as assumed and approached through ‘co-management’ structures and processes in this research was not evident. However, HDC had some joint decision-making structures vested by the Peace Accord, where multi-community representations were adhered to through an elected body (currently selected or nominated by the central government), which empirically reflected a ‘government-based management’ structure.

Community participants in this research identified co-management analogous to ‘co-operative’ or ‘collective’ terms, in which the concern of community people (minor community participation emphasised) must be consulted and destination communities would be empowered in terms of resource decision-making and implementation strategies. Almost all the participants found co-management a fascinating and promising concept, but recommended few issues that could be adjusted to make the structure functional. However, one community resident (02_CRIBB_01) observed the dysfunctional aspect of co-management structures in relation to the dominant role of institutional bodies within such structures and commented:

Although the word ‘co-management’ itself sounds nice, but I’m not in favour of that because of the ineptness of the structural processes. The parties involved in the co-management does not get enough floor to express their opinions. Thus, projects run without considering the community's viewpoints and ultimately it becomes unsuccessful. The parties in power or the ruling parties usually take decisions.

Nonetheless, all of the community participants gave their opinion in favour of co-management, provided that communities be empowered and allowed to be an active part in the resource allocation and implementation processes. In this regard, one industry stakeholder (03_IRTRO_01) mentioned on-going co-management structures and processes being employed in tourism sector by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). A project named ‘Nishorgo’ initially helped community members by providing plans of action and design of

accommodation units while bearing initial expenditures. Later, when the project matured, the units were handed over to the community members. Thus, the creation of ownership was ensured. In the similar way, a few other participants (e.g., 08_IRNGO_01_NOTES, 14_IRLG_02, 08_CRIBB_05, and 09_CRIBB_06) emphasised resource sharing perspectives, institutional patronisation (finance at initial stages and later, expertise), and community empowerment through ownership creation. To demonstrate, one community member (09_CRIBB_06) shared an experience of a community-engaged project:

I worked with nine communities and to gather them all into a single platform it took me two years. I formed three layers of cooperative structures at union level-upazila level-district level. It was very good. For example, my field supervisor used to visit the place twice a month to encourage and monitor them (community members). Moreover, at upazila level, they used to pay visit once in a month and at a district level once in every three months. Besides, we used to organise six-month training program about health right, human right and savings for the members of the union... We helped them with self-help credit as our slogan was 'We give knowledge, not finance.' We provided them a little fund for initial encouragement and they contributed mostly.

Community participation and the success of co-management was reported leniently because of the presence of diverse communities with complex social relationships (reported by eight community residents and three institutional representatives). Such views were equally endorsed by focus group participants in FGD_BB_12_08 and YFG_BB_14_08. In this regard, developing and communicating a common interest was advocated in order to unite community actors, including those from minor communities. This finding indicated the real challenge of co-management applicability on broad or macro viewpoints within the current research setting. Co-management structures and processes were reported to be effective at village or particular destination level. Added to this observation, another issue ('linkages') was highlighted. Co-management structure was recommended to be formed at local destination level, ensuring equitable community representations (if multiple communities exists) and linkages with the HDC and traditional administration. However, one participant in the focus group session (FGD_BB_12_08) reported that "...it's very hard to ensure equal representation in the HDC committee. Pankhoa, Lusai, Khumi communities can get one seat. Ideally, from each community the representation should be ensured." This observation again pointed towards the limitation of a co-management structure being adapted to a broader scale.

5.7 Process Outcomes

Following the CCSLF framework, this research relates tourism resource decision-making processes and structures to community wellbeing as sustainable livelihood outcome, which in turn can influence and be influenced by sustainable tourism development. Sustainable tourism development is positioned in the CCSLF as a livelihood diversification strategy ensuing a process outcome of co-management (Tao & Wall, 2009). Thus, both community wellbeing and sustainable tourism development were observed by means of mutual outcomes generated from resource decision-

making processes. Subsequently, the analysed data gave some key insights or themes to recapitulate those concepts from a developing or early stage destination perspective.

5.7.1 Sustainable Tourism Development

Participants in this research identified a sustainable tourism development concept from three broad points of view: concept-based, resource-based and holistic. The concept-based view emphasised planning necessity and knowledge requirement. This view inherently acknowledged the critical importance of context. For example, one indigenous community resident (10_CRIBB_07) commented that: “You must have to consider the geo-political and socio-cultural contexts of the CHTs; you can’t simply imitate the world approach here for tourism development. That won’t be sustainable.” The resource-based view instigated a strategic orientation towards the decision-making and implementation of strategies to protect and enhance various resources (identified as capitals). Finally, the holistic view encompassed both the concept and resource views with an emphasis on community perspectives. Accordingly, major themes identified under this category (sustainable tourism development) from analysed data included active community involvement, community awareness, creating local supply chains, planning requirement (master plans) and environmental protection.

In terms of active community involvement, institutional representatives highlighted tourism development as an ‘alternative livelihood’ means, which must be viable in terms of individuals, families and socio-cultural demands. One participant (08_IRNGO_01_NOTES) gave an example of *Boga Lake*, where the Bawm community became involved in tourism businesses and considered tourism as an alternative means of livelihood. However, the conflict event described in Box 5.2 concluded that the community people became involved in tourism in *Boga Lake* by default and they did not have much say in regard to tourism resource decisions. Thus, without institutional (public) patronisation and/or an effective policy framework, it becomes difficult to ensure the functional involvement of community, which in turn interrupts sustainable tourism development goals.

All of the community participants identified sustainable tourism by means of community participation in resource decision-making processes and active involvement to carry out strategies and activities. Community involvement was reported broadly in two forms: firstly, by providing tourists with ancillary services including accommodation, transportation, local foods, souvenirs, etc.; secondly, through their participation/performance in various events, i.e. cultural exhibition. A few participants (e.g., 04_CRBBB_02, 06_CRIBB_03 and 07_CRIBB_04) emphasised the necessity of equitable distribution of benefits (from tourism gains) across community members and suggested a special structure at destination (community) level in this response. Benefits sharing was underscored with a view to creating a balanced livelihood impact. This was partly observed from the discontent of community participants, especially indigenous participants on the institution-managed tourism project. In one case, a participant (08_CRIBB_05) said

that: “... development without involving a local community is totally an absurd idea. Income generates from Meghla and Niligiri directly goes to the DC’s un-auditable fund and Bangladesh army, respectively.” Similarly, another participant (13_CRIBB_10) commented that:

If the locals are not involved, then tourism will not be developed in any form. It requires the prioritisation of their (community peoples) consents and opinions. Community peoples, mostly Tanchangya, who live in two or three kilometres surrounding the Nilachal tourism spot are living under poverty level. If tourism was developed sustainably in Nilachal, locals were prioritised.

This issue was equally highlighted in the focus group session (FGD_BB_12_08), where one participant compared privately-owned (even by an outsider) and public institution-owned (military) tourism projects in relation to their merits with local employment creation for locals and stated: “If you visit Milonchari resorts, you’ll find the involvement of community people (doing job). In contrast, if you visit the army-patronised tourism project, you’ll find their staffs or soldiers are operating, rather than the community people.”

Before involving a community, the need to create awareness about tourism among communities was reported frequently. Community participants reported that they were not aware of the facts of ‘what tourism is and how it is going to benefit them’. One indigenous community participant (07_CRIBB_04) pointed out that:

We have to make communities aware about the resource allocation and resource preservation (for tourism). This will ensure transparency and management. For this reason, access to information must be ensured. Then, they (community people) will be able to understand the essence of tourism. To make this successful, government support is crucial to the communities.

Local government representatives, however, claimed that they had conducted several seminars and workshops to create awareness for tourism; the community response in this research concluded that those were not sufficient. In this regard, involvement of local and international NGOs was emphasised due to their remote accessibility. Furthermore, participants from the youth focus group (YFG_BB_14_08) session mentioned that youth should be given some initial concepts about tourism to create awareness. This would help to spread their thinking pattern and create greater acceptability. One participant from the session commented that: “We don’t have any courses for tourism. Although there were some workshops conducted on behalf of a project run by the ILO (International Labour Organisation), those were not good enough to develop necessary skills.”

An associated outcome in line with community awareness and participation was identified as creating local supply chains to ensure income for locals while minimising economic leakage. Community participants observed that community members (especially women of indigenous communities) were receiving small economic benefits through

selling handcrafts and weaved clothes, but that this was happening in a scattered way. The people who were involved in the process were not getting value for their products because of the lack of organised efforts.

Tourism's impacts on the environment were reported from two different angles of both service provider and receiver (). Firstly, some tourism-based structures were developed (service provider) by demolishing the external physical environment (a view formed by 09_CRIBB_06, 06_CRIBB_03, and 10_IRICI_01) and secondly, some tourists (service receiver) were behaving irresponsibly (a view formed by 05_CRBBB_03, 10_IRICI_01, and 09_IRDFO_NOTES). Participants who identified irresponsible behaviour by tourists mentioned two core causes of such behaviour: lack of law and order implementation and lack of ethical and moral education.

In the discussion of sustainable tourism development, negative consequences (e.g. theft, prostitution, alcohol consumption, etc) related to tourism were argued on several occasions. At the same time, participants suggested the necessity of a tourism development plan to address (minimise or neutralise) negative social impacts in order to realise sustainable tourism. Such a plan was expected not only to adapt negative social impacts but also to protect the economic interests (of the community) and the environment. For example, one Bengali community participant (04_CRBBB_02) remarked:

For sustainability, the long-term orientation should be shaped within a plan. Suppose we open a five-star hotel, to sustain the project; we need to see whether we have enough infrastructure and communication supports, whether we have enough skilled workforce... Most importantly, whether it is creating benefits on justifiable basis for the community within which the establishment exists. If we fail to address these issues, from the capitalist essence, this big investment will eat up the small investments nearby. Thus, we have to develop a plan in which we should address such issue - whether we should encourage bulk investment at early stage of tourism or not?

The lack of planning instrument is resulting an unbalanced development, which in turn is posing a challenge for sustainable initiatives. Thus, a good starting point for sustainable tourism development can be an integrated plan targeting the management of tourism resources within a destination. The plan must incorporate broader stakeholder inputs for wider acceptance and subsequent success.

5.7.2 Community Wellbeing

The community wellbeing concept was explained by the research participants as a positive change in livelihood standards, which was reportedly dependent upon economic gain, education, sense of social security, and other psychological factors such as community identity. Almost every participant identified education as a core element for community wellbeing at least once. They found education was creating the differences in status among communities, more specifically indigenous communities. For example, one indigenous community participant (06_CRIBB_03) said

that: “By the term ‘community wellbeing’, I mean a positive change in comparison to the past state. For, say, when I sat for the HSC (Higher Secondary Certificate) exam in the year 2000, I was alone and the first person from my community. Nowadays you can find a group of students are going to universities, which is good and indicated overall community wellbeing.” At the same time, education was reported as an ‘enabling’ factor that facilitates economic benefits to meet livelihood needs and raises awareness to enhance psychological wellbeing (e.g., feeling more confident and responsive to critical situations/vulnerability). Besides education, health care facilities, conflict-free environments and legal support to community members were also emphasised for ensuring and enhancing community wellbeing by numerous participants (e.g., 05_CRBBB_03, 07_CRIBB_04, 10_CRIBB_07, 05_IRWCC_01).

Securing economic benefits through livelihood activities was commonly addressed as a means of community wellbeing. This was clarified in that economic gain or income would help the community to support their basic livelihood needs, thereby contributing to material wellbeing. The relationship between community wellbeing and sustainable tourism was reported as a two-way relationship being framed by material wellbeing (e.g., income, employment, etc.). For instance, one institutional representative (04_IRTRP_01) commented that:

I think these concepts are seamlessly connected, mutually-inclusive and interactive. Both the concepts have development orientation. Communities' financial empowerment is possible through tourism development that will facilitate community wellbeing. If community wellbeing is ensured, the community people will be much aware and receptive about tourism. This community support will help to develop tourism sustainably.

While economic gain was identified in association with material wellbeing, a few other issues were reported simultaneously as ensuring psychological wellbeing and enhancing overall community wellbeing. If community people feel threatened or an increased level of social insecurity, this may detract from the overall perception of community wellbeing. For example, the Roads Transport and Bridge Minister recently stated that the government took a plan to fence the border by building a road through *Teknaf-Ukhiya-Thegamukh*, covering around 700 km; one indigenous community participant (02_CRIBB_01) perceived this as a strategy of government and commented that: “Inevitably government will install BGB camps there. Right after installing BGB camps, all the Rohingyas will be settled nearing those camps. This is what we (indigenous communities) think.” When this level of distrust presents among community members, it becomes very hard to ensure community wellbeing.

In addition, an important finding revealed that community wellbeing in an abstract sense emphasised how the community was identified as an entity. This issue is discussed in an earlier chapter (Chapter Four) under the sub-section ‘An Identity Debate of Indigenesness’. The researcher observed the pervasiveness of the identity debate and its impact on the perception of community wellbeing in the youth focus group session. During the session, one

Bengali participant (YFG_BB_14_08) in some way generalised overall the communities of BS; instantly, an indigenous participant reacted to his/her stance by proclaiming that:

I disagree with the statement. We are not Bengalis, (but) rather Bangladeshis, being a citizen of Bangladesh. We have our own languages and cultures. The government has declared us small ethnic communities, but if we consider the definition of 'indigenous' term then you'll find that we are indigenous.

The above observation again highlighted the critical importance of culture within the current research setting, which ultimately reinforcing culture to be treated separately other than an inherent element of social capital (as assumed in this research).

5.8 Summary of the Findings

The following table (Table 5.1) summarises the findings of this research from BS. The initial CCSLF framework has informed the coding framework and base themes (column 1 and 2). Column 3 exhibits the key issues pertaining to the management decisions, which are derived from the emergent themes as generated from data analyses. The reporting structure of findings principally follows these issues, along with relevant supporting themes (for details see Appendix I). Finally, a brief explanation is incorporated to encapsulate the status of the reported issues.

Table 5.1 Findings summary based on field-data from case study unit-1 (BS)

Coding framework	Base themes	Issue for management	Status and/or explanations
Livelihood resources/Tourism and community resources	Natural capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No inventory Corrupt practices Land ownership 	Natural resources have been reported as declining and corrupt institutional practices have been cited as the key factor for such deterioration. The unresolved land ownership issue has been reported as a core concern to be settled before any development endeavours can be made.
	Human capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Capacity building Authority responsibilities 	Lack of skilled labour, which requires training. Government institutions and community roles were emphasised for building capacities.
	Social capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Trust Networks Values and cooperative norms 	Intra-community trust was reported as high while inter-community trust found to be low, especially between Bengali and other indigenous communities.
	Built capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Communication infrastructure Activity-based tourism facilities Home stays Planning necessity 	Communication infrastructure is reported as good in town areas but bad in remote areas. In general, it was assessed moderately favourable. Lack of planning allowed tourism-based structures to grow haphazardly. To provide benefits directly to community members, opportunities for home stay was explored.
	Financial capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Availability Accessibility 	Finance not available and/or easily accessible. Requires collateral or security.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Numerous institutional involvement 	To overcome the involvement of multiple institutions, the need for a special structure was emphasised. Corruption and rigid bureaucratic

Institutional arrangements	Formal institutional arrangements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local government empowerment Corruption Red-tape bureaucracy 	practices limited the effectiveness of institutions (in this case, public institutions).
Vulnerability context	Vulnerability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tourism investment by the military Regional political trends Weak institutions 	Militarisation and autocratic attitudes of public institution representatives make the community participation context vulnerable. Lack of political commitment contributes to the implementation status of the Peace Accord, thereby adding vulnerability.
Transforming structures and processes	Co-management frameworks and processes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Linkages Cooperation Community-led Micro (local) orientation 	Community must be prioritised in terms of strategy and activity formulation and implementation. Linkages with the institutions must be ensured. Application was suggested at micro- or site-level, rather than in a broad destination context.
Livelihood outcomes	Sustainable tourism development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Community awareness Active community involvement Local supply chain Planning imperatives 	The most important elements reported under this category were community involvement and awareness. The local supply chain was emphasised as necessary to sustain the economic gains at local level. Above all, the need for a master plan was reiterated several times to help resource decisions within a guided framework.
	Community wellbeing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Education Income Social security Community identity 	Education was predominantly reported in order to realise community wellbeing. Income was linked to meeting material needs, whereas social security and communal identity were important for psychological wellbeing.

5.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter presents the research findings from *Bandarban Sadar* (case study unit-1) while reflecting the key elements of the CCSLF framework with regards to the research questions. It was found that as a destination, BS is in a very early stage of ‘involvement’ as described in Butler’s (1980) TALC model. Tourism development is predominantly dependent upon domestic tourism at this stage and tourism operating remains confused by the involvement of multiple institutions and a lack of coordination. Although communities wanted to take part in tourism resource decisions, the rigid bureaucratic structure, coupled with militarisation and the autocratic attitudes of public servants, made community participation impossible. As a result, tourism was not broadly considered as an alternative livelihood means for locals, who are mostly dependent on agriculture. Moreover, the isolation of the community from resource decisions has raised negative perceptions among communities about tourism, as they have perceived tourism as a tool used by public institutions to confiscate land. A destination-focussed (micro- or site-level) resource transformation structure led by the community and guided by the institutions has been suggested to generate sustainable livelihood outcomes. At the outcomes level CCSLF, community wellbeing and sustainable tourism development were reported with their interconnectedness feature. For community wellbeing, education has been found most important element whereas active community involvement is essential for sustainable tourism development.

Chapter Six

Research Findings from Case Study Unit-2

6.1 Introduction

This chapter draws findings from case study unit-2, Rangamati Sadar, following the key elements of Capitals Co-management for Sustainable Livelihood Frameworks (CCSLF) in tourism. The reporting structure in this chapter is similar to that of the previous chapter (Chapter Five). The chapter provides an overview of Rangamati Sadar, including tourism development and operation. The chapter subsequently reports findings based on the various elements of CCSLF, comprising tourism and community resources (identified as capitals i.e., natural, human, social, built, and financial), co-management frameworks and processes, formal institutional arrangements, vulnerability context and sustainable livelihood outcomes in the form of community wellbeing and sustainable tourism. The findings are reported to facilitate discussions and policy implications in the next chapter (Chapter Seven) and thereby address the research questions of this thesis.

6.2 Overview of Rangamati Sadar

Rangamati Sadar (RS) is one of the ten upazilas or sub-districts within the Rangamati Hill District of Bangladesh. The upazila comprises an area of 546.49 square kilometres (land area 149.59 sq km, reserve forest 210.32 sq km and riverine area 186.58 sq km) (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2013c). The administrative units of RS are distributed among one municipality, nine wards, fifty-five *mahallas*, six unions, twenty-one *mouzas* and one hundred and seventy eight villages. The geographical location of RS is shown on the map below (Figure 6.1). The population of RS in the census data of 2011 was 124,728, with a male:female ratio of 113:100. There are no data available to show the ratio of Bengali to indigenous population in RS, overall the *Chakma* community represents the majority of peoples among indigenous communities in Rangamati (including RS). Although recent census data did not identify the proportionate distribution of indigenous population in the hill districts, census data of 1991 revealed that Chakma community comprised approximately 70 percent of the total indigenous population in Rangamati (Shelly, 1992, p. 50). Regarding the livelihood activities of people, no specific data were found. However, one Bengali community participant (16_CRBRM_06) in this research generalised the livelihood activities as follows: “Here in Rangamati, you’ll find Bengali people doing businesses mostly, whereas the tribal peoples’ living is much dependent on the bamboos, forests and jum cultivation”. This observation fundamentally reflects the statistics presented from a broader context of livelihood options under section 4.5 in Chapter Four.

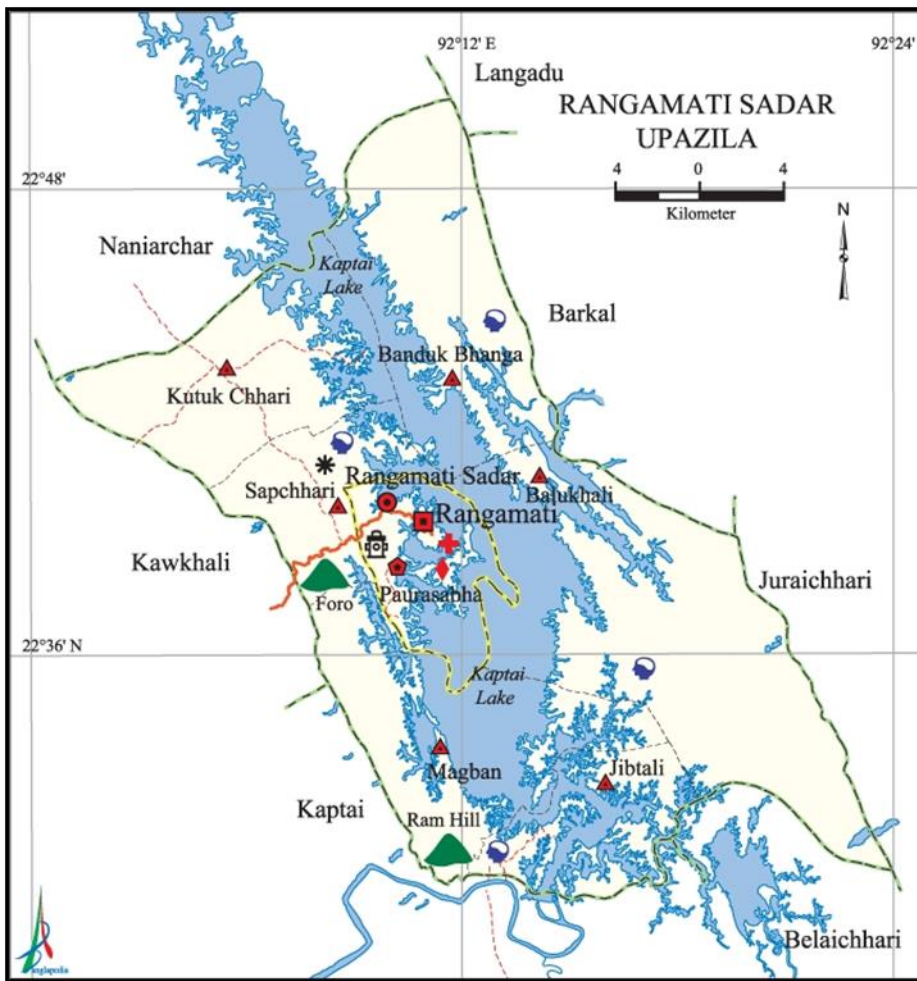


Figure 6.1 Map of Rangamati Sadar (Source: Banglapedia, 2014b)

In parallel with *Bandarban Sadar* (BS), the upazila administration is run by the *Upazila Parishad* with a central government (CG) line authority (see Figure 4.7) to the Deputy Commissioner's (DC) office. *Rangamati* is the oldest district among the three hill districts and RS remains the political hub for all three indigenous regional political parties: *Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti* (PCJSSS), *Jana Samhati Samiti Reformist* (JSSR) and *United People's Democratic Front* (UPDF). Being a central point from a regional political perspective, RS always attracts special attention (in comparison to the hill districts) from the central government.

Differences in regional and national political ideologies have significant bearing upon tourism and community resource decisions in RS. Tourist attractions and resource combinations are slightly different in RS in comparison to BS. Tourism in BS is mostly dependent on green hills, basic trekking, diverse indigenous lifestyles and small scale rivers and/or lakes. On the other hand, RS tourism is mostly centred on *Kaptai Lake*, along with the other resources mentioned for BS. The prominence of lake is also emphasised by the district administration as in the overall district

branding tagline of Rangamati, which uses the tag line 'Live with Nature, Live with the Lake'. The major tourism destinations in RS as listed on the Ministry of Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs (2018) official website include the Hanging Bridge, *Suvolong* Waterfall, Small-ethnic Museum, Historic Chakma King's House, Rangamati DC Bungalow and *Rajban Bihar* Pagoda. Besides these, a recent trending destination, *Sajek* Valley is located within the Rangamati District under Baghaichhari upazila.

Considering both the developmental and operational aspects of the overall tourism context of RS, the destination is still in a very early stage of the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) model (Butler, 1980). It holds some features of the 'exploration' stage, as well as the 'involvement' stage. As a destination, RS reflects key features including small numbers of tourists with irregular visitation, some locals beginning to offer core tourism services (such as accommodation) and good contact between visitors and locals. Since tourism development is influenced by the profiles of tourists (Çakir et al., 2018), RS's tourism is domestically-oriented, which is similar to BS. Some research participants (reported in Chapter Seven) claimed that in comparison to BS, RS receives insignificant numbers of tourists (predominantly domestic, as the accessibility issues for international tourists remain the same within the broader CHT context), although no authentic source offers specific numbers. The situational factors previously discussed in Chapter Four are very much active in RS and influence the overall functioning of tourism operations within the research setting. Altogether, tourism operations within RS are largely influenced by multiple institutional involvement, with a lack of coordination among institutions and differing ideologies between regional political parties versus administration (as discussed in Chapter Four).

6.3 Resources for Tourism Development

To ensure sustainable tourism development through community wellbeing outcomes, a variety of required resources (similar to those of BS) were emphasised by research participants. These include financial resources, human resources, natural resources (mostly focussing on lake, forest and land), community cultures, social relationships, roads and communication, hotels, and so on. These resources are reported using the framework of CCSLF in tourism as developed in this research.

6.3.1 Natural Capital

In RS, natural resources consist of waterfalls, forests and hills. Unlike BS, the lake of RS is artificial, created in the 1960s for producing hydro-electricity; it subsequently adversely impacted indigenous peoples' livelihoods (see Chapter Four). In general, local peoples' livelihood activities are very much dependent on natural resources. For example, the right side photo in the Figure 6.2 was taken from a local *bazar* (marketplace); the researcher talked to salesmen (community people) who informed that the products they brought for sale were largely sourced naturally from the surrounding hills and forests.



Figure 6.2 Natural landscape and local livelihood dependence on natural resources (Source: Photos taken by the researcher)

Participants in this research frequently mentioned that the diverse flora and fauna of this area (case study setting) are decreasing rapidly. Lack of protective measures to safeguard natural resources were highlighted, with an emphasis on large scale deforestation. The increasing population and changes in demographic patterns were identified as key issues contributing to deforestation. For example, one indigenous community participant (15_CRIRM_11) mentioned that the Bengali population is increasing and the ratio to indigenous population is almost 49:51. Keeping with this statistic, another participant (20_CRIRM_14-15) asserted that Bengalis usually 'clean up' their surroundings (from home) by cutting down trees and that they lack knowledge compared to indigenous people in terms of preserving natural resources. Added to this observation, a project named the Village Common Forest (VCF) was referred to several times by indigenous community participants as a way to involve community members in protecting forest resources. The VCF which is also mentioned in earlier chapter (Chapter Five) has its foundation on the customary laws (or indigenous communities) and is administered by different non-government organisations (e.g., Taungya). One indigenous community participant (18_CRIRM_13) commented that: "Through VCF, we are encouraging forestation and maintaining forest resources with the help of local community. Without any logical reason, no community members will get permission to cut any tree from VCF's area." Participants also reported the effectiveness of the VCF from resource management perspective over and above the management of reserve forests. As per the Forest Law of 1927, reserve forest (managed by the Forest Department of the CG authority) is a unique type of resource and is "*untouchable*" (no one can enter or collect forest resources from a reserve forest). Following the wider involvement of community and its resultant success, one community participant (21_IRCRM_16) exclusively referred to the management structure of VCF to imitate in the management of tourism resources.

Despite the strict rules associated with the management of reserve forest resources, the resources were reported to be depleting noticeably. Corresponding to findings from BS, participants from all segments from the study unit (e.g.,

16_CRBRM_06, 20_CRIRM_14-15, 21_CRIRM_16, 17_IRLG_03, 22_IRTRO_03 and 24_IRTA_01) identified corrupt practices as a key factor fuelling such depletion. An implicit element to corruption was reported as a lack of implementation of the existing laws and regulations. For example, one community participant (16_CRBRM_06) discussed this issue: “There are almost 272 different species of fish in this lake (Kaptai Lake). Though catching fish during monsoon is totally forbidden, nobody bothers and nothing is happening to those who are violating this rule. Consequently, natural breeding of fish is at stake.”

It is argued that without community participation and appreciation of indigenous knowledge, natural resource management is highly challenging in the CHT in general or in specific areas such as within the case study units. For instance, one indigenous participant (20_CRIRM_14-15) claimed that “Some greedy businessmen are destroying the forest for their own benefits. They are not taking any kind of protective measure. As community people are the main root level people, community involvement can be a great help to protect natural resources”. At this point, the management effectiveness of the VCF over reserve forest was reinforced to community involvement perspectives while giving the property rights to community. For example, one traditional administration representative (24_IRTA_01) commented that:

From my service experiences and practical knowledge, forest preservation is not possible through the forest department alone; it must be given under communities’ authority, otherwise no sorts of arrangements can save it... Initiative from government and community people can easily protect the natural resources of Rangamati (Sadar). If forest department follows the traditional preservation methods practised by indigenous communities, it will be easier for them to preserve it as well as increase it. Expert people from the community should be appointed in the forest department. Besides, motivation campaign should run by the local government to aware both indigenous and Bengalis to maintain natural resources.

Finally, the land ownership issue was equally emphasised, as in the case of BS. All the indigenous community participants have given their opinion in favour of settling land ownership prior to sustainable tourism development and connected this to the community wellbeing concept. However, one local government representative (20_IRLG_05) identified this issue as political and asserted: “I don’t think this has much to do in tourism. We are trying to establish tourism in this region by accepting the prevalent realities.” In the same way, a traditional administration representative (24_IRTA_01) observed this as being “... more like an artificial crisis” that could be solved by revisiting the laws and structure of land commission (for details see section 4.4.1).

6.3.2 Human Capital

The population census of 2011 reported that the total population of RS was 124,728 with an average family size of 4.53 (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2013c, p. 16). The total population and average family size of RS is higher than

that of BS, although the diversity in population groups remained greater in BS. Data for the amount of family labour or the percentage of the population that is working/workable were unavailable. As mentioned in earlier chapter that people aged 10 years and above were providing labour to contribute to livelihoods. This observation gave a total of 100,242 available to work (53,449 male and 46,793 female), which was around 80 percent of the total population (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2013c, p. 17). Although the majority of the population are ready for labour, the reality of human capital was better seen through under the lens of literacy rates and skilfulness. The census data of 2011 counted the literacy rate for RS as 64.5 percent, which indicated 15.2 percent higher literacy than BS. Most of the labour, especially those who are not adult (age), work for agriculture in family projects. An important field observation indicates the lack of skilled labour within service industry, which in turn relates to the literacy rate. Regarding life expectancy, no exact data were found; however, from interviewees' comments it was predicted that life expectancy in RS is around 70 years. Corresponding to findings from BS, interviewees also commented that life expectancy had increased significantly over recent decades due to better communication infrastructure and medical facilities. Participants' opinions remained indifferent in connection with accessibility to remote places and/or other sub-districts (as reported in Chapter Five), which was again evidenced by the census data available for government health complexes, number of diagnostic centres and the number of physicians in RS and other sub-districts (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2013c, pp. 79-82).

The requirement of skill development and the authority responsibility for skill development were highly emphasised throughout interview and focus group sessions. The criticality of workforce training and skill development need was described by one industry stakeholder (23_IRTRO_04), who mentioned that: "One year ago, an American immigrant (tourist) couple died sinking down in the lake. Though there were life jackets in the boat ... the driver was not properly trained and he didn't know exactly what to do in such situation. Consequently, he (the driver) could not rescue or help the couple. The driver was alive."

Skilled human resource requirements were also observed in connection to tourism in terms of providing core services to tourists and tour guiding services. Most tourists have curious minds and want explanations about diverse flora, fauna and indigenous cultures; a trained and skilful tour guide could serve these purposes. Although in Bandarban (especially in Ruma) tour guiding services were available to some extent, it was largely absent in RS. In the youth focus group session (YFG_RM_10_08), a few (3/8) participants suggested involving youth (mostly current students) in tourism through tour guiding; this was believed to create an opportunity for distributing benefits among community members while tourism industry could be able to provide tourists with impressive experiences. However, one participant (22_IRTRO_03) raised a concern regarding employing local people especially members of major indigenous communities (in Rangamati, *Chakma* is the majority) and asserted:

I'm operating my business by bringing people from outside. I had recruited local people earlier and experienced various problems. Wherever they work, they try to establish the way they want to work and make a team to create pressure on the owners. Moreover, if I employ local people in business (managerial positions) then they will know about my business daily income and report to local militant groups, which in turn will promote extortion... If you want me to employ from indigenous communities, I'm eager to employ minor communities and even Marma community rather than the Chakmas.

All community participants and local government representatives agreed that the HDC must play the key role in developing a skilled human resource base. Two representatives (17_IRLG_03 and 20_IRLG_05) reported that the HDC had already arranged some training programs in cooking and catering services. This was also mentioned that many organisations were showing interests for arranging different training programs for local people. Notwithstanding, lack of organised efforts being backed by ineffective planning somehow prevented the local government to take those opportunities.

6.3.3 Social Capital

The findings from BS were common elements almost reproduced in the findings from RS. However, participants argued that this area, being the political hub of regional parties, exposed noticeable and uneven social relations especially between Bengali and indigenous communities. This was reflected in the comment of a community leader (24_CRICL_01_NOTES) who said that: "The social relationship, networking and trust issues are not that worse in my opinion, though it is not as convenient as Bandarban."

The bonding social capital was reported stronger than bridging social capital. The bridging social capital was discussed mostly from two viewpoints, comprising indigenous to Bengali, and among indigenous communities. It has been reported explicitly that politics (political ideology), nepotism, and lobbying are creating major differences for inter-community trust issues. In addition, language barriers were believed to be an additional contributing factor that challenged broader inter-community networking opportunities while strengthening intra-community relations. The rigidity of Bengali community relations with indigenous communities (especially major communities such as *Chakma*) was observed both by Bengali and indigenous participants as being rooted in political ideology. Some participants (e.g., 15_CRIRM_11, 16_CRBRM_06, 18_IRLG_04_CRBRM_09) reported that although an apparent good relationship can be observed at personal level, that relationship however would be of no use when any communal issues arise; thus, the (regional) politics outweigh personal relationships in general. This view was equally endorsed in the youth focus group session where one participant (YFG_RM_10_08) gave an example of how a social issue could be turned into a communal (or, in broader sense, political) issue within the given context. The participant said that: "During the last water festival, we were observing that a few Bengali boys splashing water over a group of indigenous girls with some bad gestures. After few minutes, one of the girls slapped a boy. We were also dissatisfied, but if we slapped

instead it could easily be politicised as a conflict between Pahari and Bengali. Here (in RS), it is quite easy to give any conflict a communal flavour.”

Rigid political viewpoints and their resultant impacts on social relationships (between Bengali and indigenous communities) as well as on tourism were described as follows by an institutional participant (15_IRCG_02) working as a line authority of central government at the local level:

The community preparedness is in a very complex situation and largely determined by the regional political parties. For instance, the JSS and UPDF still do not acknowledge the Bengalis. Again, the tourists who come to this place are almost all Bengalis. If you do not acknowledge them, then why will they come? First of all, the foundation of trust has to be strengthened here. The overall trust perception is very negative here. One recent example of protesting the establishment of Rangamati Medical College and Rangamati Science and Technology University is a classic example. They (regional political parties) are arguing that our kids have quotas for the medical and university admission. If they qualify they will get admission to the universities throughout in Bangladesh. They are claiming that the establishments will bring more Bengalis as staffs and students and their existence would be in real threat.

However, community participants frequently referred the historical background of Bengali-indigenous communities' conflict and claimed that indigenous communities have a good relationship with 'adi' (older) Bengalis who have been residing in RS for years. For example, in an interview session one indigenous participant (20_CRIRM_14-15) commented that: “No communities will accept forced migration. If you live in Dhaka district and we forcefully transfer 500,000 people from Dinajpur district, how would you feel? We don't deny the natural migration processes. In short, there is a historical background for the level of distrust that is prevailing in this region.” Likewise, another participant (21_CRIRM_16) added that: “Even sometimes conflicts arise among new Bengalis and old Bengalis. All together, we have a very good relationship with old Bengalis.” Keeping consistent with these observations, one Bengali community participant (23_CRBRM_08) asserted that: “We were born surrounded by the *Paharis*. In short, we have grown together - we all have worked together, played together and arranged many cultural program before the liberation war. However, the relationship of the Bengalis and the *Paharis* have been deteriorated after the arrival of the settlers.” Although the relationship between Bengali and indigenous communities was largely criticised, one indigenous community participant (22_CRIRM_17) found the houseful prospects of trust and relationship through the increasing number of educated youths.

Bridging capital among indigenous communities was reported with similar focuses as in BS. It has been argued that the inequitable distribution of benefits and the centralisation of power by the major indigenous communities (e.g., *Chakma* and *Marma*) are impacting social networks and trust. In such a situation, the minor communities (e.g., *Lushai* and *Chak*) because they are losing their democratic rights to major communities. For example, one indigenous

community participant (15_CRIRM_11) claimed that: “There are differentiations among the indigenous communities too. I cannot reach my deserved place, even though I have that ability.” Moreover, power centralisation practices by the major indigenous communities are alienating the minor communities, which in turn unites them. This is a point raised by one indigenous participant (17_CRIRM_12) who mentioned that: “The minor communities are not that involved in politics. This is why their relationship is quite good internally as well as with Bengalis. You (indicating the researcher) notice, people surrounding my place are Muslim and they are giving me iftar (food served for breaking the fast during Ramadan).” However, focus group participants FGD_RM_12_08 and YFG_RM_10_08 identified varying education level as the central cause contributing to the inequitable distribution of benefits and to the upholding of someone politically. The youth focus group participants observed that there was a large gap in terms of literacy rates between major and minor communities, although this is decreasing over time.

Apart from majority and minority concern, a similar finding revealed that inter-ethnic community marriages were occurring at higher rates in recent times, after being almost restricted in earlier times. This trend signifies changes in social values and norms among indigenous communities, leading towards stronger inter-ethnic community relationships and networks. However, marriages between Bengali and indigenous communities are still not an acceptable practice due to socio-cultural differences (e.g., language, religion) as well as political influences. One participant (22_IRTRO_03) stated that: “Educated Chakmas are marrying Bengalis and leaving this place.” This observation generalises the social denial (rigid social values) of the indigenous-Bengali marriage scenario, which is again indicating lower level of trust between the Bengali and indigenous communities.

Unlike in BS, most of the RS community participants emphasised weak linking capital, i.e., poor communication and relationships with decision-makers and leaders. Some participants (both from the community and institutions) claimed that leaders are sometimes forceful and sometimes use local militant groups to collect money through extortion. Such a view was reflected in the comments of a community participant (20_CRIRM_14-15) who said that: “They are being elected as leader because of political back-up. They never communicate with general people. They are busy to think about how much benefit (e.g., cash) they will get by building a bridge or culvert or some other means. They don’t have time to think about general people.”

Participants in this research, especially community members, found cultural issues almost identical to those in the case of BS. However, cultural preservation was frequently referred to in order to ensure and enhance community wellbeing rather than using it as a tool for sustainable tourism development (as was the case in BS). Moreover, few participants mentioned cultural aggression (a likely outcome from tourism); this was explained through the changes of names of different places. For example, in an interview session, one indigenous community participant (20_CRIRM_14-15) commented that:

Cultural aggression is taking a charge over our language. The local places' names are being replaced with Bengali names. So our identity is in threat. This can't promote wellbeing for community. If the community people get the opportunity to define their geographical location by themselves and if they can preserve their own culture, heritage, tradition, ritual, only then community wellbeing will be ensured.

Correspondingly, another participant (21_CRIRM_16) gave a precise example where Shepru Para was changed to Jibon Nagar and Croudong was changed to Dim Pahar. This issue was equally emphasised in the focus group sessions (FGD_RM_12_08 and YFG_RM_10_08) where participants gave their opinion that a special tourism policy (concentrating on CHT) should uphold the cultural and livelihood aspects to contribute to community wellbeing through tourism. The principal point was highlighted, as each (indigenous) name has a history behind it, which itself can be an attraction for tourists. Focus group participants thus largely criticised cultural preservation efforts by the government institutional bodies (including the army) and found cultural aggression was a threat for sustainable livelihood outcomes.

6.3.4 Built Capital

Built capital (as identified in this research) consists of human-made components, including infrastructures, superstructures, tools and equipment facilitating information and communication. In RS, participants have reported built capital based on three broader and interlinked issues: communication infrastructures, activity-based tourism facilities and integrated functional planning.

Perceptions of the current communication infrastructure remain contested. A few community participants (15_CRIRM_11, 17_CRIRM_12, 19_CRBRM_07, 20_CRIRM_14-15 and 22_CRIRM_17) and tourism-related institutional representatives (22_IRTRO_03 and 23_IRTRO_04) expressed their opinions on this issue. Although community participants commented on both positive and negative aspects of the current communication infrastructure, the institutional representatives (tourism organisations) criticised the current infrastructure from a tourism development perspective. For example, one (tourism) institutional representative (23_IRTRO_04) claimed that: *"Our communication system is very poor. That's why tourists are not willing to pay visit here. In my assumption, around 200,000 tourists come to visit Bandarban each year, whereas only 50,000 tourists come here... most of them pay a day trip, which means they don't stay for overnight."* Similarly, another participant (22_IRTRO_03) identified three issues by relative importance for tourism development in RS: *"One of the biggest crisis here is the electricity. Three things are very important to develop tourism here: First of all we need security, then better communication systems, and finally electricity."* Regarding communication infrastructure, and with specific reference to tourism, quantity and quality of vehicles were also emphasised. Participants reported that vehicles used by tourists were poor: there were approximately 43 launches, 250 cars and auto-rickshaws, 200 boats and a few speedboats.



Figure 6.3 Popular tourist spot in RS (Hanging Bridge) and different vehicles for tourists' use (Source: Photos taken by the researcher)

Added to the above observation, another important issue identified was that tourism-based structures largely failed to provide enough activities and/or amenities to create satisfied customers and attract repeat customers (tourists). Local government representatives (17_IRLG_03 and 20_IRLG_05) found it necessary to involve local communities. It was argued that the active involvement of local communities may diversify livelihood options for them, while tourists may find some activities and amenities inside the communities' usual life. In this regard, one local government participant (20_IRLG_05) talked about institutional patronisation and guidance requirements to promote the concept of home stays.

Finally, the integrated planning imperative was highlighted by that segment of participants (16_IRNGO_02, 19_CRBRM_07 and 24_IRTA_01) who elaborated on the issues of attracting the 'right' market segment (for example, trekking for adventure tourists) and appropriate structures to fit social and environmental demand. Participants commented in general that tourism development in RS does not necessarily require large establishments such as 3- or 4-star rated hotels, but rather environment-friendly traditional bamboo structures. Currently, there are no provisions regarding structures; as a result, people are building based on their own personal preferences. It is said that this criteria must be incorporated into the broader master plan. Alongside, focus group participants underscored planning desires to build more sports-related infrastructure, for example stadiums, shooting complexes, swimming pools, and indoor games facilities for national and international events, thereby attracting tourists to overcome seasonality challenges.

6.3.5 Financial Capital

In parallel with BS, two broad themes were generated from the data: availability of funds and a lack of responsible bodies to facilitate accessibility to funds. Community participants commented that finance is not available for tourism projects. Since the local government (HDC) is the responsible authority (in formal essence) of local tourism development, financial sources should be made available to community people via the management and supervision authority of HDC. Local government has expressed a positive stance in this regard but does not consider finance to be a significant issue for tourism development in RS. One local government representative (17_IRLG_03) observed that the CG is willing to finance in CHT, or Rangamati in particular, and that it is the local government that fails to approach them properly in this regard. Moreover, special arrangements were highlighted in reference to the involvement of NGOs and the specialised bank wing structure (such as Krishi Bank) as a vehicle to overcome the accessibility problems of community people in general.

Lack of collateral resources (security for loan) was reiterated several times in terms of accessibility to finance (by community people in general). One participant (22_IRTRO_03) representing a tourism-related organisation said that: “I have started this hotel by taking loan from a governmental bank. I had to arrange mortgage for this, which is not possible for many root-level (indicating poor segment in the society) people here.” However, one community participant (17_CRIRM_12) added that having security or collateral is sometimes not enough, as applicants require recommendations from influential political leaders and/or bank officials. Such a claim in turn highlighted the corrupt practices existing within an institutional environment. In addition, there are also risks involved with these commercial bank loans, such as high rate of interest.

6.4 Formal Institutional Arrangements

Two key issues were reported under this broad theme, including dysfunction within the HDC, and corruption, leading to weak institutional governance. Although a local government participant (20_IRLG_05) claimed that the HDC was an autonomous body equivalent to a state in terms of decision-making and the powers-exercising, almost all of the community participants focused on the dysfunctional aspects of the *Rangamati* HDC. The functionality of HDC was criticised in parallel with three common issues, as identified in the case of BS. These are the inefficiency of local government or HDC, improper delegation of authority and the necessity of elected representatives to govern the HDC.

The need for special policy support to development endeavours within the CHT context was highlighted both in the individual interview sessions and in the focus group sessions. On the same note, lack of capacity and/or expertise was emphasised, along with lack of visionary leadership from the top of the concerned organisation (HDC) to develop and maintain effective policy guidelines. For example, one community participant (15_CRIRM_11) said that: “... at present,

the HDC is represented by someone who has passed only Class 8. Managing the HDC is not a joke; he has to guide and control BCS (Bangladesh Civil Service) cadres.” The lack of expertise was precisely identified in association with tourism policy needs, as a participant from non-government organisation (16_IRNGO_02) said: “... The person who is supervising or in-charge of tourism (in the HDC executive committee) is not well-educated or does not have minimum knowledge in tourism. Moreover, I found him a bit reluctant in this regard. How can we expect tourism development?” However, a local government participant (17_IRLG_03) defended these arguments on the grounds of lack of empowerment of the HDC by the central government. In this regard, the participant focused on the lack of human resources and mentioned that in 1989 only three departments (52 employees) were under the Rangamati HDC. At present, with the executive order and implemented clauses of the Peace Treaty, 30 departments have been handed over to the HDC, while the number of employees has increased by 20 (i.e., 72 employees at the main office). Thus, departmental charges have increased ten times while human resource capacities have increased by less than half. Aligning this observation, one focus group (FGD_RM_12_08) participant questioned the willingness of the central government to strengthen the internal structure along with ‘functional empowerment’ through organising election for the HDC.

Improper delegation of authority and the faulty transfer agreement were largely reported by community participants from BS. However, six community participants talked specifically about improper delegation of authority in this case but remained silent about the transfer agreement. From institutional or more specifically ‘public’ category, one local government representative (18_IRLG_04) discussed the issue with a positive focus:

You can find some loopholes in the contract (local tourism transfer agreement) if you compare it with the other similar contracts (other transfer agreements). However, the good lesson is that the government has recognised us as the local guardian of tourism by vesting the authorities. For example, the existing establishments of BPC (Bangladesh Parjatan Corporation), e.g. ‘Parjatan Motel’, will operate here and they will give 10% commission to the HDC from their tourism income. BPC itself is a part of central government - why they should give us the commission? I understand this as licensing authority, which signifies authority delegation from the central government.

Almost all (90%) of the community participants from this case unit reported the requirement of an elected executive body through a fair election process (e.g., transparency) to govern the HDC. Of them, five participants argued that the lack of such a practice was contributing to corruption. This observation was equally emphasised in the focus group session (FGD_RM_12_08), as one participant asserted:

Over the past decades, local government representatives who are occupying the positions (in the executive committee) are not public representatives, (but) rather nominated or selected by the government based on their political ideologies/associations. Those positions are fax-based position; anytime a fax may come and replace the person. This is a point from

where the sense of corruptions begins. The persons assume that "I'm here for 3 or 4 years - I need to earn maximum from here. You (the mass people) do not help me to get this position. Why should I think for you?"

Apart from these issues, it was reported that a lack of institutional coordination (public or government) and poor information access created confusion among community members as well as businesspeople. For example, one participant (22_IRTRO_03) from a tourism accommodation business claimed that he/she was confused about where to renew the business license, should it be HDC or DC office. This issue was raised by the researcher in the focus group session (FGD_RM_12_08), where the participants agreed that the licensing authority is now the HDC but was previously vested with the DC office.

6.5 Vulnerability Context

A common finding has been the military presence and their role in influencing any functional decision-making structure and process. Almost all (6 out of 7) of the indigenous community participants reported that military presence was creating panic and a sense of insecurity among locals. Aside from indigenous community participants, some institutional representatives identified the military as a threat to power-balance for resource decisions. This view was strongly endorsed by the majority (for FGD 5/8 and for YFG 6/8) of participants in the focus group sessions (FGD_RM_12_08 and YFG_RM_10_08). Most importantly, youth (mostly from indigenous communities) see the military as a source of insecurity. One participant from the youth focus group session commented that: "They (indicating military) are playing following the typical 'divide and rule' policy of British. They are instigating conflict situations or elements between *Paharis* and Bengalis. Both the parties are losing through fighting each other and they are clapping from behind." Moreover, the majority of focus group participants saw military involvement in tourism as a land-grabbing strategy. One participant attending the youth focus group brought published evidence to discuss this issue, which was later cross-examined by the researcher and reported accordingly in the next chapter (see Chapter Seven, Table 7.2, p. 173). Two Bengali community participants (19_CRBRM_07 and 23_CRBRM_08) in individual interview sessions identified the military presence as necessary for the sake of their (Bengali community in general) existence in CHT or RS in particular, while other Bengali participants remained sceptical. Additionally, participants discussed military involvement in tourism as a strategic fit for army administration to build a positive image for themselves.

Besides militarisation, political instability was widely referred to vulnerability, which was further reported with a focus on three key issues: the unimplemented clauses of the Peace Accord, regional political parties' ideologies, and extortion practices of local militant groups. All of the indigenous community participants emphasised full implementation of peace treaty, while one Bengali community participant (19_CRBRM_07) said that: "... if Peace Treaty is fully actualised, then the settlers have to leave this place. These settlers want the armies to protect them."

The term ‘protection’ was used to emphasise potential conflicts that might arise between Bengali and indigenous communities, which in turn reflected low bridging social capital (as reported in social capital section). This view was partially reflected in the discussion of an army participant (21_IRARMY_02_NOTES), who highlighted the overall right to land by the central government and criticised the Peace Accord as contradicting the constitution of Bangladesh. The other two issues were closely associated. Participants reported that without an accommodating mentality or changing the rigid ideologies of regional parties, political stability is unattainable. Connecting this scenario with tourism, one tourism-related organisational representative (22_IRTRO_03) observed that general community members were inclined to participate in tourism in RS but that they (community members) were helpless against regional parties’ rigid ideologies. Added to this issue are the extortion practices conducted by local militant groups, which is again facilitated (though not formally) or endorsed by different regional parties. For example, one tourism business representative (23_IRTRO_04) said that:

Last year, two of my men (employees) were kidnapped from this area. Later, I rescued them after 15 days by negotiating with the kidnappers for 10 lacs (1 million BDT). If government earns 1 million BDT from the CHTs, the UPDF and JSS armed cadres earn 10 million BDT in a month. I was helpless and administration did not help me in that case.

A final vulnerability theme was identified as seasonality in direct association with tourism resource decisions. One institutional representative (22_IRTRO_03) from the accommodation industry mentioned that RS receives a good number of tourists during the peak time; however, the off-peak season creates a vulnerable situation, as running the establishment sometimes becomes challenging. In this regard, the participant commented that:

My hotel has average 70-80 percent occupancy during peak time, but in the off-season, it goes down to below 10 percent or even 5 percent sometimes. Like, this is the off-season. I had three guests in my hotel last night. I am unable to clear the electricity bill of the last month. Still, I’m surviving as I’ve some other side businesses and this one is entirely on my ownership.

The seasonality issue was also discussed in the focus group session (FGD_RM_12_08) where one participant representing local government argued that this issue can be managed to some extent such as by offering special tour package or discount on room rate.

6.6 Co-management for Tourism Decision-Making

The current status of co-management structure and processes can better be observed from a comment made by a local government representative (20_IRLG_05) stating: “We are thinking of a structure where tourism decisions will be made and implemented within a combined structure involving the local community, government and other relevant parties. We are still working on it.” Correspondingly, the findings reported in this section are similar to those

of BS, with an extra emphasis on benefits sharing among communities and equitable representations of communities within a co-management structure. The benefits sharing goal was mostly reported by indigenous participants (e.g., 17_CRIRM_12, 18_CRIRM_13, 22_CRIRM_17) to encourage community members towards broader participation to improve security concerns and raise the sense of responsibility. From a practical perspective, one institutional representative (16_IRNGO_02) representing a non-government organisation (NGO) shared a plan from an early stage tourism project (inaugurated by the NGO he/she was serving) to visualise a possible form of benefits sharing with communities:

... If tourists want to visit a village, they will be charged with a specific amount and a committee comprising community members will manage this. Apart from this, we have a social business standing and we are thinking of 30 percent of the total profit will be given to the community development projects that will ensure their wellbeing... I think sustainable tourism development will be possible through co-management, but 'reformation' in the so-called co-management structure is a must criteria.

The equitable representation feature was emphasised by all stakeholders (research participants), who claimed that this would enhance the sense of ownership and accountability. Following the findings from BS, equitable representation was criticised, indicating the lack of minor community representation at local government level and thereby limiting the adaptability of co-management structure and processes at broad destination level, such as the whole of Rangamati or even RS. Additionally, participants recommended adopting a 'go-slow' strategy to develop a coordinated structure and imitate this at a micro- or community-level (based on particular communities or tourism sites) to achieve success, earn credibility and gradually expand to a wider context. It was also highlighted in reference to the district 'Law-Order and Coordination Committee' (LOCC) that the application of joint decision-making structures from a broader context allowed public institutional authorities to dominate the process. In this regard, Box 6.1 summarises the researcher's field observation notes from an attended law-order and coordination committee meeting session.

Box 6.1 Researcher's field observation notes from the district law-order and coordination committee meeting

The researcher attended the district LOCC meeting as an observer. The meeting was organised by the district administration under the authority of the DC. It was a monthly meeting being held on 12 June 2016. Although it was an open forum, the researcher was given oral permission from the DC to attend. There were 53 participants present in the meeting, representing different institutions, communities and professions. Theoretically, the session created an impression of co-management structure and processes, although largely controlled by the formal (public) institutional representatives.



Box Images: Researcher observing and taking notes from district LOCC meeting (Photos Source: The researcher)

The forum principally discussed the overall law and order situation of the Rangamati District. Besides, a few other general issues were also discussed. Two initial observations generated from the session included a good platform to ensure accountability (for institutional representatives) and lack of institutional coordination. One army personnel criticised the role of the Local Government Engineering Department's (LGED) representative regarding the restoration of a bridge. However, a LGED representative defended this, saying that it was supposed to be done by the army roads and engineering wing. Thus, the lack of information and coordination was evident while the forum at least opened up an opportunity to discuss the issue and look into a solution, thereby clarifying accountability.

A few decisions were interlinked with tourism. For example, one journalist raised the issue of cleanliness in the area with a particular focus on tourist spots. Subsequently, it was endorsed by other participants and a decision was made to place a long blackboard in designated areas on which to advertisements or public campaign posters could be placed. Moreover, a consensus was reached for the punitive actions against those who would violate the practice by putting banners or posters haphazardly (on a wall or tree).

In total, fifteen issues were discussed in the meeting, which took around two hours. The researcher found that an insignificant number of community representatives (approximately six) remained silent throughout the session. Thus, the active participation of community members was absent. It was perhaps due to the large number of attendants in the meeting.

In addition, vulnerability issues in decision-making, focusing on the invariable and dominant power exercised by formal institutional entities, were specified as compromising the establishment of an effective co-management structure. This issue was substantially discussed in the focus group session (FGD_RM_12_08). For example, one participant commented:

... If I understand what he (another participant) wants to say, is that under the guidance and supervision of HDC (Hill District Council), a representative body, including the government people and representatives from different communities, should be formed who will discuss and develop a guidelines for tourism future in the CHTs or Rangamati in particular. If it is so, I also agree, but my concern (with an emphasising tone) is that in CHT, power is centred on a special entity. This must be taken off. Otherwise, it's not possible.

The above statement indicates that along with the equitable representation and benefits sharing, power-balance remains a concern in the CHT, which in turn is evidenced by the presence of multiple administration including military. To overcome this problem, a community driven approach with a simplified structure at lower scale is advocated by majority of the research participants (30 out of 52; from RS 12 out of 20) in this research.

6.7 Process Outcomes

Informed by the CCSLF framework, this research collected and analysed data from the case study setting to contribute towards tourism resource decision-making processes. The framework acknowledged community wellbeing and sustainable tourism development as mutual outcomes generated from resource decision-making processes. Corresponding to the reporting structure for process outcomes in Chapter Five, this section reports the findings from case study unit-2 (*Rangamati Sadar*) based on the thematic analysis to interpret and connect community wellbeing and sustainable tourism development concepts.

6.7.1 Sustainable Tourism Development

Data analysis revealed that four key issues must be ensured to realise sustainable development of tourism in RS. These were: community awareness or preparedness, active community involvement, institutional responsiveness (with master plan), and security. It was argued that the effective implementation of the first three issues would help to achieve the fourth (security).

One institutional participant (16_IRNGO_02) stated that: “It is a great feelings being together, but it is much joyful when people live together and develop their own home as a living place.” The implication of this statement underpins the essence of community awareness and active involvement of community members in resource decisions or policy-making perspectives. The community awareness issue was equally emphasised as in BS. Community participants claimed that community members were not aware of tourism and that they think their social environment will be disturbed due to tourism. Moreover, lack of policy and development frameworks prevented them from receiving the benefits of tourism, which was reportedly enjoyed by different public institutions and individuals discretely. Community empowerment must be ensured in order to develop tourism sustainably; community members are eager to support this, but fail to contribute at the decision-making platform. For example, one community participant (22_CRIRM_17) said that: “Community people should decide how they will develop tourism. For say, we eat those things and that much which are digestible to us. In the same way, local people should decide the types and extensity of tourism which is/are tolerable to them.” Another participant (21_CRIRM_16) highlighted the necessity of active involvement and benefits-sharing aspects, saying that:

Most of the tourism projects are done by military forces and these are not at all helpful for benefiting us. It can never be considered as sustainable tourism. Neither the local people nor the interests of active stakeholders are being met by these development projects. The essence of the peace treaty is accelerating the development in the CHTs by engaging the local people and with their consent and as they want. In practice, we are not witnessing such efforts.

Aligning these observations, all community participants (both Bengali and indigenous) commented in general on the inevitability of community involvement for sustainable tourism development, which was acknowledged by local government representatives within this case study setting. These views of community awareness and involvement were also strongly endorsed by focus group participants (YFG_RM_10_08 and FGD_RM_12_08). One youth focus group participant claimed that: “We are not against tourism, but the local communities or people should be consulted prior to tourism development or planning.” Additionally, one participant from focus group session FGD_RM_12_08 observed the involvement of local people would raise confidence among community members in general and commented that: “The local people still in doubt about welcoming tourism project as their previous experiences were not good. However, a recent involvement of Ranglai Mro increased the level of credibility though. We believe that people like Ranglai da (an informal way to address a senior), a social figure, won’t do any harm to local societies.” Local involvement was also identified as a way to address challenges posed by politics. For example, one indigenous community participant asserted that:

Extortion practices are common here by the regional parties’ militant groups. Nevertheless, when the local community has a strong voice and there is a mutual benefit exists, then the community raise voice over their demand. From my knowledge, I can give you an example. There was a water project and one regional party’s group asked for a certain percentage to install the water project. The community people raised voice, saying that this is about water and you are also going to be benefitted if we get it installed, so why should we pay? However, this sort of bargaining may take place for education project or similar, but tourism issue is a bit different. They (regional parties) hold a very rigid view regarding tourism. To develop tourism in Rangamati (Sadar), you must develop a structure that will somehow benefit them (regional groups) at least to some extent.

In summary, for sustainable tourism development, participants discussed an integrative and participatory policy that would support community involvement, disperse benefits equitably (across community members), provide livelihood means, and protect cultural elements and heritages. For instance, developing tourism as a livelihood means was critically identified by several participants (e.g., 15_CRIRM_11, 16_CRBRM_06, 15_IRCG_02, 22_IRTRO_03) covering the broader participant categories in this research. It was reported that such an approach could transcend political vulnerabilities; one community participant (16_CRBRM_06) shared a general experience to exemplify and strengthen this approach:

Let me pick an example. A few years back a leader of UPDF (United People's Democratic Front) bargained with the army regarding a very silly matter and converted the issue to a communal clash (Bengali versus indigenous communities). I went to cover the event being assigned by my office. By the time I reached to the village, I found that 20-25 people, including Bengali and the indigenous people, were carrying bamboos from the forests near to the river on their shoulders (indicating as a group). So, at the end of the day they know this is their means of living; that's how they got united.

Besides community involvement, community ownership was also highlighted. In this response, one community participant shared an experience from a project he/she was involved. The project named 'Gravity Forced System (GFS)', started in 2009 targeting water supply problems among a group of community members located remotely. After few years, the project was phased out but still surviving as the community owned the idea and found it effective as well as beneficial for them. Thus, adding a strong sense of (community) ownership is meaningful for sustainable outcomes.

Both in individual interview sessions as well as focus groups, participants agreed on resource availabilities for tourism development but claimed the necessity for effective planning and policy framework. They also pointed out that the context of CHT is unique and that national level planning would not be applicable grossly within this context. One focus group participant (FGD_RM_12_08) emphasised the need for participatory planning and commented that: "We want a master plan in a fruitful way, like the way you are talking with us. If the master plan is done by an expertise group backed by continuous research, then it will bring an effective solution." Another participant endorsed the need for participatory planning in order to avoid community backlash and to make the plan more acceptable at the community level, which was argued in favour of effective and efficient implementation of the plan. The participant gave an example of a recent *hartal* (strike) called by a local Bengali community to protest a land commission amendment. The participant reasoned the issue as principally centred on policy development in which there was no community participation. Thus, the participant claimed that if community' representation had been ensured during policy-making, this unrest situation could possibly have been avoided.

From the local government standpoint, three participants (out of four) affirmed that they are still at the awareness building stage and trying to promote eco-tourism by communicating to both tourists and communities about their respective roles, duties and responsibilities. In general, local government realised the need for a master plan to guide tourism development processes in a systematic way. For example, one participant (17_IRLG_03) said that

Now, what we lack is a master plan for tourism development in this region (CHTs), or particularly for Rangamati. We are trying to develop a master plan. It is under process. At present, we are looking for consultants and we'll develop the master plan first. This approach is not followed by the Bandarban and Khagrachari hill districts. They are allowing tourism without a master plan, which I doubt may not be sustainable.

This view was endorsed by another local government representative (20_IRLG_05), who added that: “We are developing new tourist establishments and the existing tourist spots. We are developing rules regarding what will be the duties and responsibilities of different stakeholders. We want tourism to ensure economic mobility and promote cultural diversity of this area (indicating *Rangamati*). In short, we take an attempt to develop a master plan that will eventually address all these issues.”

6.7.2 Community Wellbeing

Research participants understood community wellbeing as an expression of livelihood outcome through which community members as a whole could enjoy better standards of living. The key themes to emerge from data analysis of community wellbeing included education, economic gain or income and socio-cultural security.

The emphasis on education as an enabling factor facilitating better livelihood activities was also represented in BS. The majority (5 out of 7) of indigenous community participants commented that the community could be made stronger through education. Participants also agreed that inequitable distribution of benefits (on a community basis) was shaped by education level. For example, one participant (17_CRIRM_12) identified an overall better standing of *Chakma* community members, as *Chakmas* were developed in terms of literacy and education perspectives and because many Chakmas were studying abroad. Moreover, those who were well-placed in different institutions were supporting other community members in various ways (strength of bonding capital). Another participant (15_CRIRM_11) discussed the importance of education for being updated with the latest knowledge and information in order to ensure individual wellbeing, thereby impacting on community wellbeing at large. Apart from indigenous community participants, Bengali community participants (16_CRBRM_06, 19_CRBRM_07 and 23_CRBRM_08) also underscored the critical role of education towards community wellbeing. In contrast with indigenous participants who emphasised mostly social aspects, Bengali participants talked about material aspects of wellbeing with more of individual focus. On this note, they viewed education as a means to ensure better earning opportunities and to meet basic needs, both believed to contribute to wellbeing of individuals in particular and to the community in general. The typical role of education was also stated strongly in the youth focus group session while connecting the views to tourism. One participant claimed that: “If you go to visit Sajek, then you’ll find that there is no school for children. But everyone is talking about tourism there. If people are not educated, they can easily be ruled. The education base should be ensured at first.” Adding to this observation, one institutional representative (16_IRNGO_02) observed that: “From a regional development perspective, community wellbeing should come first, prior to tourism development - although they can influence each other... We may not have much capacity, but we are working for the community wellbeing through our resort-based project.”

The ultimate linkage of tourism to community wellbeing was identified in association with securing the economic benefits for community members that would eventually help them to meet their basic needs, including food, education, and health. This view was generated from individual interview sessions and was also discussed widely by two participants in the focus group session (FGD_RM_12_08). However, a few participants from the focus group session criticised the economic aspect relating community wellbeing with tourism. For instance, one participant asserted that: “I disagree. We do not want economic gain at the cost of social gain. If we want tourism, be sustainable and procure wellbeing/welfare out of that, we should also need to add the socio-cultural aspects. We should think of totality.” Another local (indigenous) participant from the focus group session strongly endorsed this view and added that:

The prime target of any tourism projects in CHTs is to earn profit... Only profit-orientation can never be our vision. Tourism should not only work for economic benefit, but also for social wellbeing too. Whatever initiatives I'm taking that should promote this area and preserve the cultural heritages of tribal people... In Sajek, Tripura, one of the marginal communities lived there. They were transferred down to the hill. They were not displaced, rather kept over there to exhibit them to tourists. The fences of their houses were coloured in green and red. If you go, you can witness. It seems they are the animals in a zoo. They are being treated as a commercial product.

In short, ensuring socio-cultural security has been reported as an inherent element of community wellbeing while the cultural protection was highly emphasised. Thus, to ensure community wellbeing preservation of language and culture must be addressed within the policy frameworks (be it general or exclusive for tourism).

Apart from the above-mentioned issues, exercising democratic rights was emphasised in a broader perspective to discuss the community wellbeing concept. For example, one participant (22_IRTRO_03) pointed out the voting rights issue during the last general election held in RS. People could not exercise their voting rights properly due to a significant amount of fraud voting (indicating vote given by someone else), which impacted general peoples' perceptions of wellbeing. It has been generalised from the observations that ‘happiness’ and ‘satisfaction’ are two different expressions of the single concept of ‘wellbeing’.

6.8 Summary of the Findings

The following table (Table 6.1) summarises the findings of this research from RS. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the initial CCSLF framework has informed the coding framework and base themes, while key issues for management decisions are developed based on the emergent themes from the analysis of data (for details see Appendix I). In principle, overall reporting of findings in this chapter is designed based on these issues.

Table 6.1 Findings summary based on field-data from case study unit-2 (RS)

Coding framework	Base themes	Issues for management	Status and/or explanations
Livelihood resources/Tourism and community resources	Natural capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Deforestation Corrupt practices Land ownership 	Natural resources have been reported as declining due to deforestation, which has been reported as compound by corrupt institutional practices. The unresolved land ownership issue has been reported as a core concern.
	Human capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Skill development need Authority responsibilities 	Skill development need has been emphasised along with the key policy and planning roles to be played by the local government.
	Social capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Trust Networks Values and cooperative norms 	Intra-community trust was reported as high while inter-community trust was found to be low. This especially so between Bengali and other indigenous communities. Inter-community values are changing across indigenous communities indicating broader social networks. Cultural protection is highly focussed.
	Built capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Communication infrastructure Activity-based tourism facilities Planning necessity 	Current communication infrastructure is reported with mixed responses from different stakeholder groups. Planning necessity is emphasised for structured resource decisions. Tourism-based structures have been reported to have noticeably failed to provide enough activities and amenities.
	Financial capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Availability Accessibility 	Finance not available and/or easily accessible. Requires collateral or security but may not be criticised at this stage.
Institutional arrangements	Formal institutional arrangements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local government empowerment Corruption 	Local government has been found to be strengthened through democratic practices. Corruption and bureaucratic issues have been reported with the same dynamics as BS.
Vulnerability context	Vulnerability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tourism investment by the military Regional political trends Seasonality 	Militarisation and political instability have created a vulnerable working environment. Tourism businesses are facing more seasonal dilemmas (season-based demand) than in BS.
Transforming structures and processes	Co-management frameworks and processes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Benefits sharing Equitable representation Micro focus Power-balance 	The structure has been discussed under the lenses of benefits sharing across community members and equitable representation of destination communities. Application was scoped at micro- or site-level, rather than in a broad destination context.
Livelihood outcomes	Sustainable tourism development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Security Community awareness Active community involvement Planning imperatives 	The most important elements reported under this category were community involvement and awareness. It was believed that these would ensure security. Finally, the need for a master plan was reiterated from a local government response concerning a 'master plan' being in-progress.
	Community wellbeing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Education Income Socio-cultural security 	Education was seen as the fundamental key in order to realise community wellbeing. Income was linked to meeting material needs. Socio-cultural security was emphasised more than economic gain.

6.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter presents the research findings from RS (case study unit-2) highlighting the key elements of the CCSLF. It was found that as a destination, RS is in a very early stage of tourism development, reflecting characteristics from

both the 'exploration' as well as 'involvement' stages as described in Butler's (1980) TALC model. Tourism development is predominantly dependent upon domestic tourism, similar to BS. At present, tourism development is obstructed due to the incapacities of local government, which holds the formal authority for local tourism. In addition, higher rates of institutional corruption (indicating weak institutional governance) is creating impact upon tourism capitals' management decisions. Though communities were interested in taking part in tourism resource decisions, the bureaucratic top-down structure, coupled with militarisation and political unrest, constrained communities' participation in their full/anticipated capacities. These issues also create socio-cultural insecurity, which in turn impact upon the psychological wellbeing. Broadly, participatory planning (involving communities) was recommended for sustainable livelihood outcomes along with facilitation of tourism as an alternative livelihood means for locals. Thus, the findings from RS mostly reiterated the findings from BS, with varying emphasis on different issues. Correspondingly, the findings indicate the necessity of an integrated and destination-focussed (local or site-level) resource transformation structure for realising the sustainable livelihood outcomes from the CCSLF. Within such a structure, community is assumed to play the managerial role, while local government is expected to play an assisting and facilitating role rather than controlling the process rigidly.

Chapter Seven

Integrating Findings and Discussions for Policy Considerations

7.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the research objectives by integrating findings and discussing the results as identified in this thesis. The previous chapters (Chapters Five and Six) report findings generated from the case study units. Additionally this chapter considers the findings from institutional research participants representing central government and regional institutional bodies. In most cases, central and regional government participants' responses aligned with the interpretations and conclusions drawn on the findings generated from the case study units. Within the research context, the critical importance of natural and social capital was evident as significant influencing factors for livelihood outcomes (community wellbeing and sustainable tourism), although all of the reported capitals were found to be interrelated and to some extent interdependent. The relative importance of cultural capital (in relation to other tourism capitals including social capital) necessitates a particular focus for this capital other than being treated as an element of broader social capital. Political negotiation across government, institutional coordination and local government empowerment are necessary to mitigate vulnerability challenges. From the review of existing practices of co-management (conducted by the Forest Department, Government of Bangladesh), it has been observed that co-management for tourism resource decisions within the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) context requires a simple structure, with a tight focus on particular destinations or community orientations. Moreover, the overall discussion concludes that a typical co-management structure must be embedded with community-led resource management in which (formal) institutional involvement is sought mostly in connection with expertise and legal status requirements.

7.2 Resources for Tourism Development

In this research, the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) contains a set of five tourism and community capitals (natural, human, social, built, and financial), which are required to create a sustainable livelihood outcome within a context of tourism resource decision-making. These capitals are interchangeably referred to in literature by numerous terms, including community capitals, livelihood resources, livelihood assets, rural capital and so on (Çakir et al., 2018; Castle, 1998; DFID, 1999; Flora et al., 2004; Scoones, 1998; Svendsen & Sørensen, 2007). By whichever name given, the prime focus remains on the sustainable management of these capitals through public-private cooperation to generate desired outcomes. Table 7.1 summarises the key issues along with their implications relating to the management of tourism capitals corresponding to the findings from the case study units of this research.

Table 7.1 Key issues reported in association with capitals' management decisions

Coding framework	Base themes	Issues in capitals' management	
		Bandarban Sadar	Rangamati Sadar
Livelihood Resources/Tourism and Community Resources	Natural capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ No inventory (decreasing monitoring effectiveness) ▪ Corrupt practices (challenging resource management) ▪ Land ownership (core problem affecting trust and community wellbeing especially for indigenes) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Deforestation (depleting overall natural resource stocks) ▪ Corrupt practices (challenging resource management) ▪ Land ownership (core problem affecting trust and community wellbeing especially for indigenes)
	Human capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Capacity building (training emphasis) ▪ Authority responsibilities (facilitating training) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Skill development need (training emphasis) ▪ Authority responsibilities (facilitating training)
	Social capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Trust (major vs minor community perceptions) ▪ Networks (good bonding and moderate bridging social capital) ▪ Values and cooperative norms (strong among indigenous communities) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Trust (major vs minor community perceptions) ▪ Networks (good bonding but poor bridging social capital) ▪ Values and cooperative norms (strong among indigenous communities)
	Built capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Communication infrastructure (moderately favourable) ▪ Activity-based tourism facilities (lack of availability) ▪ Home stays (favour community-based tourism) ▪ Planning necessity (integrated with bottom-up principle) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Communication infrastructure (weak infrastructures) ▪ Activity-based tourism facilities (lack of availability) ▪ Planning necessity (integrated with bottom-up principle)
	Financial capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Availability (limited sources) ▪ Accessibility (limited access due to collateral) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Availability (limited sources) ▪ Accessibility (limited access due to collateral)

The table indicates both the case study units generated similar themes. One important trend noticeable in the overall reporting (Chapters Five and Six) is that all research participants identified these resources via a dual focus. On the one hand, they focus on resource 'allocation' and/or 'availability', whereas the other hand the enabling role of (formal) institutions and communities to 'maintain' and/or 'increase' existing resources is emphasised.

7.2.1 Natural Capital

The natural resources of *Bandarban Sadar* (BS) and *Rangamati Sadar* (RS) involve similar elements, including hills, rivers, lakes, waterfalls, forests, land, and so on. These resources provide a high suitability for tourism development. Central government participants observed tourism's potential in CHT under a lens of unique landscape (unique in-country context rather than a global context). One participant (28_IRBTB_02) discusses the uniqueness of natural resources in the CHT and asserts: "All of our hills in the CHT are green, not the raw/grey one. It adds some exceptional beauty because of the reflection of light through the eyes of the viewers. It appears with different colours and those colours vary with the seasons. Even within a single colour, you will find many variations." Along with this unique appeal, the overall topography of CHT and the case study areas limits the establishment of heavy industries, which is

believed to indirectly enhance tourism development opportunities. This observation was linked to tourism potential to employ a large number of local community members, thereby providing a source of livelihood. Nevertheless, until now tourism has not developed as a meaningful source of livelihood for the broader community.

Since tourism development in these areas, from a destination development perspective, remains at the very early stage, the type and number of tourists are predominantly domestic, with low volume. Accordingly, no severe impacts on the environment or in particular, natural resources have been reported in association with tourism. A key issue discussed as relatively impacting natural resources is large scale deforestation, which is compounded by weak institutional governance referenced to corrupt practices by relevant institutional personnel. The lack of full and recent inventories of natural resources has raised challenges in managing and monitoring resources, which was also agreed by central level research participants. For example, an investigation into the hill forest inventories showed that only three forest areas are covered under the CHT region for inventory purposes. These include the *Kassalong* and *Rankhian* Reserve Forests, *Sangu* and *Matamuhuri* Reserve Forests, and the hill forests of the *Kaptai* Pulp Wood Division (Forest Department, 2018, June 28). Inventories dated back to 1982-83 for *Kassalong* and *Rankhiang* Reserves, 1958-59 for *Sangu* and *Matamuhuri* Reserves, and 1974-81 for the *Kaptai* Pulp Wood Division. This is how it was outlined in the Forest Department's website although no report was accompanied in this regard. Thus, there is no searchable or locatable inventory that represents the overall forest resources in CHT. This phenomenon in turn is decreasing transparency in natural resource management and challenging the monitoring process. Within the gap between transparency and monitoring, the scope for corrupt practices is increasing.

In order to preserve and enhance natural capital, roles and responsibilities are identified for both the government and the community. It has been argued that community people are involved with deforestation and stone extraction mostly by the temptation of some unethical businesspeople in exchange of a short-term profit (e.g., cash). The process of stone extraction and deforestation appears to be occurring with the help of some corrupt institutional personnel. Moreover, a lack of implementation of the relevant laws and regulations also facilitates such bad practices. Under these circumstances, community participants frequently reported the critical role of community, which should be realised via effective community empowerment including developing a resource ownership protocol. A common example drawn was of the Village Common Forests (VCF) project, which identified effective ways to protect natural resources. The VCF model represents a useful example of a participatory sustainable approach, usually followed by local indigenous communities where local villagers form a committee with participation from every household in the VCF area in order to protect and maintain the forest resources of that particular area (A. S. Chakma, 2010). A VCF area typically covers a total land area of between 20 and 300 acres. The VCF management configuration in the CHT has been reported as mostly semi-structured or unstructured (A. S. Chakma, 2010). In terms of committee formation, each village household nominates a committee member and the committee members themselves select a committee

head by consensus. Funds are generated by the self-contribution of household members towards running the administrative works of the committee. Some of the key features or rules that govern the VCF include: only a resident villager can be a committee member; no one is allowed to cut trees or harvest forest resources without a prior approval of the committee; anyone violating this rule must be punished financially, equivalent to the value of the product; and if someone can prove any theft evidence of VCF resources, that person must be rewarded. The VCF model incorporates a coercive perspective of punishment and reward, which in turn is closely linked to the resource ownership issue (as reported by the research participants). Thus, it is evident from the VCF experience that delegation of property rights and resource management authority to communities remains an effective pathway for sustainable conservation practice. This is also evidenced in participatory forestry practises with other names such as community forestry, social forestry, etc. (Dev, Yadav, Springate-Baginski & Soussan, 2003; Gilmour, 2016; Lambrick, Brown, Lawrence & Bebbber, 2014).

Besides the VCF, community participants (e.g., 08_CRIBB_05, 21_CRIRfM_16) as well as two central government representatives (01_IRBPC_01 and 02_IRBTB_01) also referred to co-management approaches for effective natural resource management. The Forest Department has already begun working on this approach, along with a social forestry approach (Forest Department, 2018, July 5) although this is not widely practised within the CHT. Since co-management is introduced in this research as a decision-making framework and subsequent implementation platform (setting and executing strategies and actions) for tourism resources, further explanations on this approach are arranged under the co-management and discussion sections below.

In general, central government participants in this research commented that local peoples' livelihoods are highly dependent upon natural capitals, and that alternative livelihood sources are required to lessen this dependency. On this particular point of 'alternative livelihood', tourism development potential was emphasised by most of the institutional participants. For example, eleven participants mentioned directly *and* pursued sustainable tourism as an alternative livelihood strategy, whereas five participants captured this view in association with the resource-based explanation of sustainable tourism (out of these 16 participants, of note only one was from community resident category). Importantly, community-based tourism was referred to as upholding a sense of ownership that might facilitate resource preservation strategies. The above observations reveal that tourism is not perceived as creating negative impacts upon natural capital (as reported by the research participants). Nevertheless, tourism resource decision-making structures and processes sought out in this research are expected to contribute towards the effective management of natural capital provided that communities are empowered.

Corresponding to the findings of the community resident category, local government and other relevant institutional participants, central and regional government representatives in this research, equally identified 'land ownership' as

a complex and core problem. For example, one participant from the tourism ministry (26_IRMOCAT_01_NOTES) acknowledged that all of the complexities in the CHT centre on the land ownership issue and that central government is trying to negotiate and resolve the issue through the formation of an 'acceptable Land Commission' (see Chapter Four, pp. 95-96). A participant from the CHT government ministry (27_IRMOCHTA_01_NOTES) endorsed this view and claimed that the land commission had been established, but could not start working as the regional council had raised some issues that were being negotiated. However, a central government representative (15_IRCG_02) identified the relatively complex land ownership issue and asserted:

They (indicating Regional Council) want that the land ownership and management should be the authority of the HDCs (Hill District Councils). HDC is the local government, but the ownership of the entire lands in this country is with the central government. If the land management authority is transferred to their hands, then the (central) government will lose authority over the hill tracts. Therefore, the central government does not want to lose authority and control over land. This in turn is creating problems with the implementation of the peace treaty.

Although central government representatives identified that land issues are crucial, they generally commented that this is very political and needs to be dealt with politically (e.g., a negotiation between central, regional and local government). They suggested that tourism development proceed in CHT with an acceptance of this reality, because this issue will take time to reconcile. In general, these representatives advocated community-led management approaches. This is linked to the numerous institutional involvements in resource management that create confusion over resource authority, which coupled with weak institutional governance leave scope for corrupt practices. Involving community inputs into decision-making and subsequent implementation is expected to generate better result as these resources remain influential for their (community members) livelihoods, which is evidenced through some community-based project such as VCF.

7.2.2 Human Capital

It has been discussed that low literacy rates are impacting the overall human capital context within the CHT (see 'Human Capital' section of Chapter Five and Chapter Six). However, central government participants did not consider this to be a major issue. They argued that not all employees of the tourism and hospitality sectors require higher education, but rather technical competence, which can be gained through proper vocational training. Although there is a national level training institute called the National Hotel and Tourism Training Institute (NHTTI), no organised or ongoing training opportunities are available in the CHT. The Bangladesh Parjatan Corporation (BPC) operates NHTTI and every year 1,600 people are trained to serve in the tourism and hospitality industries in Bangladesh (25_IRBPC_02). The BPC, representing a central government tourism institution, usually provides local course on a request or as needed basis. One participant from the BPC (25_IRBPC_02) noted that: "We do not have any plan for

establishing permanent training institutes or similar establishments in the CHTs. We are opening branches in Khulna, Cox’s Bazar and Chittagong. The CHTs people can go to Chittagong for training. Otherwise, we can provide satellite training on request.” Relevant government ministry participants confirmed this, adding that they are encouraging skill development training on a project basis. Thus, the role of local government is very important in facilitating training in collaboration with the central government institutions (Figure 7.1).

A framework for human capital development based on the case study findings is illustrated in Figure 7.1 as follows:

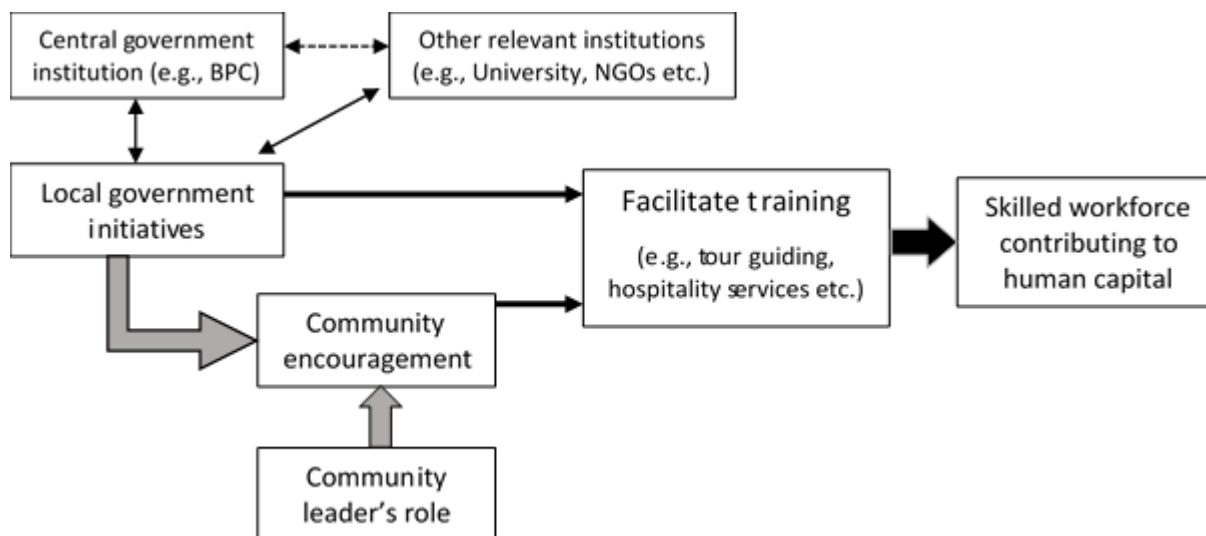


Figure 7.1 A collaborative framework for human capital development

Regional government representatives in this research stated that collaboration with central government institutions is not enough to achieve the desired skills and workforce outcomes. In this regard, linkages with universities and colleges where formal tourism education is available must be promoted actively to ensure desired workforce/human capital outcomes. The critical role of community leaders was emphasised by all participants in relation to community encouragement. This is particularly effective within communities, as the findings reveal the comparative strength of bonding capital over bridging capital in the region. Moreover, community encouragement by community leaders as well as local government is discussed along the line of low literacy rates that in turn necessitates community awareness. Thus, community encouragement is literally indicating raising awareness among communities. A specific challenge that has been observed in facilitating effective training is the language barrier. The locals in general understand Bengali for daily communication necessity but they face difficulty in frequent oral and written communication. In this case, the need for local trainers (to communicate in the local language) is emphasised. The implication is obvious: to create a pool of local instructors and train them effectively so that they can train local

community members in their own languages. The interpretation of data indicates that such an approach shall increase the effectiveness and efficiency of the process while making it more acceptable and interesting to the locals.

7.2.3 Social Capital

The findings from both case study units revealed similar dimensions and intensities of social capital. Social networks and trust issues (negatively manifest as mistrust among various participant groups) were reported with two basic dimensions, in which network and trust within a community was found to be much stronger than across communities. This finding signifies the relative strength of bonding capital over bridging capital; that is, bonding capital within groups was reported as being of greater significance to participants than bridging capital across groups. Network and trust issues across communities were again reported with two core foci involving indigenous communities and the Bengali community. There are a number of indigenous communities that reside in the CHT (see Chapter Four, p.79). Seemingly, their internal networks have been reported as stronger, though challenged by language diversities at a broader scale. However, inequitable representation of indigenous communities in the decision-making body (e.g., Hill District Council's executive committee), coupled with unbalanced distribution of benefits, raised a notion of there being 'major' and 'minor' communities. Such a distinction is creating a feeling of deprivation especially for minor communities and affecting the trust dimension as well as the perception of community wellbeing. While trust among indigenous communities is largely affected by inequitable representation and benefits sharing, trust between Bengali and indigenous communities has been shaped mostly by political manifestations of Bengali settlements. In this case, the level of bridging social capital demonstrated overall a negative pattern. A comparative evaluation indicates BS has more favourable bridging capital (between Bengali and indigenous communities) than in RS. For example, one youth focus group participant (YFG_BB_14_08) in BS compared and commented on the comparative strength of network and trust issues of Bandarban in general:

Here in Bandarban, we are residing in harmony. This is happening as we are having a compromising mentality and not politically involved that much. If you observe in Rangamati, then you will notice frequent strikes and communal conflict events. Let me give you an example. In our village we've 52 families. Of these, Tanchangya are 13, Hindus are 15 and the rest are Muslims. We maintain altogether a very sound relationship where everyone knows each other and stand beside each other in case of any emergencies.

At the central government level, all research participants agreed that successful implementation of any projects, including those in tourism, invariably require enhancement of social capital through social harmony and sound relationships, strong networks, trust, and shared value systems. Thus, the importance of social capital is emphasised for consideration at the policy and planning formulation level. It has been acknowledged (at both a central and regional levels) that the basic problem lies in trust and relationship issues between the Bengali and indigenous communities. The central government representatives interpreted the context from a community dominance

perspectives, wherein they observed that the '*Marmas*' work more in collaboration than the '*Chakmas*' with the Bengalis. Because of this, problems are less evident in *Bandarban* (where there is a *Marma* majority within the indigenous communities) than in the other two hill districts (where there is a *Chakma* majority). Such a phenomenon was in turn explained through the lens of education, in which the *Chakma* community was reportedly in more advanced position than other communities (refer to Chapter Four, p. 87). One participant from the central government (15_IRCG_02) raised a significant point for further considerations within a policy and planning context. The participant underscored that Bengali residents own most of the businesses in CHT (including tourism facilities). In reality, the *Paharis* (see glossary for definition) do not have much knowledge in business or services, for example how to properly serve tourists. Therefore, the *Paharis* (or indigenous people) need help from the Bengalis. On the other hand, Bengalis need to learn from indigenous communities as well, for instance how to preserve natural resources. This observation aims to identify a meaningful reason for co-existence; improving communication between community leaders and members accordingly may be helpful for enhancing overall social cohesion and minimising conflicts. On this note, developing tourism with community involvement is believed to generate benefits for all; however, distribution of tourism gain among community members on equitable basis remains challenging within the existing operational structure, which mostly follow a top-down approach with power articulated via formal institutions.

Central government representatives noticed a positive improvement in overall social capital with recent generational changes and technological advancements. Youth are visiting CHT repeatedly, and with this social engagement and involvement of youth with indigenous communities are increasing. Most importantly, they (tourists and locals) are creating and sharing experiences in social media platforms (e.g., Facebook), which is hoped to create a foundation to minimise gaps among 'Generation Zers' (those who born from the mid-1990s to the early 2000s). In fact, the researcher witnessed a reasonably large (n=27) young group (during field trip) visiting Boga Lake who were organised by using a social media platform. Thus, the significance of the above technologies (social media) must be considered within any developmental considerations using the lens of social networks.

Apart from the above-mentioned social elements, culture is expressly included under the social capital category in which culture is associated with social norms and values. For example, inter-ethnic marriage events have been described as a previously uncommon practice that is now increasing. Such events, although challenging existing social norms, necessarily indicate an increasing level of bridging capital, which again is limited among indigenous communities (not between Bengali and indigenous communities). The field data however, indicates that cultural capital requires a separate treatment as entity on its own right. Within culture, two issues have been reported by the research participants including cultural diversity and cultural protection. Cultural diversity is recognised as a tourism resource and a source of attraction for tourists. When diversity is brought into the discussion, 'protection need' to

preserve various cultural elements is emphasised. However, community participants (from indigenous communities) claimed that their cultures were not presented correctly on various occasions. Moreover, cultural aggression and commodification practices reportedly impacting upon the psychological wellbeing of community (see p. 115, 130, 140, 154). For example, different tourism projects were brought up as examples that changed the indigenous names of concerned locations (refer to vulnerability section for details). In this regard, a traditional administration's participant (24_IRTA_01) highlighted the policy requirements and recognitions from the central government such as a separate programme of indigenous cultural preservation such as a cultural protection budget for indigenous communities. In addition, the participant urged for institutional reformation and at the local level to protect overall indigenous cultures including languages, traditional attire, traditional songs, and so on.

7.2.4 Built Capital

Within built capital, three issues have been emphasised in general, including: communication infrastructure, accommodation, and the need for planning to maintain existing resources effectively. From a tourism development and livelihood enhancement perspective, communication infrastructures have been reported with mixed assessments; some participants found the current conditions suitable, whereas others criticised them bluntly. However, communication infrastructures in BS were recognised as being much more favourable with respect to achieving CCSLF outcomes than in RS. Broadly, both central and regional government representatives identified overall that communication infrastructure aligns positively with development endeavours. In order to overcome current challenges in communication infrastructure and make it attractive from a tourism perspective, central government participants (2 out of 8) specified some proposals on which they are working, such as making available duty-free tourist vehicles to ensure smooth connectivity within a destination's different sites, and building cable cars. Alongside this, the CHT Development Board (CHTDB), a regional institution, is working closely to improve infrastructure. For example, one participant from the CHTDB commented: "We are providing 6000 - 7000 solar panels for household usage to three hill districts, targeting those places where there is a low chance of electricity supply by the next 25 years." Such an initiative reportedly contributes to tourism development, especially when participants identified electricity as one of the main challenges to developing tourism in CHT (with reference to remote places). It was also noted that as a regional body, the CHTDB works for institutional capacity building (although they are mostly confined in financial terms) and assisting accordingly. For instance, one CHTDB representative (19_IRRG_02) clarified their role in tourism development and claimed:

We do not engage ourselves in management. For example, the Meghla Tourism Complex of Bandarban was created by us. We have built it and handed over to the District Administration. We have also cooperated in Nilachal project. The District Council has also helped to some extent. We have made stairs for the Alutilla tourist spot and the Devtapukur of Khagrachhari. We work to develop infrastructures and/or superstructures in coordination

with local and central government agencies and as per their requirements and our capabilities.

Another important issue emphasised in the research is the need to create adequate tourist accommodation. Towards this, central government representatives encouraged home stay facilities to accommodate tourists within a community with the goal of securing first-hand and direct benefits to community members. However, it was reported by numerous participants that home stay practise is not suitable within the broader context of CHT. For example, one industry stakeholder (23_IRTRO_04) explained: “In Bandarban (Sadar), you’ll find home stay facility. But it is not that much convenient option in Rangamati Sadar due to political and social pressures. This is the hub of regional politics. So the communal tension is much higher here than other two hill districts.”

Apart from the home stays, BS was reported as having greater strengths in terms of other accommodation facilities (e.g., hotels, motels, resorts). This was reiterated in the opinions of central and regional level representatives. However, all participants, irrespective of community or institution, have reiterated a common concern highlighting the uncoordinated growth of those facilities. A participatory, destination-oriented planning approach was recommended as a suitable way to address this problem and to regulate and coordinate public, and private, built capital.

7.2.5 Financial Capital

Funding sources and accessibility by community members to available sources of finance are important for tourism development. Both case study units revealed similar findings for financial capital, outlining the significance of availability of finance and accessibility to sources of finance. There is no singular or consistent source of funding available for tourism development. At the national level, there is a combined budget allocation for civil aviation and tourism. For instance, the Civil Aviation and Tourism Ministry has received BDT 1,508 crore (USD \$180 million approx.) in the proposed budget of 2018-19 (A Monitor Report, 2018). The majority of the allocation is targeted for civil aviation, such as building an international airport. A review of earlier budgets indicates that tourism development approximately receives around 10 percent of the total allotment in the civil aviation and tourism budget (Emerging Credit Rating Limited, 2016; Ministry of Finance, u. d.). Moreover, this fund is mostly targeted towards the expansion of tourism with a key focus on exploring new destinations, facilitating training, modernising infrastructure at tourist spots, promotional activities, and creating facilities (superstructures) in the tourist spots (Ministry of Finance, u. d.).

Until now, no clear instructions have been developed by government to avail a portion of the total allocation for community initiatives in some form. This observation was strengthened by a central government representative (02_IRBTB_01) who said that: “The funds that are coming from the government sector does not mention about any loan for the tourism sector, especially targeting community people. Besides, there are no special packages for tourism

in the SMEs (small and medium enterprises) or private banks.” Although ‘Strategic Framework for Sustainable Development in the CHT’ as well as National Tourism Policy 2010 acknowledge the importance of community involvement and empowerment for sustainable tourism development, the gap in practice is evident. However, another participant (25_IRBPC_02) claimed that direct financing is not possible in tourism; rather, project-based funding can be generated by the government and in some cases by collaborating with non-government organisations (NGOs). Added to this, three participants (two from local government and one from the central government) discussed the micro-credit possibility in tourism financing, which required existing NGOs involvement and directives from public (formal) institutions. A total of seventeen participants (out of these thirteen were from community resident category) emphasised formal public institutional involvement (especially local government, HDCs) to facilitate financing in tourism whereas only three participants brought the micro-credit aspects. This observation indicates that tourism is conspicuously absent from micro-credit arrangements in the CHT. Moreover, community people are increasingly expecting local government to play the ‘facilitator’ or ‘enabler’ role.

Apart from central government, regional development institutions are working following the outlines of central government where the infrastructure development is interpreted for tourism development. For example, one participant representing a regional development institution (19_IRRG_02) described the broad role of their institution in terms of financing:

For tourism, we worked already on infrastructure development. Maybe we are not going to do much. I’m not interested to provide any more facilities to the community in free of cost. There are many banks working in this region - they will provide loans to them (community people). Tourism will never be developed here (in CHT) unless people come forward with private resources.

In a similar way, one central government participant (28_IRBTB_02) highlighted the nature of the Bangladesh economy, along with the growth trend of hotels and motels for the last few years, commenting that “*Financial resources are not a major issue for tourism especially in the CHT, which requires a change of mind set or attitude rather.*” It has been argued that it is not always possible to ensure broader accessibility (emphasising accessibility by poor or ‘root-level’ people as identified by participants) to finance in a mixed economy. While the findings of this study have revealed that collateral or security is the primary challenge to accessing financial resources, central government participants emphasised the role of community leaders (as guarantors) in overcoming the challenge.

7.3 Formal Institutional Arrangements

Across the case study units, almost identical issues were identified with varying emphasise for interpreting formal institutional arrangements in tourism decision-making and implementation processes. One of the key findings reveals that the lack of a common strategy allows numerous institutions to be involved in tourism decision-making. This

situation is also foreshadowed in the discussion of Chapter Four (see 'The Bangladesh Era' section, pp. 87-92) regarding confusing and overlapping administrative structures. These in turn create coordination problems. However, one participant representing a central government tourism organisation (25_IRBPC_02) noted a psychological divide among various organisations working at the local level. The participant commented that: "At present, tourism development is the responsibility of the Hill District councils. However, there is lack of coordination and probably there is an egocentric gap exists between district administrations (Deputy Commissioners or DC Offices) and HDCs." This observation is strengthened by a claim made by a central government representative serving at the local level (12_IRCG_01), who said that: "District administrator (DC) is the direct representative of the central government. DC has some defined authority over other institutions. Thus, in my understanding, everybody is under their (DC Offices) regulations." These statements indicate a shared understanding among various institutions is a necessity for effective coordination. Besides, vertical integration between local, regional, and national level organisations is also important and is claimed by the central government tourism organisation representatives to be happening only to some extent.

Two important findings were shown to connect both case studies: the empowerment of local government, and weak institutional governance. In order to ensure functional empowerment, a number of key issues have been reiterated by research participants, including proper delegation of authority, a fair and democratic election of local government executive bodies, and capacity-building of local government (in terms of both quantity and quality). Following the transfer of tourism as a subject to HDC by the central government, community based research participants identified and criticised the role of the HDC as the formal authority of local tourism. However, both the regional and local government representatives claimed that the HDCs are challenged by the shortages of a workforce to deal with local tourism. In order to gain a comparative picture, the researcher collected four subject transfer agreements from the Rangamati Hill District Council on agriculture, health, secondary education and tourism. Critical analyses of these agreements reveal major differences and grounds for confusion rest with the tourism transfer agreement itself, as the agreement is split into two parts: one indicating the existing establishments (being managed by central government institutions) and the other describing future establishments. The tourism agreement clearly states that the BPC, as a specialised commercial association of central government, must carry out human resource management, annual confidential reports (ACRs) of employees, and financial management for existing tourism establishments. All of these tasks are currently under the authority of the BPC. Regarding financial management, the agreement stated that all the expenditures for employees in existing tourism establishments should be carried out by the BPC. It is also mentioned that the BPC shall deposit 10 percent of its net profit earned from existing tourism establishments into the account of the HDC with a view to developing local tourism. This is already in practise as claimed by the BPC representatives in this research (01_IRBPC_01 and 25_IRBPC_02).

On the other hand, HDCs are directed to develop their own provisions or regulations to manage everything for future tourism establishments (after the signing date, 28 August 2014). The agreements also provided HDCs the right to supervise and coordinate activities and develop local tourism development plans. However, for local tourism plans the HDC is advised to consult the BPC, so that the local plan can accommodate the objectives of any broader national policies and plans. It is also stated that the HDC can request help from the BPC if needed for the development of local tourism. Thus, confusion arises as other transfer agreements have given the HDCs full authority to develop their own provisions, while this issue was divided into two parts for the tourism agreement. One central government representative (25_IRBPC_02) commented that this exception is acceptable in the case of tourism (which is not a traditional industry) and asserted accordingly: “Our tourism minister has a plan to hand over the administration of all of our hotel and motel to the respective HDC, but they do not have enough expertise to maintain these sorts of establishments.” However, another participant from CHT ministry (27_IRMOCHTA_01_NOTES) claimed that though the transfer agreement had been signed off, follow-up meetings are still ongoing. The participant emphasised the need for an elected executive body for effective empowerment of local government in parallel with other institutional and community participants.

Aside from local government empowerment, the role of traditional administrators (see pp. 91-92) was also emphasised by research participants. For the successful implementation of any development policy, involvement of traditional administration was strongly recommended. For instance, one traditional administration representative (24_IRTA_01) stated: “We don’t get policy support. If we could get such support, we could also contribute to develop tourism sustainably.” This view was also emphasised by community participants and institutional participants representing the ‘private’ category (see Table 3.1, p. 59).

Weak institutional governance is principally discussed under the lens of corruption and bureaucracy. All participants, except those from central government, extensively discussed corrupt institutional practices, mostly in connection with public offices. There is no single definition in the literature to conceptualise the term corruption. Philp (2016, p. 45) identifies a generic view of corruption as when a public official violates established norms of public office and improperly gives benefits to a third party in exchange for something that provides the official a personal gain rather than a gain to the institution as a whole. This definition is an ideological elaboration of the definition given by Transparency International (2018) that corruption is “[T]he abuse of entrusted power for private gain.” How corruption attributes at individual levels is evident from an observation made by a regional government representative (06_IRRG_01) who stated: “In our country, individual is richer than the government, let alone communities. If you are employed here two years as DC or brigade commander or forest officer or other similar posts (indicating public office), you don’t need to do anything for the rest of your life.” Corruption can be expressed through various forms such as bribery, extortion, abuse of discretion, improper use of resources, favouritism and nepotism,

conduct creating or exploiting conflicting interests, politicisation of institutions, improper political contributions and so on (Langseth, 2016; Rahman, 2018; Sarker, Bingxin, Sultana & Prodhan, 2017).

Despite numerous legal attempts to control corruption, the field data identify it is still a core concern. Corrupt practices reported in this research indicated that bribery, extortion, abuse of discretion and politicisation of institutions were some of the most frequently observed forms that widely exist within the current context. Bangladesh has continually ranked poorly in terms of the Corruption Perception Index (CPI), which captures the persistent reporting of this phenomenon by numerous research participants. In the 2017 CPI, Bangladesh was ranked 143 out of 180 countries, with a CPI score of 28 (Transparency International, 2018). The presence of extensive corrupt practices in Bangladesh is a major deterrent for sustainable development, as it challenges the smooth functioning of public administration and adversely affects private investments (Pulok & Ahmed, 2017; Sarker et al., 2017). Moreover, Rahman (2018) found that corruption significantly increased vulnerability through unbalanced allocation of resources (resulted from the abuse of public office for personal gain) and thereby decreased livelihood resilience of community people in general. It is very difficult for a country like Bangladesh to rid itself of corrupt practices easily especially when those practices are deeply rooted within the governance system. To overcome the challenge, 'structural transformation' is advocated to ensure an adaptive governance system (at the local level) involving community and non-government sectors (Rahman, 2018).

The presence of red-tape bureaucracy is also negatively affecting CHT tourism, as acknowledged by all categories of participants in this research. A clear example was discussed by tourism related organisations and some other institutional representatives (mostly from BS) concerning the accessibility of foreign tourists. Foreign tourists require permission from the Home Ministry prior to travelling to the CHT region. This process is reportedly lengthy, taking a few weeks to a month. For example, one tour operator participating in the industry focus group session (IFG_DAC_30_08) claimed: *"I'm not quite comfortable with the CHTs context. We can't work there freely. There are accessibility problems. The foreigners can't enter into that region easily."* However, central government representatives found the rules and regulations necessary to enter the Hill Tracts, as there are security issues involved. Simultaneously, they prefer simplification of the bureaucratic processes to obtain government's permission for foreign tourists to visit CHT region. In this regard, one central government participant (02_IRBTB_01) affirmed: *"If the permission can obtain by one-stop service or single-window service, then many tourists can easily be attracted with the use of E-Visa. In my view, simplification of government's rules and regulations to access hill districts is much important than infrastructures for tourism development in CHT."* Moreover, in most of the cases discussed by participants, lengthy bureaucratic practises develop a complex decision-making structure that may undermine the effectiveness of decisions.

Of note, here is the experience of a central government participant (28_IRBTB_02) who mentioned a recent fire incident in Sundarban: to resolve the issue, the tourism ministry called a meeting where participants from 17 different ministries were invited, but the meeting ended with no decision having been made. When numerous entities are involved into a decision-making process, conflicting objectives of each entity and the preference for resource allocations may challenge the decision-making effectiveness. On this point, tourism is so composite in nature (interlinked and interdependent to numerous sectors) that it depends on the goodwill of different agencies. Hence, a simple structure at destination level binding all with a common objective can enhance tourism capital decisions' effectiveness.

7.4 Vulnerability Context

Of the seven different theoretical approaches to vulnerability identified by Shakya (2009), this research largely employs the livelihoods perspective to vulnerability (discussed in Chapter Two, p. 41). The livelihood perspective to vulnerability essentially includes shocks, trends, seasonality and institutions (Çakir et al., 2018; DFID, 1999; Shen et al., 2008). The reported vulnerability issues identified from case study units in this research predominantly form a number of sub-themes as shown in Figure 7.2, which are comprehended here based on the observations made by central and regional government participants.

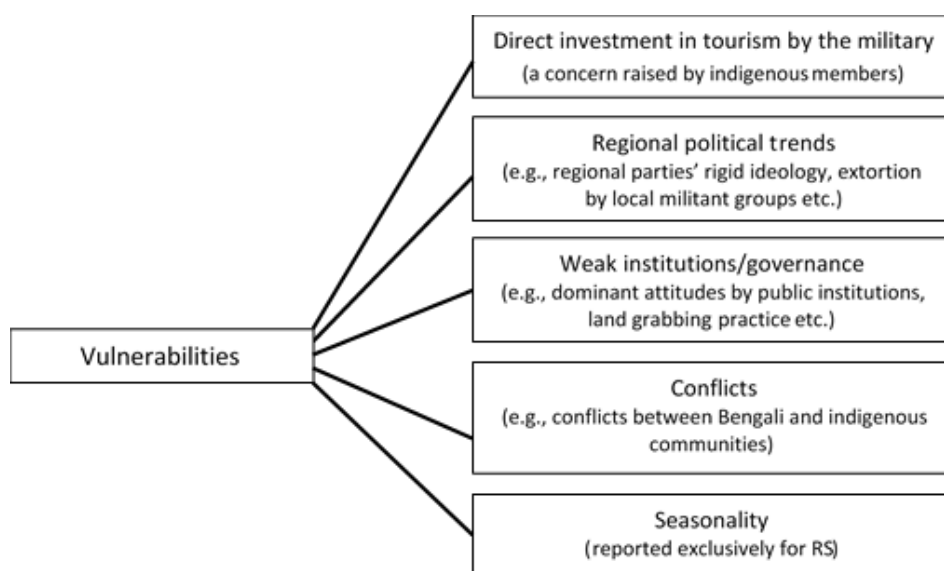


Figure 7.2 Identified issues to elaborate the vulnerability context

All indigenous participants (including both community residents and institutional representatives, except those from central government) perceived militarisation in CHT as a threat to democratic and traditional rights. This in turn is observed as an external risk factor that affects local people, especially indigenous community members' ability to cope with and recover from stresses and shocks. Such an observation is justified when indigenous participants

indicate the military as being involved in a conspiracy to instigate conflict between Bengali and indigenous communities. On this note, the biased attitude of the military towards favouring Bengalis is also reported in earlier chapters (see Chapter Six, p. 147). Moreover, involvement of military in tourism business in the CHT is restricting opportunities for community participation (see Chapter Five, pp. 123-124). Simultaneously, institutions (formal) are competing for resources against private entities (e.g., tourism companies), and people (e.g., community members), thereby increasing vulnerability while impacting upon livelihood outcomes.

However, the majority of Bengali community participants (except two) and institutional representatives (all of tourism related organisations, two from local government, and two from the other category) identified and discussed the military presence as a strategy of central government for establishing greater state control rather than facilitating support to the Bengali community. Additionally, the majority of those participants highlighted military roles positively for tourism development in CHT, which was observed in association with developing built capital (e.g., building roads and tourism establishment such as resorts). Importantly, such a view contradicts the views expressed by the indigenous participants (irrespective of stakeholder category), who perceived military-backed tourism projects mostly a hidden policy to develop clean image for the military administration working in CHT. The indigenous participants also highlighted the high expected profitability from those projects, which were not shared with the communities (benefit sharing) even though they draw on community resources. On this note, all the indigenous community participants in both the interview sessions and focus groups claimed that tourism projects by military and other institutions were confiscating indigenous lands unethically. Table 7.2 summarises a number of tourism projects along with their effects on community life.

Table 7.2 Indigenous families and villages affected by different tourism project decisions (Source: Adapted from Chakma and Chakma, 2016, p. 39)

Project and location	Affected			
	Land amount	No. of villages	No. of families	Community
Nilgiri (<i>Kapru Mro Para</i>) ⁹ Bandarban Sadar Upazila	Recorded- 16 acres but actually grabbed 60 acres	6	200	— Mro — Marma
Jibannagar (<i>Sepru Para</i>) Bandarban Sadar Upazila	600 acres	3	129	— Mro
Chandrapahar Bandarban Sadar Upazila	500 acres	--	--	--
Sajek Baghaichari, Rangamati	5 acres	2	65	— Tripura
Dim Pahar (<i>Croudong</i>)	500 acres	12	202	— Mro

⁹ Names in the bracket indicate original indigenous names of the places, which have been replaced by Bengali terms and/or concerned project names.

Alikadam, Thanchi Upazila				
Nilachal Bandarban Sadar Upazila	20 acres	3	100	— Tripura — Tanchangya — Marma

Of the six projects listed in Table 7.2, the military were involved in five, while district administration (Bandarban DC Office) and the CHT Development Board carried out the Nilachal project. Vulnerability arises here as human-made shocks, since it has been largely claimed that those projects seized the traditional land of indigenous communities and displaced community members without any proper rehabilitation plan. These significantly add to livelihood challenges. An important observation to note is that most of the projects abolished the indigenous names of the locations and took Bengali names instead. This incident reportedly increased the feeling of cultural shock (lack of trust) among indigenous members and negatively affected perception of community wellbeing. Another important point to note from the table is that it indicates ‘Mro’ community (a minor community) remains more vulnerable since they found affected in most of the cases. The researcher’s interpretation signifies that vulnerability (human-made shocks) is associated with major and minor community groups in which the relative strength of social capital of the major communities makes them (major communities) more resilient to the human-made shocks.

In the previous chapters (Chapter Five and Six), dogmatic political ideologies of the regional parties were discussed along with extortion practices by some local militant groups being backed by regional parties. This issue is a reflection of long-running conflicts in the region (see Chapter Four, pp. 85-92). Central government participants emphasised rigid regional political ideologies and extortion practices, although regional government participants remained sceptical on these issues. Extortion is a particular point upon which central government representatives focussed to rationalise militarisation for ensuring security. Focus group participants (FGD_RM_12_08) from RS agreed on the security concerns for tourists, but recommended involving the community rather than militarising the region for better security. This view was strengthened by the observation of a traditional administration representative (24_IRTA_01), who claimed:

Regarding extortion practices, I’ll say this is happening all over the country. In the plain land, they (victims) are giving money to the Awami League or BNP (Bangladesh Nationalist Party) leaders and cadres, while here the businesspersons are compromising with the JSS or UPDF cadres and leaders. We need to move forward within the existing system anyway. We can’t deny it and change it overnight. Obviously, I’m not in favour of such practices, but telling you from practical observations. From this perspective, when you involve the local communities, empower them and give them ownership and benefits, they will ensure the securities. This is how a sustainability concern begins to realise.

Although almost all the research participants identified strong political commitment (from all levels of local, regional and central government) as a requirement for tourism development and decreasing livelihood vulnerability. Only one

participant from the tourism ministry (26_IRMOCAT_01_NOTES) opposed the view. This participant isolated the issue as a macro-environmental factor upon which negotiation is occurring between national and regional governments. In this regard, other central government representatives highlighted the concern that the regional council is constantly opposing central government policy and action, and should instead be more supportive of central government. This is particularly important as the regional politics added a further point of vulnerability.

Alongside, seasonality is a theme commonly identified within tourism vulnerability in association with tourism markets focussing on tourism prices, products and employment opportunities. Seasonality was reported from the RS unit, giving a comparative advantage to BS where tourists can be attracted throughout the year. The comparative advantage argument has been drawn based on the observations of participants from BS who found high diversity in the natural beauty of Bandarban as the seasons change. Central government representatives, such as 28_IRBTB_02, acknowledged such a view (see p. 159).

7.5 Co-management for Tourism Decision-Making

All participants from the case study units, except one indigenous community participant, recommended co-management for sustainable livelihood outcomes. Participants added that existing co-management structures must be reformed by community empowerment and broader representation of the communities on an equitable basis. Moreover, the structure must distribute realised benefits across community members rather than sharing it across institutions. On this note, the role of public institution or local government (HDC) representatives could be sought as consultants rather than controllers. Participants from BS identified co-management as an expression and form of cooperation, which is identified by Berkes et al. (1991, p. 36) as the third level of co-management within Arnstein's (1969) ladder of citizen participation. Berkes et al. (1991) typified cooperation with the requirements for local knowledge use and native research assistants, in which the scope for involvement of locals is minimal, such as an assistant or guide. Although research participants used the term 'cooperation', they strongly advocated a community-led management approach. Therefore, they want to work collaboratively with the relevant institutions (requiring increased level of linkages) and participate meaningfully in policy decisions. This would lead to a higher level of co-management, such as management boards where the community can be involved in policy-making as well as decision-making (Berkes et al., 1991).

Participants from RS emphasised benefits sharing and equitable representation (of communities) within a co-management structure along with power-balance, indicating economic and political empowerment of a community (Scheyvens, 1999). Both of the study units however shared the view that in a region like CHT, where ethnic diversity is very high, it is challenging to develop co-management with a broad implementation focus. In this case, a particular community, destination or site was advocated to be tested on a pilot basis to overcome the challenges associated

with ‘social empowerment’ representing communities’ ‘sense of cohesion and integrity’ (Scheyvens, 1999, p. 248). Depending on the success of this pilot, it was believed this would increase credibility and that the approach would gradually become applicable in a broader context. Central government representatives also acknowledged this view, for example, one national level tourism organisation representative (28_IRBTB_02) commented: “It is very much challenging to hold everyone under a single umbrella, as the communities are divided into many divisions and they have inter-caste conflicts. Yes, if we can convince the communities by showing their benefits then it may work, but it needs demonstration.” A representative from traditional administration highlighted the need for pilot projects along with the role of community and local governments. The participant asserted that: “Primarily, we can go for pilot projects where the HDC (being the custodian of local tourism) can provide infrastructures, superstructures and expert services to the local communities to develop tourism sustainably. However, the management authority must be sit at the community level. HDC should assist, guide and monitor, not control the process.” Participants representing regional bodies equally endorsed the prerequisite of a combined structure, especially in a contested context such as CHT, with a community-led management approach. It was argued that community involvement would enhance security for tourists (06_IRRG_01 and 19_IRRG_02) especially when benefits are shared among communities. In this process, the community will find itself more empowered and arrange protective measures for tourists from income security as well as social interactions.

Regarding the functional structure of a co-management framework and process, research participants discussed many hypothetical structures. One participant from a national level tourism organisation (02_IRBTB_01) contemplated such a structure and asserted that:

The government will target a community that will work as a co-operative and a committee needs to be formed representing community as well as relevant institutions. This committee will monitor everything and provide administrative supports. The government will work only as a guide and monitor overall process. It must be very flexible for the community without many formal structural complications. The community members will elect a secretary among themselves who will distribute benefits gained. Twenty percent of the amount earned from the tourism project, such as home stay, will be entrusted for the co-management, while rest of the amount will go to the person who provided the core service, such as rented the home space.

The above observation indicates what and how locals or community participants perceive co-management. Theoretically, it is positioned within the realm of ‘community self-governance and self-management’ rather an exact expression of co-management (Pomeroy & Berkes, 1997, p. 466). Another central government participant (25_IRBPC_02) embraced this view, stating: “For sustainable tourism development, community ownership is a better option than co-management.” In this regard, the participant mentioned an existing community-based tourism project at *Pathrail of Delduar upazila in Tangail*, which supported the claim made by the participant. The project was

implemented by an NGO with the assistance of the BPC. The project was targeted to attract 'explorer type' tourists to enjoy and experience village life in Bangladesh. Typical activities in a three-day package include enjoying village culture while staying with the villagers, visiting local markets, catching fish, cooking traditional food and harvesting. Tourists are charged USD \$60 for the package. Of this, the tour operator who manages the tourists receives USD \$20 and the owner of the house receives USD \$40. The project ensures three-tier security involving senior citizens, youth and local police. Regarding the role of BPC, the participant (25_IRBPC_02) added that: "You can better term it community-based management. We do have MOU (Memorandum of Understanding) signed with the particular community and the tour operators as well as the NGO. We do not receive any financial benefit. We work as a watchdog and providing training and other technical consultations if needed. Sometimes we visit the destination."

Apart from this community-based management approach, a co-management approach in the Protected Areas (PAs) of Bangladesh is noteworthy under the supervision of the Forest Department and projects funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). As reported in Chapter Five, tourism industry stakeholders and participants in this research mentioned a project named '*Nishorgo*' as exemplifying a co-management approach in tourism (see pp. 126-127). The Nishorgo Support Project (NSP) was initiated in January 2003 through a bilateral agreement between the government of Bangladesh and USAID to manage the resources of PAs (DeCosse, Mazumder, Sharma, Ahmad & Thompson, 2012, p. 15). The 'project' was phased out in 2008 and an Integrated Protected Area Co-management (IPAC) project was initiated that continued from 2009 to 2012 and extended co-management applications to 17 PAs (Forest Department, 2018, July 5). After 2012, the project was renewed and renamed as Climate Resilient Ecosystems and Livelihoods (CREL), with a view to implementing the approach in the remaining PAs. Although CREL was supposed to be phased out in 2017, it received a one year extension and will finish its term in September 2018. In these projects, co-management was introduced as a bottom-up approach in order to promote an enabling policy environment and to build the capacity of both the Forest Department and community leaders through sustainable and equitable livelihood development (Forest Department, 2018, July 5).

A recently circulated Bangladesh government gazette identified ecotourism as one of the main sources of income from PA co-management (Ministry of Environment and Forests, 2017). Tourism income from PA co-management is generated in two ways. A primary source accrues ticketing, renting out spaces for picnics and parking, and providing accommodation services (e.g. cottages, dormitories, etc). A secondary source of earning includes token fees collected from small business owners surrounding the tourist spots, trained tour guides (training facilitated by the USAID project) and community eco-cottage owners (design and initial expenditures shared by the USAID project). The gazette outlined the total income from tourism must be distributed equally (50 percent to each party) between the Forest Department and the co-management executive committee (CEC) (Ministry of Environment and Forests, 2017, p. 16804). On this note, the government has constituted a two-tier system of co-management, including a co-

management general committee (CGC) and CEC. The CGC is primarily responsible for providing assistance to the CEC and communicating concerns (such as budget) to the central government, while also approving annual development plans. The CEC prepares an annual development plan and budget while also managing daily conservation and development activities and ensuring sustainable development initiatives in the PAs. It should be noted that initially, CGC was termed the co-management council and CEC was known as the co-management committee (Biswas & Chowdhury, 2011; DeCosse, Sharma, Dutta, & Thompson, 2012; Ministry of Environment and Forests, 2017). Appendix K (Table A.12, A.13, and A.14) presents the changing composition of stakeholders in co-management organisations as decided by the government of Bangladesh at three different times.

The researcher briefly summarises this PA co-management approach, since this is the only approach being practised nationally (although not available within the current research setting). This project involving a co-management approach is mostly functioning in *Sylhet*, *Khulna* and some parts of the *Chittagong* Division. There are three PAs in the CHT, including *Kaptai* National Park (*Kaptai Upazila, Rangamati*), *Pablaikhali* Wildlife Sanctuary (*Baghaichari Upazila, Rangamati*) and *Sangu* Wildlife Sanctuary (*Lama Forest Division, Bandarban*). However, no empirical evidence was found that discussed co-management applications within a broader context of the CHT (indicating within those three PAs). This observation perhaps indicates the challenge of implementing an existing approach within the CHT context. For example, in the latest CGC and CEC structures, indigenous representation is affirmed by a single member (if any) being nominated by the *Upazila Nirbahi Officer* (UNO) (Ministry of Environment and Forests, 2017), which seems unrealistic from the CHT perspective where the presence of diverse indigenous communities remains a common phenomenon.

To conclude, co-management is not necessarily the optimal outcome for all, and that community self-governance appears to be the preferred position of communities. However, this is inherently problematic when communities are diverse and have no singular or uniting identity. The current research findings indicate a functional co-management must ensure equitable representation of communities; otherwise, it may generate a feeling of deprivation (especially among minor communities) and affect the overall effectiveness of the approach.

7.6 Outcomes of the Process

At the outcome level, community wellbeing and sustainable tourism have been conceptualised with bi-directional causality. The research findings correspondingly confirm such interdependence, mostly evidenced through income perspectives (i.e., material wellbeing). This view in essence holds that sustainable tourism will help to generate employment and income for community people, which in turn will ensure the basic needs of the community are met (e.g., better food, housing, education, health), thereby meeting community wellbeing outcomes. This process is believed to be reciprocal, for instance, when community members are educated they can actively engage in tourism

to oversee implementation of sustainability principles. Since these outcomes are mutually interdependent, at the policy level both must be addressed concurrently rather than treating them individually.

7.6.1 Sustainable Tourism Development

Findings from both case study units reveal a set of factors supporting sustainable tourism development. These factors chiefly include active involvement of community, community awareness, security for tourists, protection of socio-cultural values and norms, establishment of a local supply chain for income assurance of community members and planning. Although environment remains an important pillar of sustainability, a comparatively low number of participants (in total 11 participants) noted environmental concerns when referencing sustainable tourism development within the CHT. This is partly because participants perceive that tourism has not yet created any serious negative impact on the environment. Some impacts were noticed in association with waste management, but not in terms of large-scale carbon emissions or deforestation. Accordingly, most of the participants who raised environmental concerns (7 participants) emphasised an environmental awareness campaign along with the necessity of ethical and moral education of tourists (who are mostly domestic) to ensure safe environmental practices. The necessity for waste management was mainly emphasised by central government participants and underscored with broader policy implications.

The most frequently reported element of sustainable tourism was ‘active community involvement’. In total, 45 participants spoke about this element at least once in defining sustainable tourism in the CHT context. Focus group discussions equally emphasised community perspectives in tourism development. There were two motives identified in involving local communities: ownership creation, and livelihood development. It has been argued that involving local community members actively in tourism will give them a sense of ownership, which in turn will infuse the sustainability features. Moreover, a sense of ownership is believed to improve security and minimise vulnerability (as identified in this research) in some cases. For example, one central government representative working at the local level (15_IRCG_02) affirmed:

We sat in a meeting with the owners of the hotels and motels. Most of the hotels and motels of this region are owned by Bengalis. They want the development of tourism. If peace prevails then tourists will come and tourism can play a pioneering role here. In the meeting, I met a few indigenous owners who were stating that previously they were heavily involved in politics (regional) and attended lots of campaigns and hartals (strikes). Now, they try to discourage people in doing so, as they realise those events are affecting their businesses negatively.

This observation is aligned with the livelihood aspect of tourism as discussed in Chapter Five (see p. 128). It was supported by all levels of government representatives that tourism can and is contributing to the livelihood development of community by representing an alternative source of income. By ensuring income availability, tourism

is contributing to providing the necessities of life, thereby connecting to community wellbeing. In order to develop tourism as an alternative livelihood means, the relative importance of tourism in the economy is important. In this respect, Bandarban was found to have much greater opportunities than Rangamati. For instance, one tourism business owner (23_IRTRO_04) stated that: “Bandarban’s economy is dependent on tourism, while Rangamati’s economy is reliant on fishing and wood businesses.” However, published sources of data identified ecotourism and/or cultural tourism as a promising source of livelihood diversification strategy rather than a realised livelihood means in CHT (Dewan, 2014).

Broader community involvement for sustainable tourism development has been endorsed by all levels of government. One participant from a national level tourism organisation (01_IRBPC_01) mentioned that without community engagement or active involvement of the community, sustainable tourism development is impossible. In this regard, the participant gave an example of a time when the government wanted to establish an eco-park but there was a public outcry due to lack of engagement with the local indigenous community. Eventually, the protest turned into a clash between government agencies and local people; police opened fire and two of the local indigenous community members were killed, which stopped the government proceeding further. Another participant (25_IRBPC_02) identified community involvement as a necessary criterion and claimed that central government is encouraging community-based tourism, or more precisely, community-owned tourism to secure active community participation (e.g., community-based tourism project at *Pathrail of Delduar upazila in Tangail* as discussed in earlier section).

Similarly, regional government representatives stated that to develop tourism anywhere in CHT, the first factor to consider must be the expectations of the community. This is partly due to the political and cultural sensitiveness of the region. A representative from a traditional administration recognised that lack of local ownership and providing local people with only low paid jobs in tourism act as major impediments for sustainable initiatives. Correspondingly, one participant (24_IRTA_01) commented that: “I personally think that it (sustainable tourism) only can be possible through community-led tourism, which is owned by the communities, fundamentally family-based, cooperative-based and village-based or local association-based.” In essence, rights-based approach must guide development in which local community rights (especially in referred indigenous communities) and inclusion in leadership are inevitable.

However, prior to involving the community in tourism, the need for (community) awareness was highlighted, in which, the role of government (local, regional and central) was found significant. Central government representatives from the Bangladesh Tourism Board claimed that they organised two workshops in Bandarban for awareness creation among local community members. Local government representatives confirmed this as well. It was also stated (by

local government representatives) that many events had been arranged but that all had failed to generate desired outcomes due to lack of planning or implementation pathways, which ultimately saw them label those events as not meeting their objectives.

In general, sustainable tourism development is identified in this research as an assembled coordinated concept that requires strong private-public relationship and strong networking between the two parties. It was claimed by most of the research participants (all community participants and some institutional representatives) that the public sector is not playing any major role in the progress of tourism; rather, the private sector is doing this. Public sector involvement for sustainable tourism development was sought chiefly for ensuring the safety and security of visitors, developing infrastructures for smooth accessibility, providing planning assistance and supplying expertise necessity to community tourism. However, lack of knowledge among policy makers themselves was mentioned by numerous participants (see Chapters Five and Six) as challenging tourism development. In this vein, training needs are identified for all aspects of tourism systems and development. For the people, community participants and traditional administration representatives found that policy makers were mostly seen to be bureaucratic and focus mainly on the commodification of culture, which local people do not support at all. This finding reinforces local community involvement in policy-making as well as resource decision-making processes.

7.6.2 Community Wellbeing

To ensure community wellbeing, the relative importance of education and income was reported overwhelmingly. Directly or indirectly, all of the community participants in this research identified education as the most important element for community wellbeing. This was strongly emphasised by the minor indigenous communities' participants as they realised education a differentiating factor on which the major communities were advanced. Accordingly, the major communities were enjoying more benefits and/or livelihoods accessibility through increased capabilities than minor communities were. Out of 52 research participants, 31 participants talked about education at least once and 28 mentioned income in interpreting community wellbeing. Besides these items, socio-cultural security encompassing cultural protection and privacy, health and indigenous identity were altogether reported by 27 participants as crucial to community wellbeing.

Regional government participants underscored the relative importance of socio-cultural security, emphasising indigenous identity issues along with the requirement for a fair institutional working environment. They found ensuring the rule of law is a necessary element for community wellbeing. In general, participants from regional bodies specified mostly political and institutional elements for community wellbeing, which were associated with vulnerabilities. From this observation, it is derived that when vulnerability decreases, it not only improves community resilience but also contributes to overall community wellbeing. Perhaps this is a particular point where the

community wellbeing concept can be identified in association with peace. Seven participants in this research, four of whom were from central government, reported a peace dimension of community wellbeing. While emphasising the peace dimension of community wellbeing, most of the participants felt that the prospect of tourism would contribute to peace through increasing social interactions and understandings. For example, a national tourism organisation representative (02_IRBTB_01) commented that: “The only element to promote empathy, patience and peace is tourism. Ensuring peace is important for community wellbeing in general.” Community participants (e.g., 02_CRIBB_01, 06_CRIBB_03 and 16_CRBRM_06) however, identified a cause and effect relationship between tourism and peace, whereby tourism provides benefits to community that eventually facilitates pacifying social tensions (ensuring peaceful environment) and enhancing community wellbeing.

7.7 Discussions: Co-management of Tourism Capitals for Sustainable Livelihoods

This section integrates three key issues to address the research objectives. Firstly, the researcher develops a co-management structure and process for tourism resource decision-making and subsequent implementation. Since there is no such structure functioning within the case study area context, a need to be tested co-management structure is developed based on the findings. Secondly, the role of social capital is discussed with reference to its effect on co-management structures and processes, and sustainable livelihood outcomes. Finally, the interactive and interdependent relationships of tourism capitals are explained with relevance to the current research findings.

7.7.1 Framing a Co-management Structure for Tourism Resource Decisions

Co-management as an approach is widely adopted in natural resource management and common-pool resources management. This research goes beyond the conventional application of co-management and tests the application of co-management for tourism resource decisions. In this regard, resource types were not merely confined to common-pool resources, and were extended towards ‘public goods’ as well as ‘private goods’ (Ostrom et al., 1994). The literature identifies co-management as a tool facilitating collaborative governance and management of resources while accommodating broader stakeholders (including both government and community) in collective decision-making and subsequent implementation (see Chapter Two).

Given the complexities of tourism management, it has been observed that effective governance for sustainable outcomes necessitates involvement of multiple stakeholders including (local) government, community and other relevant stakeholders into a common decision-making platform. For example, human capital development commonly requires broad scale initiatives from government, such as establishing training institutes or facilitating community training programs. At the same time, community leaders must encourage community members to avail themselves of the opportunities provided by government, especially when trust towards government remains low. Managing

resources through a collaborative process is believed to contribute to trust building among stakeholders through increased communication and cooperation (Alpizar, 2006; Goetze, 2004; Zurba et al., 2012).

Zurba et al. (2012, p. 1130) found it difficult to develop and implement an effective co-management (collaborative management) structure and processes in situations where “...there is a mix of resource users, appropriateness of management mechanisms are perceived differently by mainstream and indigenous cultures, and there exist multiple centres of authority.” These complex factors are evident within the current research context and are discussed accordingly in the findings and context chapters. Although there is no co-management structure is currently functioning within the research setting. The research findings however indicated several features towards achieving a functional co-management structure and process for tourism resource decisions. Some of these issues included equitable representation of communities (particularly minor indigenous communities), increased linkages among stakeholders, cooperation and sharing benefits. Figure 7.3 considers the key features that have emerged from this study and develops a process structure for co-management of tourism resources in CHT, which is theoretically informed by the ‘assessment framework for cooperation in nature-based tourism’ of Plummer et al. (2006, p. 506).

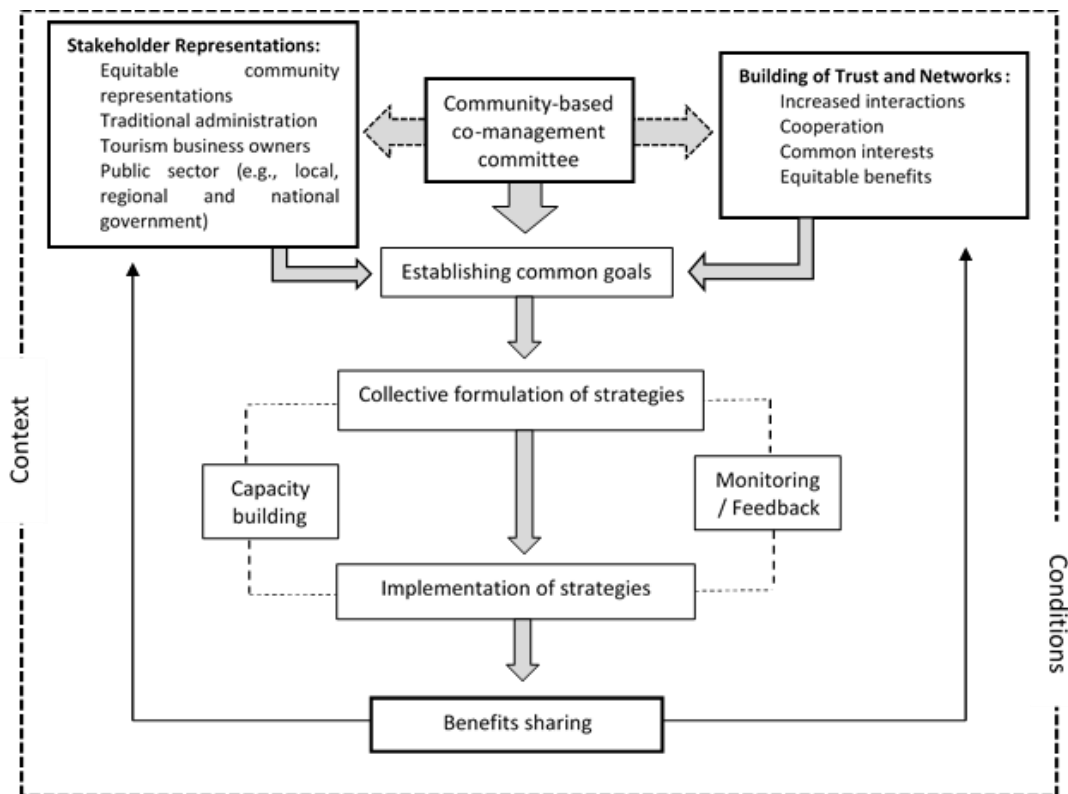


Figure 7.3 A proposed co-management process chart

Figure 7.3 recognises that a co-management structure must represent relevant stakeholder groups. In particular, equitable representation of community (refer to Chapter Five, p. 127) must be sought given the complex nature of the regional development context. Lack of representativeness limits accountability goals of a co-management process

(Berkes, 2010). The importance of trust has been reported on numerous occasions. Thus, building trust among the various actors at the very beginning, and then maintaining that trust, is essential for the effective performance of co-management. In order to instil trust into the process, a negotiated set of common goals should be established through the participation and consensus of co-management actors within a community-based co-management committee (CBCC). In essence, this CBCC will replace the CEC (Co-management Executive Committee) as identified from existing co-management practices. Correspondingly, at the local government level (Hill District Councils), there can be a general co-management committee (similar to 'Co-management General Committee' but broader community representation is essential) to facilitate policy linkages and guide the activities with necessary expertise towards targeted process outcomes. While emphasising the necessity and effectiveness of a co-management committee, Huda (2008, p. 19) found that "It (indicating co-management committee) will however, function effectively if it has fewer members and all members subscribe to a shared value, and function on the principles of collaboration, participation, transparency, and accountability." The implication of this statement reinforces the locus of co-management at a community or 'micro' level given the cultural diversity and strength of bonding social capital (or alternatively weak bridging social capital) in the CHT. Thus, the CBCC should incorporate a single community or minimum number of communities in a tourism destination to avoid complex and extended structures of co-management. However, the general co-management committee can accommodate additional communities from a broader destination context as long as it focuses on the policy issues rather than having extensive operational involvement.

A set of common goals (although potentially difficult to identify and isolate) will direct the formulation of appropriate strategies as well as the execution of those strategies. Strategies necessarily consider if, and how, the 'co-management model' can accommodate discord as well as agreement amongst actors. Formulation of strategies and their subsequent implementation will assist in the capacity building of the actors as well as resources (upon which decisions are made). Strategy formulation and implementation stages are linked with an iterative monitoring or feedback loop. This monitoring or feedback loop enables the co-management process to respond to problems continuously and flexibly, rather than being static and rigid (conforms the 'iterative' process based on social learning and resilience building). Finally, benefits earned through the process must be shared among stakeholders on an agreed basis, which is believed to increase trust and build operational linkages. The overall configuration and functionality of a co-management process structure is influenced by the broader operational environment being identified here as context and conditions (indicated by the dotted external box in Figure 7.3). Context is associated with the nature of resources to be managed as well as the preferable level of management (e.g. local, regional, national) whereas conditions refer to the surrounding circumstances (e.g., past record of conflict, prevailing social networks, etc.) that impact upon the operation of co-management (Plummer et al., 2006). Both the context and conditions make it difficult to establish or operationalise existing co-management within the CHT. That is existing co-

management practices largely fail to consider the unique context and complex operating conditions within the CHT and are accordingly challenged in their initiation and implementation.

Even though Figure 7.3 suggests benefits sharing among all stakeholders on an agreed basis, case study findings reveal that communities want to be the sole beneficiaries in this respect. Thus, the existing co-management practice in Bangladesh (as discussed earlier), which is formed on an equal partnership basis, does not represent a suitable match for CHT (particularly in tourism). The research findings lead the researcher to conclude that almost all the research participants (directly or indirectly) favour community-based tourism being managed by a co-management approach within a destination context, though this remains contested in terms of administrative and socio-political features. This is a particular point where the reformation of the existing or conventional co-management was emphasised. In this regard, the literature identifies a range of structures, typologies and functioning levels of co-management (see Chapter Two). Thus, Wall (1999, p. 281) claimed that “...*true co-management may be difficult to find and various forms of co-optation may be more common*”.

In principle, the research findings ideally seek community-based co-management, which holds community as the prime focus and recognises vertical and horizontal linkages with government and non-government institutions in order to produce sustainable outcomes from strategies and activities (Pomeroy, 1998). Thus, public participation is anticipated at the delegated power and/or citizen control levels of Arnstein’s (1969) ‘ladder of participation.’ Implicit in Arnstein’s ladder of participation is the associated effectiveness and efficiency of each stage of participation. There are necessarily trade-offs between full participation and efficiency of process, and also effectiveness of contribution (Simmons, 1994). The ‘ideal’ level of participation is, arguably located somewhere along the continuum, and not necessarily located at the ‘full participation’ end of the scale. Correspondingly, the co-management spectrum identified is closely aimed towards community self-governance and self-management (Pomeroy & Berkes, 1997). The second typology from Carlsson and Berkes (2005), which perceived co-management as a joint organisation, was introduced as a theoretical base for this research. However, the findings clearly highlight that most of the participants of the current research (especially community participants) indicated a fourth typology, positioning co-management as a community-nested system. Given the current contextual realities, a community-nested system would be practically impossible to implement, particularly when land ownership issues remain unsettled. Perhaps the third typology, explaining a state-nested system, could be made functional, provided central government rightly empowers local government and local government follows the process of ‘devolution of resource governance’ to the destination communities concerned (Berkes, 2010).

The co-management structure and processes under the current conceptual framework also need to address a range of vulnerabilities. Some vulnerability issues, such as seasonality, can be addressed to some extent by strategic

decisions (e.g., creating new attractions, enticing tourists through off-season offers, etc.), whereas others are rigid and difficult to address, falling outside the control of co-management. However, this research reports that most of the vulnerability contexts rest with the formal institutions (mostly public or government organisations). Thus, involvement of such organisations in a co-management structure should by default address vulnerabilities. At this point, communities' concerns regarding dominant attitudes of the government organisational representatives must be brought into focus. In general, it is the finding of this research that a community-based co-management structure as conceptualised by Pomeroy (1998) should be the focus, where the community is aware, empowered and organised. To develop such a structure and process, Zurba et al. (2012) suggested emphasising collaborative problem solving rather than a heavy formal structure. Again the establishment of trust among and within participants is a core social capital to be developed. The co-management process developed from the research findings (Figure 7.3) essentially represents a simple and accommodative structure.

7.7.2 Critical Role of Social Capital

Barnes-Mauthe et al. (2013, p. 23) underscored the relative importance of social elements in resource decisions and asserted that "Effective management requires an understanding of not only the biological and ecological characteristics of complex social-ecological systems, but also the social aspects of the system." Similarly, the current research findings indicate that social capital has noticeable impacts upon institutional processes and structure (co-management) as well as sustainable livelihood outcomes (sustainable tourism and community wellbeing).

Within social capital elements, networking carries much importance with the understanding that one's closeness to the network can influence trust and cooperative norms (Castiglione et al., 2008). In this research, social networks have been identified with three basic dimensions: relationship within a single community or intra-community relationship (bonding capital), relationship across communities or inter-community relationship and cross-scale linkages or relationship with those in power (linking capital). Inter-community relationships are identified around two core foci: indigenous and Bengali community relationship and across indigenous communities (major vs. minor). All participants agreed upon the strength of bonding capital, while inter-community relationship drew mixed responses. The indigenous and Bengali community relationship was mostly perceived as poor, which had a historical orientation that was mostly described and enacted in political terms. However, inter-community relationships among indigenous communities also received a mixed assessment where participants representing minor communities experienced a feeling of alienation from participation in decision-making and thus from enjoying the direct benefits from (tourism) development. This situation creates uncertainties over the control of resources (by minor communities) and potentially instigates conflicts while affecting equity and poverty reduction goals negatively (Berkes, 2010). Likewise, Barnes-Mauthe et al. (2013) observed that resource decision-making is challenging within ethnically-diverse groups especially those with language differences and varying cultural norms.

From a cross-country study, Easterly and Levine (1997) concluded that ethnic diversity increases ‘interest group polarisation’, which in turn provides benefits mostly to those who are in power at the cost of society as a whole. Their study also found high ethnic diversity is negatively associated with schooling, financial systems and infrastructure (i.e., human and built capitals) and thus is closely related to community wellbeing outcomes. Barnes-Mauthe et al. (2013) quantitatively identified that ethnic diversity creates a “*homophily*” effect in which a group tends to be internally congruent and concurrently resistant to external engagement and influences. Such a homophily effect challenges stakeholder collaboration across diverse groups. Correspondingly, Bodin and Prell (2011) observed that the structural patterns of social networks may distract or enable collaborative management structures such as co-management.

To overcome the challenge of ethnic diversity, Easterly (2001) recommended building enabling institutional structures to protect ethnic minorities. In this respect, Ostrom (2005, p. 258) advocated adopting small or micro governance foci that “*...roughly fit the ecological boundaries of the problems they are designed to address.*” Therefore, ethnic diversity has a direct impact on the co-management structure and processes. In a situation that is challenged by trust issues based on differing ethnic orientations, a local level focus is suggested from the findings of this research. Such a ‘micro-focus’ necessarily indicates concentration on a particular community and/or destination or site. However, developing a micro-focus may compromise actors’ ability to adapt broader environmental challenges (Bodin & Crona, 2009). It is believed that the success of co-management of tourism resources at micro-level will generate confidence among communities and eventually build trust (possibly through benefits sharing) that will grow.

Apart from the observed impacts on co-management structures and processes, social capital can also influence community wellbeing directly. The most referenced examples in this situation were identified through the lens of indigenous identity via changing the indigenous names of locations. Community wellbeing is predominantly perceived in this research as meeting the basic necessities of living and is associated with tourism through income (e.g., cash), which in turn provides a direct pathway to meeting basic needs.

7.7.3 Tourism Capitals

Five types of tourism capitals were identified in this research with a view to investigating their actual and potential impacts on livelihood outcomes as mediated by institutional processes and organisational structures. The capitals (as identified and reported in previous sections) include natural, human, social, built, and financial. Figure 7.3 presents their relationships and interdependencies, which are evidenced by the current research findings. Although the initial capitals include five types of capitals in which social capital expressly contained cultural capital, field data indicate cultural capital requires a unique status and that it be treated as separate entity on its own right. Importantly, the

definition of cultural capital is more clearly associated with historic elements whereas social capital is identifiable mostly within daily affairs. Dalziel, Saunders, Fyfe and Newton (2009, p. 14) identify cultural capital as “the set of values, norms, traditions and behaviour which individual group members and groups as a whole can develop into assets or resources to leverage economic, political and social gains.” However, the interrelatedness of these capitals are so close, it becomes difficult to differentiate them in practice.

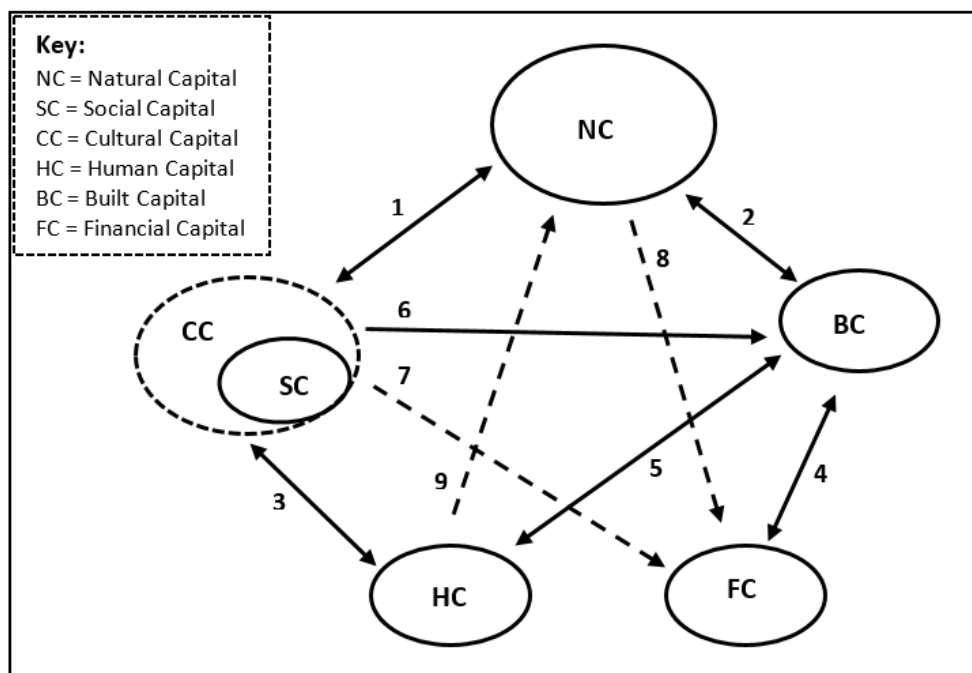


Figure 7.4 Interdependence of tourism capitals

In Figure 7.4, the most discernible relationships are shown with bold arrows. In addition, the relative size of the circles are indicating the relative significance of each capital for livelihood outcomes in which natural, social, and cultural capitals are reported with higher importance. Cultural capital remains a fundamental resource in CHT (along with natural capital) to attract tourists and includes values, different cultural elements such as language, attire, dances, etc. In this research, participants assessed cultural capital mostly through values, diversity in cultures and protection for (indigenous) cultures. Overall the research findings draw attention to the fact that natural, social and cultural capitals are the most critical resources for tourism and/or destination development within the CHT context. Accordingly, their relationship is found to be highly interdependent and shown with a bidirectional arrow (1) in the above Figure (7.4). The relative importance of these capitals in relation to tourism is also identifiable from contemporary research, which argues that natural landscape (nature-based tourism) and diverse cultural demonstrations (cultural tourism) attract the majority of tourists in CHT (Jakariya & Ahmed, 2013; Shamsuddoha et al., 2011). Between these, natural capital plays a pivotal role and remains contested, particularly with regards to land ownership issues. This is a specific challenge associated with nature-based tourism, where the natural environment

(including landscape, land, flora and fauna) is the primary attraction upon which numerous individuals as well as organisations can raise a claim of management rights since it represents a common-pool resource (Barnes-Mauthe, Arita, Allen, Gray & Leung, 2013; Plummer et al., 2006). At this point, co-management, as an expression of collaborative governance, is argued to be an effective institutional arrangement tool that can be practised over a broader context of natural resource management (Barnes-Mauthe et al., 2013; Berkes, 2010; DeCosse, Sharma et al., 2012; Paulson, 1998).

Arrow 1 identifies a bidirectional relationship between natural, social, and cultural capitals. The link between these capitals is evident and able to be interpreted from a management perspective. Formal institutional bodies representing central government (such as the Forest Department) usually manage natural resources. In many cases, formal bodies are challenged by accessibility, limited human resources and so on. To overcome these challenges, communities (especially indigenous communities) should be involved for their local knowledge of protecting natural resources. This particular point was emphasised in the success of the VCF in CHT. Social values and norms play a critical role in the management of natural resources. Natural capital underpins settlement patterns as influenced by past cultural practices (indigenous and Bengalis). For instance, a few indigenous communities prefer to live deep within the forest (e.g., *Mro*), while a few communities prefer to live in topographic basins (e.g., *Marma*), whereas Bengalis and *Chakmas* prefer urban/town areas. An observation made from the settlement patterns is that natural capital in turn directly influences social networks (especially for indigenous communities) by locating communities in discrete places (emphasising characteristics of landscape). Both the natural and social capital (including cultural capital) have unidirectional relationships with financial capital (arrow 7 and arrow 8). However, these relationships are not readily discernible and thus are identified with dotted lines in Figure 7.4. Natural capital provides the base for livelihoods, especially for indigenous communities, whereas both natural and cultural capital can increase overall financial stock through attracting more tourists and tourism businesses. Within a destination, these two resources in turn are shaped by the intensity of social capital.

Arrow 2 signifies the interdependencies of natural and built capitals. The built capital of a place is influenced directly by the area's natural capital, such as landscape, land type (forest coverage), etc. For example, the CHT is a topographically hilly region, which arguably limits the possibility for large industrial establishments. Conversely, built capital sometimes creates negative environmental impacts on the natural environment. Although not related to tourism, the improvement of road conditions was found to expedite wood trafficking, especially when set alongside weak institutional (formal/public) governance. In order to gain a short-term profit, community people are tempted to become involved in illegal wood trafficking. To protect natural resources, the requirements for skilled, dedicated and honest officials was emphasised alongside the placement of the 'right people in the right places' (arrow 9).

Arrow 3 represents a bidirectional relationship between social, cultural, and human capitals in which formation and availability of human capital is largely determined by the cultural values and social receptiveness while enhanced human capital can influence existing social networks and vice versa. For example, the broader social network may influence the behaviour of a small professional group. The findings reported in Chapter Six (see pp. 139-140) identified how social networks influence the human capital particularly when one tourism industry stakeholder claimed that local indigenous people (specifically, *Chakma*) sometimes create pressure and disclose confidential information to third parties. Moreover, diverse cultural groups show varying literacy rates whereby the minor communities is sub-optimal in comparison with those of major communities. Together these directly influence the overall stock of human capital within a society or group. The bidirectional relationship conforms the social capital theory of Coleman (1988).

The process of improving human capital is primarily dependent upon training and education opportunities. These require enabling policy considerations of government bodies alongside the encouragement of communities to participate in the various training and learning processes. The implementation of such policy decisions requires secure financial investment in training and allied institutions focussed on skill development (arrow 4). A direct and immediate impact of this process is mapped on to the effective performances of tourism-based structures or establishments (arrow 5), which in turn contribute to increased financial gain. Thus, findings indicate that there is no direct relationship evident between financial and human capitals. In the study situation, the relationship is indirectly linked via built capital. Correspondingly, the research findings confirm an initial assumption whereby a higher level of financial capital contributes to a better stock of built capital, which in turn increases the flow of financial capital. Within the built capital element, two distinctions are made: general usage and tourism usage. For tourism usage (e.g., building a resort), financial sources are scarce, while government funding is advancing for overall general usage structures (e.g., communication infrastructure, such as roads). However, the limited availability of financial resources for tourism-based built capital was not perceived by study participants as a major problem; rather, culture- and activity- based structures (e.g., bamboo cottages and home stays) were found much to be more favourable for actively engaging the community with tourism and subsequently ensuring the accumulation of financial capital.

Again, culture- and activity-based 'structures' were seen as dependent on the strength of social capital (arrow 6), providing these structures are developed within the immediate vicinity of community settlements. This is why the potential for home stays in BS was reported favourably, while in RS these were perceived as less favourable due to social challenges, which reinforce built capitals dependence on social and cultural capital. As a general example, a protest event (as described by research participants) organised by indigenous communities against the establishment of a university in *Rangamati* was used to illustrate how social capital can affect the built environment.

Within the given context, the formal public institutions (e.g., central government agency) usually carry out facilitation and governance of tourism capitals. Thus, resource decisions follow an exclusive top-down approach with government-based management. The findings of this research suggest that community empowerment and providing opportunities for community members to make destination-based resource allocations is essential. This is particularly important to create sustainable livelihood impacts through tourism in an ethnically diversified region such as the CHT. To summarise, the need for a bottom-up resource decision-making structure is widely recognised for the desired outcomes. A co-management approach is identified correspondingly for optimal capital decisions and subsequent implementation. Taken together these indicate co-management structures must be concentrated closer to the community self-governance or community self-management continuum of Pomeroy and Berkes (1997) and realised via community-based co-management committee.

7.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter discusses the research results after integrating the findings from the case study units. The result indicates tourism capitals (resources) are interdependent, with clear identification of natural and social capital as the ‘foundation resources’ for tourism development. Together these anchor sustainable livelihood outcomes. These two capitals are the core source of attraction for tourists. The importance of cultural elements has seen cultural capital identified as a separate element rather than its initial expression within a social capital lens. A symbiotic relationship is evident between financial and built capital, while the relative importance of financial capital is under-emphasised due to social values and perceptions. Human capital requires financial investment. Once developed it can provide continuous ‘pay back’ by increasing the stock and quality of natural resource management, professional networks and tourists’ services. Although all of these capitals are formally governed and facilitated by government institutions, the research findings indicate that active and meaningful community involvement is imperative for securing sustainable livelihood outcomes. In this regard, co-management as a form of collaborative governance is advocated to be effective for involving both the government and community in tourism resource decision-making. However, high levels of ethnic diversity are challenging the potential for co-management structures and processes to be applied on a broader context. Rather, a micro-focus on community and/or destination or site is recommended along with a less formal structure in order to secure desired sustainable outcomes.

Chapter Eight

Thesis Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes the thesis by revisiting the Capitals Co-management for Sustainable Livelihood Frameworks (CCSLF), outlining the major contributions of this research and exploring future research opportunities. The CCSLF was developed from the existing Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) (Çakir et al., 2018; DFID, 1999; Shen et al., 2008). In the proposed CCSLF, the critical role of institutional processes and organisational structure has been emphasised for tourism resource governance, thereby creating sustainable livelihood impacts as framed by sustainable tourism development and community wellbeing. On this note, a co-management approach was sought in order to ensure bottom-up decision-making while ensuring broader stakeholder engagement in the process. The framework was then applied to the context of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT), Bangladesh to assess and examine its applicability. Within a broader context of the CHT, two embedded case study sites were accessed to verify the CCSLF and address the research questions. Correspondingly, the research results from the two case study units were reported in Chapters Five and Six after generating a broader understanding of the research setting in Chapter Four. Chapter Seven integrated the findings to form a basis for the modification of the proposed CCSLF framework. Subsequently, this chapter concludes the research by revisiting the CCSLF through the lens of its theoretical and practical contributions. Each element of the CCSLF has been discussed in reference to the study findings as well as existing theories and literature. This process of elaboration provides a revised CCSLF (Figure 8.1) and narrows the focus to identify key research contributions along with directions for future research.

8.2 Revisiting the CCSLF

The intrinsic goal of this research was to identify a shared decision-making structure, ensuring community participation for the effective deployment of various tourism capitals in order to create sustainable livelihood impacts. This research has utilised the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) in which the role of a co-management framework and process is emphasised critically to incorporate a bottom-up approach into decision-making and subsequent implementation. Accordingly, the CCSLF was proposed (see Chapter Two, Section 2.6). The CCSLF was later tested for its applicability within a case study context of the CHT, Bangladesh. This section revises and elaborates on the CCSLF components as reflected in the study findings and results. The initial CCSLF (see Figure 2.8, p. 39) had five key components, including tourism context, tourism capitals, institutional processes and organisational structure (formal institutional arrangement and co-management), vulnerability context and sustainable livelihood outcomes

(sustainable tourism and community wellbeing). The following diagram (Figure 8.1) illustrates modifications in the initial framework.

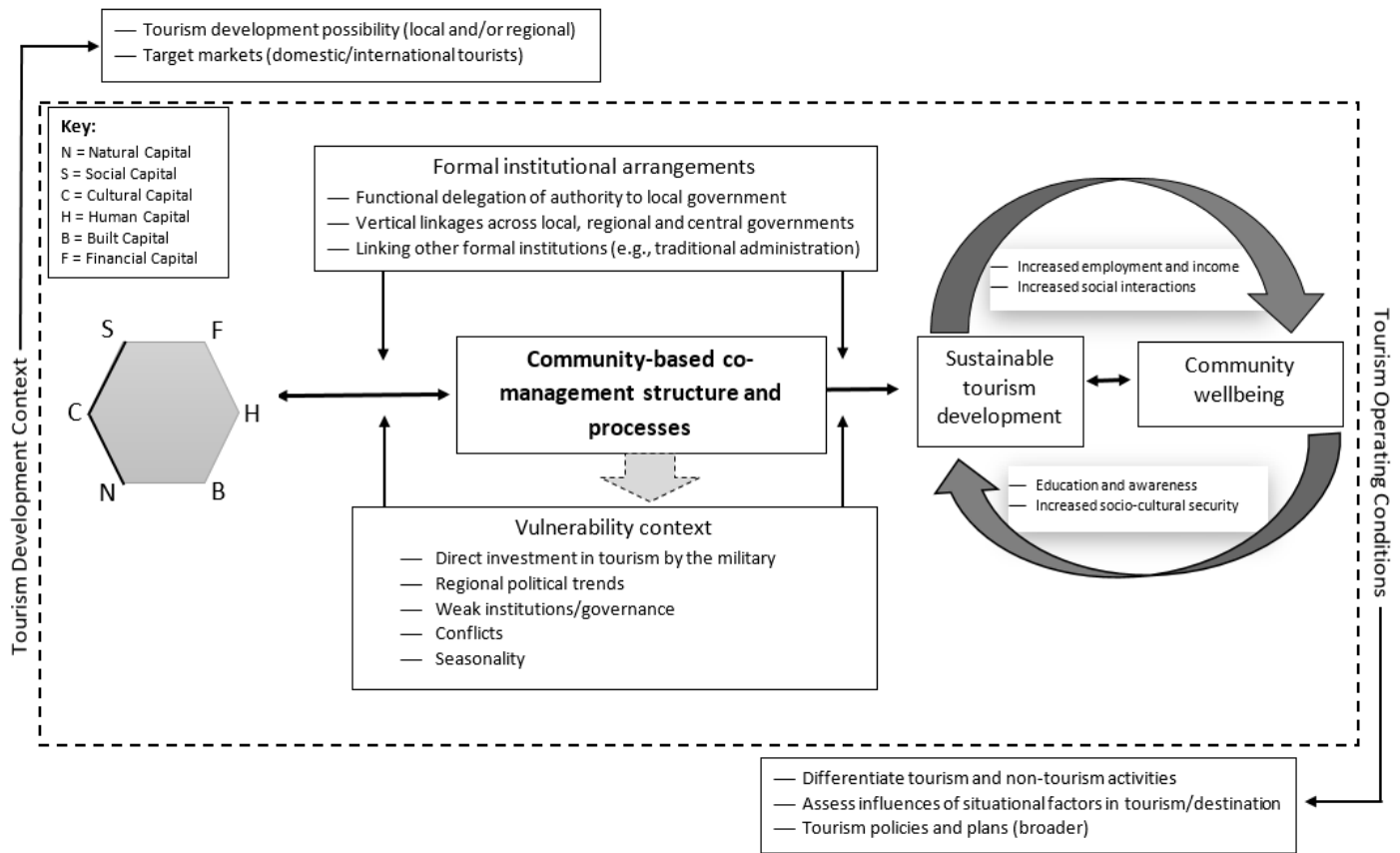


Figure 8.1 The revised CCSLF

By its very nature, tourism interacts with other industries in an economy in such a way that it makes it very difficult to isolate it within the overall development context. The revised CCSLF considers tourism development as a response within broader and open systems. To accommodate this contextual element, the diagram is reframed to separate the overall tourism context into a tourism ‘development’ context and tourism ‘operating’ conditions. Both the development context and operating conditions have considerable bearing upon the functionality of institutional processes and organisational structure (especially setting and implementing strategies and activities) as well as other components of the CCSLF. The tourism development context requires a focus in terms of identifying the markets (domestic/international) and the locus of development (local and/or regional). The locus of tourism development is determined by the extant situational factors within a setting as well as the allocation and availability of tourism capitals. Roading development is a clear example of built capital that facilitates both general and tourism development. This view was expressed by the research participants (reported in built capital sections of Chapter Five, Six, and Seven) noting that access to remote destinations (local) is limiting tourism possibilities from an integrative and wider development perspective. Tourism market orientations have an immediate impact on tourism products

and associated strategies and activities (Shen et al., 2008). For example, international tourists contribute more economically than domestic tourists and correspondingly require more sophisticated tourism products and services than do domestic tourists (Çakir et al., 2018). This implication is apparent in the tourism and/or livelihood resources; for example, attracting international tourists necessitates more investment (financial capital). For the present, the study setting (CHT) predominantly relies on domestic tourists. This is one reason that the relative importance of financial capital was found less important in the case study findings. Tourism operating conditions within a given tourism developmental context invariably influence the functioning of tourism systems. Operating conditions in turn are influenced by situational factors prevailing at a tourism destination. The operating criteria can be helpful to differentiate tourism activities from non-tourism activities, which is shaped by policy and planning instruments. Tourism and non-tourism related activities both need to be seen within general operating conditions indicating a flexible operating environment facilitates greater integration of tourism activities with non-tourism activities. Tourism operating conditions also reference existing tourism policies and plans that guide the overall development process and tourism capitals in particular. For example, recognition of community involvement in tourism policies and planning may accelerate or decelerate overall tourism development processes. More specific to the current research findings (as reported in Section 6.3.2, p. 138), training needs for skill development and enhancing human capital is widely acknowledged under the authority of local government (Hill District Council). Although the local government (HDC) was receiving training offers to be arranged by numerous national and international institutions, HDC largely failed to accommodate those offers due to the lack of policy and planning instruments.

The revised CCSLF acknowledges the relative importance of cultural capital and responds accordingly by separating it from social capital. Correspondingly, the livelihood resource (called tourism capitals in this research) pentagon has been replaced by a tourism capital hexagon. These capitals were reported with varying importance (refer to Chapter Seven, Section 7.7.3, p. 187) in which natural, cultural, and social capitals were strongly identified as tourism's foundation resources. It is argued that these capitals are firmly positioned within an existing social and ecological system, which commonly acts as point of attraction for tourists. Thus, these capitals form the basis for livelihoods being targeted for tourism development. In the revised CCSLF, these capitals are highlighted as foundation capitals, whereas the other three capitals (human, built and financial) are mostly enabling capitals. These enabling capitals facilitate the development process and require particular attention and involvement of different levels of public or government institutions (e.g. local, regional, and central). As such, for tourism development strategies, these capitals may attract and require exogenous involvement (from both public and private) at later stages of destination development (Keller, 1987).

In terms of institutional processes and organisational structure, the CCSLF entails two perspectives: differentiating formal institutions from informal institutions (social capital) and introducing co-management as an organisational

structure to optimise tourism capital decisions (and management) by incorporating diverse stakeholder views. Since tourism's impacts are directly discernible at local or destination levels (Simmons, 1994), effective delegation of resource management authority to local government is believed to bring the desired outcomes. The local government in turn is required to build strong vertical (along different government levels) and horizontal (across other institutions) linkages to respond to dynamic challenges associated with tourism capital management decisions. On this particular point, the relative importance of community was frequently reported throughout the current study findings. At the local or destination level, a community encompasses multiple interdependent stakeholders who often hold divergent views on tourism development; collaboration theory is useful in this case for reaching a consensus concerning tourism resource decisions (Jamal & Getz, 1995; McCay & Jentoft, 1998; Reed, 1997). Correspondingly, the co-management frameworks and processes were rationalised in the revised CCSLF as community-based co-management structures and processes, represented by a community-based co-management committee (refer to Chapter Seven, Section 7.7.1: Locating a Co-management Structure for Tourism Resource Decisions, p. 182). Theoretically, such a structure is very closely located to the community self-governance or self-management continuum of Pomeroy and Berkes (1997).

The fourth element, the vulnerability context, can negatively affect tourism development and the adaptive capacities of the social actors. Vulnerability poses threats to tourism resource management and undermines the effectiveness of overall developmental processes. Although the DFID (1999) model includes shocks, trends and seasonality to describe the vulnerability context, the current research found that the institutions themselves (both formal and informal) were sources of vulnerability. This is a particular point of attention when institutions fail to secure livelihood objectives for community people and create inconvenience through inefficiency and illegal practices. Such a finding again reinforces the requirement of a shared decision-making platform involving both institutional representatives and community residents. It has been argued that when decisions are made jointly, it reduces certain vulnerabilities. For example, in this research it was believed that a community-based co-management structure would manage vulnerability associated with regional political ideologies. However, it is acknowledged that not all of the vulnerabilities are manageable within such a structure (e.g., direct tourism investments by the military).

Finally, at the outcome level, two mutually-inclusive livelihood outcomes are reported that confirm the preliminary assumption made during the development of CCSLF. The preliminary assumption stated that sustainable tourism and community wellbeing are interdependent. In this regard, sustainable tourism development is perceived as both a livelihood diversification strategy (Tao & Wall, 2009) and the outcome of the co-management process. These interdependencies were reported chiefly under economic and socio-cultural lenses. Under these, tourism creates sources of employment and income for community members that eventually enhance community wellbeing by increasing their capabilities and widening freedom of choice. With enhanced community wellbeing, the overall

educational level of community is upgraded, which makes community members aware and responsive to tourism development. This is particularly important since involving community into tourism capital decision-making processes is identified as a core consideration for sustainability.

Alongside revising the CCSLF, this research also identified situations in which the revised CCSLF could be made more functional (as shown in Figure 8.2). A project-based structure for co-management was indicated and emphasised with special reference to the complexities of the research setting. It is thus possible to generalise from the findings of this research that when a tourism destination is founded on high ethnic diversity and fraught with exogenous variables (e.g. tension between regional and national government), a community or micro level focus with a favourable local government role may bring the desired outcome.

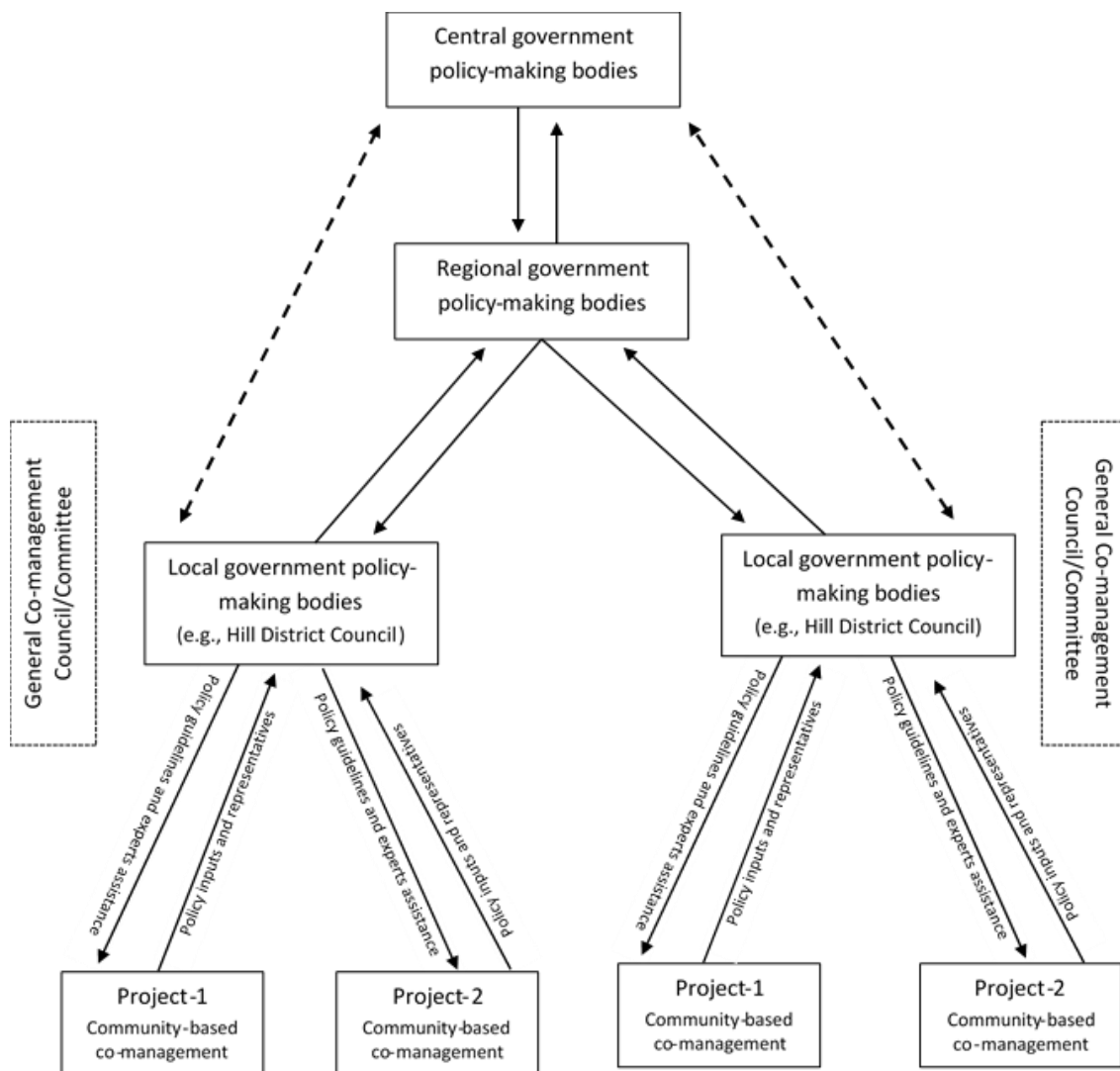


Figure 8.2 Different operational levels for CCSLF

In the figure (Figure 8.2), two different levels have been identified for as focal action points for increasing the outcomes from a co-management process (to identify the level, refer to Chapter Seven, Section 7.6.1). At local (site/community) destination level, a project-based co-management process following a community-based structure has been sought, while at broader local government level, a more general structure for coordination and integration of co-management policies and activities is also recommended. Within the general structure, broader community representation on an equitable basis must be ensured, while the project level is targeted for a single community or few communities having strong bridging social capital (e.g., two minor indigenous communities such as *Bawm* and *Lushai*). This is particularly important when the bonding social capital is perceived as stronger than bridging social capital. In this research, bonding social capital was reported stronger than bridging social capital; however, the bridging social capital among minor indigenous communities was assessed as much stronger than any other combination to evaluate bridging social capital.

Figure 8.2 indicates that central government has to delegate authority to local government and that local government in turn must delegate authority to project level community-based co-management. On the one hand, the general co-management structure should develop relevant policies based on the inputs from a community-based co-management committees (ensuring bottom-up management). On the other hand, a general co-management committee must pass policy outcomes to the central government via a regional policy-making body. Additionally, central government must have an indirect linkage to the local government level co-management. The local government may ask for assistance from the central government directly or via the regional government. It should be noted that the general co-management committee must ensure equitable representation from the community-based co-management projects.

8.3 Research Contributions

This research examines SLA from decision-making and resource-management standpoints within a tourism lens. In doing so, the concept of co-management is introduced as a decentralised decision-making and subsequent implementation platform, which helps transform different forms of capital into sustainable livelihood outcomes. From the literature it is evident that the co-management approach has been widely used across fisheries, forestry and similar natural resource management. So far, the approach has had limited application with regards to the management of broader tourism resources/capitals. From a theoretical stance, this research thus contributes by examining the applicability of a co-management approach to create desired livelihood impacts through the management of tourism capitals. This research is novel in the testing of CCSLF to an early stage destination (in a developing country) with the additional complexities configured by ongoing political tensions.

Different stakeholder groups may have vested interests to becoming involved in the decision-making processes underlying the development and management of tourism capitals, but the core focus must always be on the betterment of communities, which in turn is achieved through their active involvement (Keller, 1987). Community governance is required for effective resource governance at tourism destinations; however, Murdoch and Abram (1998) oppose complete community self-governance and instead suggest coordination and mediation with relevant institutions to some extent to balance the power. It is argued that complete community self-governance may create an opportunity for the elite class within a society to dominate the process, particularly in developing countries where corruption is highly evident. Hence, co-management provides a prospect for balancing power while involving diverse stakeholder groups. Correspondingly, this research concludes that co-management can be an effective tool for community-based tourism development, especially when the destination is fraught with political and social complexities, including diverse representation of communities in which indigenous people remain an integral part. Subsequently, the current research provides a basis for tourism resource decision-making and implementation to the policy makers of different countries and/or tourism destinations with similar socio-cultural and political settings.

This research has a direct and immediate contribution for the tourism policy-making in Bangladesh and, more specifically, in the CHT. The research participants discussed the fact that the tourism industry in Bangladesh has undergone numerous changes in the last ten years, but that the people working at the policy-making level are mostly represented by conventional bureaucrats who do not have the necessary expertise or understanding of tourism. Tourism, as a distinct field of study and research, only originated recently in Bangladesh. Thus, the current study can act as a groundwork for future researchers with an interest in destination development, sustainable tourism, tourism resource management, and the like.

A reflection of the current research findings on the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as a post-2015 development agenda set by the United Nations indicates that this research provides an important policy input towards addressing Goals 8 and 16 through tourism development. Although tourism can contribute directly or indirectly to all 17 goals of the SDGs, it was included as a target in Goals 8, 12 and 14 (UNWTO, 2015a). Goal 8 outlines inclusive and sustainable economic growth through productive employment, while Goal 16 emphasises peaceful and inclusive societies by building effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels. The findings of this research claim that tourism capitals, when managed effectively by a shared decision-making process, can generate employment and income opportunities for community members, which is also widely recognised in the tourism literature. A common assessment in this regard contends that tourism provides 1 in every 11 jobs worldwide (UNWTO, 2015a). Examining co-management applicability in tourism resource management and subsequently recommending community-based co-management supports an inclusive and accountable institutional structure at local or destination level. Such a structure is meant to mitigate resource conflicts at destinations, thereby contributing

to peace-building processes. A question remains whether a focus on an 'external' visitor and community experiences of wellbeing, can overtime facilitate the peace process within the study setting.

Apart from the above, the research contribution is mapped on specific research questions as follows.

8.3.1 Reflection on Research Objective One

The first objective was centred on the question 'How can co-management frameworks allocate tourism capitals to develop sustainable tourism?' In order to allocate tourism capitals, a co-management process structure is essential (refer to Chapter Seven, Section 7.6.1). To be effective, a community-based co-management committee must administer the process. As mentioned above, this structure should be founded on equitable community representation and benefits sharing among the communities in concern. A co-management process must consider the context within which it is developed as well as prevailing operating conditions (e.g., strength of bonding and bridging social capitals) that challenge the operational aspects of the process.

8.3.2 Reflection on Research Objective Two

The second objective was to identify the critical role of social capital within tourism co-management frameworks and processes that impact upon the wellbeing of destination communities. This research showed that social capital is the essential lubricant for the functioning of a tourism co-management framework and process. The strength of bonding social capital redirects the attention at the community or micro level. Within a contested bridging social capital context, the conflicting preferences of multiple communities undermine the effectiveness of resource allocation decisions, which may negatively affect community wellbeing outcomes. Trust is important for developing a functional co-management structure, which can be gained through the demonstration of success at the micro level before implementation at regional or much broader scales. Equitable representation of communities and benefit sharing among community members are two core criteria identified for the success of a tourism co-management framework at the destination (local) or community level. This in turn indicates that a tourism co-management process must constantly evaluate these criteria. In summary, social capital is the core element that sets out the operational level for a tourism co-management process and thereby influences the extent of community wellbeing outcomes through the co-management process.

8.3.3 Reflection on Research Objective Three

The third objective focused on assessing various capitals within tourism co-management frameworks and processes. The conceptual framework in this research was built on the SLF, in which the capitals pentagon (SLA) in principle puts equal weight on each capital along with their interconnectedness. However, the results of this research indicated that the capitals carry varying importance, while their interconnectedness is more explicitly examined. Moreover, the

high relative importance of cultural capital directed the researcher to replace the capital pentagon with a tourism capitals hexagon. Accordingly, it is concluded that natural, cultural, and social capitals remain extant in tourism destinations, fundamentally attract tourists and thereby require a particular focus in terms of their management. Built, human, and financial capitals facilitate tourism development and act as enabling capitals, which require exogenous involvement (e.g., from central government). With the advancement of tourism destinations, the level of exogenous involvement increases. At this point, the challenge rests with retaining the control or decision-making authority over resources at local level and directing development towards community people with their involvement (Keller, 1987). The current research findings suggest that co-management is a viable approach to addressing this challenge.

8.4 Future Research Opportunities

The idiosyncratic nature of case-specific settings can challenge the generalisation of research results. The tourism context however is always location-specific or destination-focussed, indicating that results from one setting vary widely in comparison to others. Adding to this observation, utilising a single case study strategy raises challenges for broader generalisations. Besides, the CCSLF comprises several elements and exhibits complex interrelationships that must be attuned to any development context. Therefore, it is hoped that future research can evaluate and contextualise the proposed framework's applicability in various development contexts. In order to contextualise, numerous dimensions of destination characteristics can be emphasised, such as stages of tourism development, presence of ethnic communities, political and administrative history, and so on. These features in turn would examine further the key tenants of the model. More specifically, future research can focus on targeting more local indigenous communities and by applying indigenous methodologies.

Although the framework in this research considered power relations mostly under the lens of formal institutions (and to some extent, informal institutions; social capital), Macbeth et al. (2004) note that power relations should be better observed through political capital. Thus, future research could explore the combination and role of political capital (already identified by numerous authors as evidenced in Table 2.1, p. 20) along with the set of capitals proposed here. Added to this, a specific focus may highlight 'peace tourism' and how these capitals can contribute peace-building process. The CCSLF is presented within an open system, stipulating its vulnerability to external pressures, which provides opportunity to the future researcher to investigate the influences of externalities and other market failures on the implementation of a CCSLF.

Finally, a longitudinal study based on pilot projects is considered appropriate in order to assess levels of community participation and the role of public institutions (especially local government) to the further development of CCSLF. Future research steps may include a participatory decision-making, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation

approach in which diverse stakeholder groups set the criteria and indicators to assess joint management outcomes, with the aim of improving equitable participation and benefits sharing.

8.5 Concluding Remarks

The core focus of this research encompassed developing a participatory decision-making organisational structure in order to create sustainable livelihood outcomes from the development and management of tourism capitals. Consequently, the CCSLF has been developed from the existing literature focussing on the SLA approach. A growing interest is evidenced in the academic research pertaining to tourism and SLA since the 2000s (Ashley, 2000; Çakir et al., 2018; Ritchie, 2009; Shen et al., 2008; Tao & Wall, 2009). The current research is positioned uniquely by bringing a co-management approach to represent institutional processes and organisational structures to the deployment and use of public and private sector resources, framed here as various tourism capitals (natural, human, social, built, and financial). Accordingly, the CCSLF has been developed assuming the collective improvement of all of these capitals will address community wellbeing and sustainable tourism development outcomes.

This research then tested the applicability of the framework within the case study context of the CHT, Bangladesh. Under a single case study strategy, this research considered two embedded case units to generate findings and revise the CCSLF while addressing the research questions. The two case study units belonged to the early exploration and involvement stages of tourism development and generated similar findings. However, the uniqueness of the study setting increased the difficulty in generalising the research results, which in turn creates a future research opportunity to concentrate on the broader application of the CCSLF.

A specific outcome derived from the research indicates that when a tourism destination is founded on high ethnic diversity and fraught with exogenous variables, a community or micro level focus with a favourable and 'enabling' local government's role may bring the desired outcomes. In this regard, a project-based co-management is advocated with the belief that the success of the project will earn the trust of the involved parties, and subsequently facilitate broader implementation of the CCSLF. In general, this research is expected to contribute to the academic understanding of destination management and development by developing and understanding knowledge of sustainable tourism livelihoods in a destination that is complex in terms of socio-cultural and political orientations.

References

- A Monitor Report. (2018, June 16). Civil aviation & tourism gets budget allocation of Taka 1,508 crore. *The Bangladesh Monitor*. Retrieved from http://www.bangladeshmonitor.com/back_page/96/Civil-aviation-&-tourism-gets-budget-allocation-of-Taka-1,508-crore
- Aas, C., Ladkin, A., & Fletcher, J. (2005). Stakeholder collaboration and heritage management. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 32(1), 28-48. doi:10.1016/j.annals.2004.04.005
- Abbott, J. (1995). Community participation and its relationship to community development. *Community Development Journal*, 30(2), 158-168.
- Adger, W. N. (2006). Vulnerability. *Global Environmental Change*, 16(3), 268-281. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2006.02.006>
- Adler, P. A., & Adler, P. (1987). Shifts and oscillations in deviant careers: The case of upper-level drug dealers and smugglers. *Social Problems*, 31, 195-207.
- Adnan, S. (2004). *Migration land alienation and ethnic conflict: Causes of poverty in the Chittagong hill tracts of Bangladesh*. Dhaka: Research & Advisory Services.
- Adnan, S. (2010). Resolving land disputes and ethnic conflicts In N. Mohaiemen (Ed.), *Between ashes and hope: Chittagong hill tracts in the blind spot of Bangladesh nationalism* (pp. 114-119). Dhaka: Drishtipat Writers' Collective.
- Adnan, S., & Dastidar, R. (2011). *Alienation of the lands of indigenous peoples in the Chittagong hill tracts of Bangladesh*. Dhaka: Chittagong Hill Tracts Commission (CHTC). Retrieved from http://www.iwgia.org/iwgia_files_publications_files/0507_Alienation_of_the_lands_of_IPs_in_the_CHT_of_Bangladesh.pdf.
- Ahsan, S. A.-a., & Chakma, B. (1989). Problems of national integration in Bangladesh: The Chittagong hill tracts. *Asian Survey*, 29(10), 959-970. doi:10.2307/2644791
- Alpízar, M. A. Q. (2006). Participation and fisheries management in Costa Rica: From theory to practice. *Marine Policy*, 30(6), 641-650. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.marpol.2005.09.001>
- Amnesty International. (2013). *Pushed to the edge: Indigenous rights denied in Bangladesh's Chittagong hill tracts*. Peter Benenson House, London: Amnesty International Ltd.
- Andereck, K. L., & Nyaupane, G. P. (2010). Exploring the nature of tourism and quality of life perceptions among residents. *Journal of Travel Research*, 50(3), 248-260.
- Arens, J. (1997). Winning hearts and minds: Foreign aid and militarisation in the Chittagong hill tracts. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 32(29), 1811-1819.
- Arens, J., & Chakma, K. N. (2010). Indigenous struggle in CHT. In N. Mohaiemen (Ed.), *Between ashes and hope: Chittagong hill tracts in the blind spot of Bangladesh nationalism* (pp. 23-25). Dhaka: Drishtipat Writers' Collective.
- Arnstein, S. R. (1969). A ladder of citizen participation. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 35(4), 216-224.
- Aron, J. (2000). Growth and institutions: A review of the evidence. *The World Bank Research Observer*, 15(1), 99-135.
- Arrow, K. J. (2000). Observations on social capital. In D. Partha & S. Ismail (Eds.), *Social capital: A multifaceted perspective* (pp. 3-5). Washington DC.: The World Bank.
- Ashley, C. (2000). *The impacts of tourism on rural livelihoods: Namibia's experience*. ODI Working Paper No. 128. London: Overseas Development Institute (ODI).

- Ashley, C., Boyd, C., & Goodwin, H. (2000). Pro-poor tourism: Putting poverty at the heart of the tourism agenda. In J. Farrington (Ed.), *Natural resource perspectives, Number 51*. London, UK: Overseas Development Institute.
- Asian Development Bank. (1998). *The bank's policy on indigenous peoples*. Retrieved from <https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/institutional-document/33441/files/policy-indigenous-peoples.pdf>
- Ayikoru, M. (2009). Epistemology, ontology and tourism. In J. Tribe (Ed.), *Philosophical issues in tourism* (pp. 62-80). Bristol: Channel View Publications.
- Babbie, R. (2013). *The basics of social research* (6th ed.). Belmont, CA: Cengage Learning.
- Bailey, C., White, C., & Pain, R. (1999). Evaluating qualitative research: Dealing with the tension between 'science' and 'creativity'. *Area*, 31(2), 169-178.
- Bandarban Hill District Administration. (n. d.). *Amazing Bandarban*. Retrieved from <http://www.bandarban.gov.bd/site/page/98633e18-1b62-47f7-9d4b-cc05fcaa1b5e>
- Bangladesh Awami League. (2016, May 8). *HPM Sheikh Hasina in the inauguration ceremony of Chittagong hill tracts Complex* [Video File]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7LkCWv6jnd8&t=143s>
- Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics. (2013a). *District Statistics 2011: Bandarban*. Parishankhan Bhaban, Dhaka: Statistics and Informatics Division, Ministry of Planning, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.
- Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics. (2013b). *District Statistics 2011: Khagrachari*. Parishankhan Bhaban, Dhaka: Statistics and Informatics Division, Ministry of Planning, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.
- Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics. (2013c). *District Statistics 2011: Rangamati*. Parishankhan Bhaban, Dhaka: Statistics and Informatics Division, Ministry of Planning, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.
- Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics. (2013d). *Economic Census 2013: District Report, Bandarban*. Parishankhan Bhaban, Dhaka: Statistics and Informatics Division, Ministry of Planning, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.
- Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics. (n. d.). District wise population as on population census 2001. Available from <http://203.112.218.65:8008/DistrictWisePopulation.aspx?MenuKey=147&distName=t>
- Bangladesh Ethnobotany Online Database. (n. d.). Indigenous Communities of Bangladesh. Retrieved from <http://www.ebbd.info/indigenous-communities.html>
- Bangladesh Sangbad Sangstha. (2016, October 6). JS passes CHT Land Dispute Resolution Commission (amendment) Bill-2016 *New Age*. Retrieved from <http://www.newagebd.net/article/380/js-passes-cht-land-dispute-resolution-commission-amendment-bill-2016>
- Banglapedia. (2014, June 30a). Bandarban Sadar Upazila. Retrieved from <http://en.banglapedia.org/index.php?title=File:BandarbanSadarUpazila.jpg>
- Banglapedia. (2014, June 30b). Rangamati Sadar Upazila. Retrieved from <http://en.banglapedia.org/index.php?title=File:RangamatiSadarUpazila.jpg>
- Barkat, A. (2015). *Political economy of unpeopling of indigenous peoples: The case of Bangladesh*. Paper presented at the 19th Biennial Conference, Bangladesh Economic Association.
- Barnes-Mauthe, M., Arita, S., Allen, S. D., Gray, S. A., & Leung, P. (2013). The influence of ethnic diversity on social network structure in a common-pool resource system: Implications for collaborative management. *Ecology and Society*, 18(1), 23. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.5751/ES-05295-180123>
- Barriball, K. L., & While, A. (1994). Collecting Data using a semi-structured interview: A discussion paper. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 19(2), 328-335.

- Bateson, G. (1972). *Steps to an ecology of mind: Collected essays in anthropology, psychiatry, evolution, and epistemology*. San Francisco, CA: Chandler Publishing.
- Baxter, P., & Jack, S. (2008). Qualitative case study methodology: Study design and implementation for novice researchers. *The Qualitative Report*, 13(4), 544-559.
- BBC News Bangla. (2016, November 3). *Bangladesher parbotto elakai bhumi birodh kotota prokot?* [How severe the land conflicts in CHT region?] [Video File]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tUXgDUBxBgc>
- Becken, S., & Miller, G. (2016). *Global Sustainable Tourism Dashboard* (Griffith Institute for Tourism Research Report No 11). Retrieved from https://www.griffith.edu.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0008/898181/Dashboard-Background-report.pdf:
- Beeton, S. (2005). The case study in tourism research: A multi-method case study approach. In B. W. Ritchie, P. Burns, & C. Palmer (Eds.), *Tourism research methods: Integrating theory with practice* (pp. 37-48). Wallingford, Oxfordshire, UK: CABI Publishing.
- Bello, F. G., Carr, N., & Lovelock, B. (2016). Community participation framework for protected area-based tourism planning. *Tourism Planning & Development*, 13(4), 469-485.
- Benbasat, I., Goldstein, D. K., & Mead, M. (1987). The case research strategy in studies of information systems. *MIS Quarterly*, 11(3), 369-386.
- Bennett, N., Lemelin, R. H., Koster, R., & Budke, I. (2012). A capital assets framework for appraising and building capacity for tourism development in aboriginal protected area gateway communities. *Tourism Management*, 33(4), 752-766.
- Berg, B. L., & Lune, H. (2011). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences* (8th ed.). Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.
- Berke, P. R. (2002). Does sustainable development offer a new direction for planning? Challenges for the twenty-first century. *Journal of Planning Literature*, 17(1), 21-36.
- Berkes, F. (2009). Evolution of co-management: Role of knowledge generation, bridging organizations and social learning. *Journal of Environmental Management*, 90(5), 1692-1702. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvman.2008.12.001>
- Berkes, F. (2010). Devolution of environment and resources governance: trends and future. *Environmental Conservation*, 37(4), 489-500. doi:10.1017/S037689291000072X
- Berkes, F., George, P. J., & Preston, R. J. (1991). *Co-management: The evolution of the theory and practice of joint administration of living resources*. TASO Research Report, Second Series, No. 1. Hamilton: McMaster University. Retrieved from [http://dlc.dlib.indiana.edu/dlc/bitstream/handle/10535/1506/Co-Management The Evolution in Theory and Practice of the Joint Administration of Living Resources.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y](http://dlc.dlib.indiana.edu/dlc/bitstream/handle/10535/1506/Co-Management%20The%20Evolution%20in%20Theory%20and%20Practice%20of%20the%20Joint%20Administration%20of%20Living%20Resources.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y).
- Berno, T., & Bricker, K. (2001). Sustainable tourism development: The long road from theory to practice. *International Journal of Economic Development*, 3(3), 1-18.
- Biernacki, P., & Waldorf, D. (1981). Snowball sampling: Problems and techniques of chain referral sampling. *Sociological Methods & Research*, 10(2), 141-163.
- Biswas, G., & Chowdhury, A. M. (2011). *Lessons learned in protected area co-management: Co-management Organization (CMO) Perspective*. First Forestry Congress Book Proceedings (pp. 118-122): Nishorgo Co-management Network. Retrieved from <http://nishorgo.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/7-6-4-First-Forestry-Congress-Book-Proceedings.pdf>.
- Black, J. A., & Champion, D. J. (1976). *Methods and issues in social research*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

- Blumer, H. (1956). Sociological analysis and the "variable". *American Sociological Review*, 21(6), 683-690.
- Bodin, Ö., & Crona, B. I. (2009). The role of social networks in natural resource governance: What relational patterns make a difference? *Global Environmental Change*, 19(3), 366-374. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2009.05.002>
- Bodin, Ö., & Prell, C. (Eds.). (2011). *Social networks and natural resource management: Uncovering the social fabric of environmental governance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511894985>.
- Boggia, A., & Cortina, C. (2010). Measuring sustainable development using a multi-criteria model: A case study. *Journal of Environmental Management*, 91(11), 2301-2306. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvman.2010.06.009>
- Borrini-Feyerabend, G., Farvar, M. T., Nguingiri, J. C., & Ndangang, V. A. (2000). *Co-management of natural resources: Organising, negotiating and learning-by-doing*. Heidelberg (Germany): GTZ and IUCN, Kasperek Verlag.
- Bosworth, G., & Turner, R. (2018). Interrogating the meaning of a rural business through a rural capitals framework. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 60, 1-10. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2018.02.002>
- Bouma, G. D. (1996). *The research process* (3rd ed.). Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241-258). New York: Greenwood Press.
- Bowcutt, F. (1999). Ecological restoration and local communities: a case study from Sinkyone Wilderness State Park, Mendocino County, California. *Human Ecology*, 27(2), 359-368.
- Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document analysis as a qualitative research method. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 9(2), 27-40.
- Bramwell, B., & Lane, B. (2011). Critical research on the governance of tourism and sustainability. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 19(4-5), 411-421. doi:dx.doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2011.580586
- Bramwell, B., & Sharman, A. (1999). Collaboration in local tourism policymaking. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26(2), 392-415.
- Brandsen, T., & Pestoff, V. (2006). Co-production, the third sector and the delivery of public services. *Public Management Review*, 8(4), 493-501. doi:10.1080/14719030601022874
- Brewer, J., & Hunter, A. (2006). *Foundations of multimethod research: Synthesizing styles*. London: Sage.
- Brundtland, G. H. (1987). Our common future—Call for action. *Environmental Conservation*, 14(4), 291-294.
- Bryman, A. (2015). *Social research methods*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Buckley, R. (2012). Sustainable tourism: Research and reality. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39(2), 528-546.
- Burawoy, M. (1998). The extended case method. *Sociological Theory*, 16(1), 4-33.
- Burns, P. M. (2004). Tourism planning: A third way? *Annals of Tourism Research*, 31(1), 24-43. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2003.08.001>
- Butler, R. W. (1980). The concept of a tourist area cycle of evolution: Implications for management of resources. *The Canadian Geographer/Le Géographe canadien*, 24(1), 5-12. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-0064.1980.tb00970.x>
- Byrd, E. T. (2007). Stakeholders in sustainable tourism development and their roles: Applying stakeholder theory to sustainable tourism development. *Tourism Review*, 62(2), 6-13. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1108/16605370780000309>

- Caffyn, A., & Jobbins, G. (2003). Governance capacity and stakeholder interactions in the development and management of coastal tourism: Examples from Morocco and Tunisia. *Journal of Sustainable tourism*, 11(2-3), 224-245.
- Cahn, M. (2002). *Sustainable livelihoods approach: Concept and practice*. Paper presented at the 3rd Biennial Conference of the International Development Studies Network of Aotearoa New Zealand, Massey University.
- Çakir, O., Evern, S., Tören, E., & Kozak, N. (2018). Utilizing the sustainable livelihoods approach to evaluate tourism development from the rural host communities' point of view: The case of cappadocia (Turkey). *GeoJournal of Tourism and Geosites*, 21(1), 7-25.
- Calantone, R. J., di Benedetto, A., & Bojanic, D. C. (1988). Multimethod forecasts for tourism analysis. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 15(3), 387-406. doi:[http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383\(88\)90029-1](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383(88)90029-1)
- Camagni, R., & Capello, R. (2013). Regional Competitiveness and Territorial Capital: A Conceptual Approach and Empirical Evidence from the European Union. *Regional Studies*, 47(9), 1383-1402. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/00343404.2012.681640>
- Cameron, A. M., Memon, A., Simmons, D. G., & Fairweather, J. R. (2001). Evolving role of local government in promoting sustainable tourism development on the West Coast. *Tourism Recreation Research and Education Centre (Report No. 28/2001)*, Lincoln, NZ: Lincoln University.
- Camfield, L., Crivello, G., & Woodhead, M. (2009). Wellbeing research in developing countries: Reviewing the role of qualitative methods. *Social Indicators Research*, 90(1), 5-31.
- Carey, M. (1994). The Group Effect in Focus Groups: Planning, implementing, and interpreting focus group research. In J. Morse (Ed.), *Critical issues in qualitative research methods* (pp. 225-241). London: Sage Publications.
- Carlsson, L., & Berkes, F. (2005). Co-management: Concepts and methodological implications. *Journal of Environmental Management*, 75(1), 65-76. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvman.2004.11.008>
- Castiglione, D., Van Deth, J. W., & Wolleb, G. (Eds.). (2008). *The handbook of social capital*. NY: Oxford University Press Inc.
- Castle, E. N. (1998). A conceptual framework for the study of rural places. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 80(3), 621-631. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/1244569>
- Castro, A. P., & Nielsen, E. (2001). Indigenous people and co-management: Implications for conflict management. *Environmental Science & Policy*, 4(4-5), 229-239. doi:[http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S1462-9011\(01\)00022-3](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S1462-9011(01)00022-3)
- Chakma, A. K. (2010). Land survey for conflict resolution. In N. Mohaiemen (Ed.), *Between ashes and hope: Chittagong hill tracts in the blind spot of Bangladesh nationalism* (pp. 112-113). Dhaka: Drishtipat Writers' Collective.
- Chakma, A. S. (Ed.) (2010). *Village common forests in the Chittagong Hill Tracts: Indigenous innovation in natural resource management*. Rangamati: Taungya.
- Chakma, B. (2012). Bound to be failed?: The 1997 Chittagong hill tracts 'peace accord'. In N. Uddin (Ed.), *Politics of peace: A case of the Chittagong hill tracts in Bangladesh* (pp. 121-142). Dhaka: Institute of Culture & Development Research (ICDR).
- Chakma, G. K. (2014). Land rights and land alienation of indigenous peoples. In M. S. Chowdhury (Ed.), *Survival under threat: Human rights situation of indigenous peoples in Bangladesh* (pp. 61-76). Chiang Mai: Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact (AIPP).
- Chakma, M. K., & Chakma, S. (2016). Adivasi oddhushito onchale parjatan o unnoyon: Adibasider ongshidaritto o sorkarer vumika [Tourism and development in indigenous inhabited region: Indigenous partnership and the role of government]. In A. Chakma (Ed.), *Khoi Sha: Boishuk-Sangrai-Bizu-Bishu Collections'16* (pp. 28-44). Bonorupa, Rangamati: Jum Aesthetic Council (JAC).

- Chambers, D. (2007). Interrogating the 'critical' in critical approaches to tourism research. In A. Pritchard & N. Morgan (Eds.), *The critical turn in tourism studies: Innovative research methodologies* (pp. 105-120). Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Chambers, R., & Conway, G. (1992). *Sustainable rural livelihoods: Practical concepts for the 21st century*. (No. IDS Discussion Paper 296). Brighton: Institute of Development Studies (IDS). Retrieved from <https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/123456789/775/Dp296.pdf?sequence=1>.
- Cho, J., & Trent, A. (2006). Validity in qualitative research revisited. *Qualitative Research*, 6(3), 319-340.
- Choi, H. C., & Sirakaya, E. (2006). Sustainability indicators for managing community tourism. *Tourism Management*, 27(6), 1274-1289.
- Chok, S., Macbeth, J., & Warren, C. (2007). Tourism as a tool for poverty alleviation: A critical analysis of 'pro-poor tourism' and implications for sustainability. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2-3), 144-165.
- Chopra, K. (2002). Social capital and development processes: Role of formal and informal institutions. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 2911-2916.
- Chowdhury, K. (2008). Politics of identities and resources in Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh: Ethnonationalism and/or indigenous identity. *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 36(1), 57-78.
- Chowdhury, M. (2006). The resistance movement in the Chittagong Hill Tracts: Global and regional connections. *Asian Affairs*, 28(4), 36-51.
- Chowdhury, M. S., & Chakma, P. (Eds.). (2016). *Human rights report 2015 on indigenous peoples in Bangladesh*. Dhaka: Kapaeeng Foundation.
- Clarkson, M. E. (1995). A stakeholder framework for analyzing and evaluating corporate social performance. *Academy of Management Review*, 20(1), 92-117.
- Cohen, N., & Arieli, T. (2011). Field research in conflict environments: Methodological challenges and snowball sampling. *Journal of Peace Research*, 48(4), 423-435.
- Coleman, J. S. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, S95-S120.
- Collins, E. M., & Kearins, K. (2010). Delivering on sustainability's global and local orientation. *Academy of Management Learning & Education*, 9(3), 499-506.
- Conley, A., & Moote, M. A. (2003). Evaluating collaborative natural resource management. *Society & Natural Resources*, 16(5), 371-386. doi:10.1080/08941920309181
- Conroy, C., & Litvinoff, M. (1988). *The greening of aid: Sustainable livelihoods in practice*. London: Earthscan Publications Limited.
- Coombes, B. L., & Hill, S. (2005). "Na whenua, na Tuhoe. Ko D.o.C. te partner"—prospects for comanagement of Te Urewera national park. *Society & Natural Resources*, 18(2), 135-152. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08941920590894516>
- Cooper, C. (1995). Strategic planning for sustainable tourism: The case of the offshore islands of the UK. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 3(4), 191-209.
- Cooper, C. (2011) Tourism Area Life Cycle, Butler RW Emeritus Professor Strathclyde Business School, University of Strathclyde. *Contemporary Tourism Reviews*. Woodeaton, Oxford: Goodfellow Publishers Limited.
- Cooper, C., Fletcher, J., Gilbert, D., & Wanhill, S. (1993). *Tourism: Principles and practices*. London: Pitman.
- Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research*. London: Sage.

- Corntassel, J. (2003). Who is indigenous? 'Peoplehood' and ethnonationalist approaches to rearticulating indigenous identity. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 9(1), 75-100. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13537110412331301365>
- Costa, C. (2001). An emerging tourism planning paradigm? A comparative analysis between town and tourism planning. *The International Journal of Tourism Research*, 3(6), 425-441.
- Costanza, R. (2008). Stewardship for a "full" world. *Current History*, 107(705), 30-35.
- Costanza, R., Cumberland, J. H., Daly, H., Goodland, R., Norgaard, R. B., Kubiszewski, I., & Franco, C. (2014). *An introduction to ecological economics*. NW: CRC Press.
- Costanza, R., Fisher, B., Ali, S., Beer, C., Bond, L., Boumans, R., . . . Farley, J. (2007). Quality of life: An approach integrating opportunities, human needs, and subjective well-being. *Ecological Economics*, 61(2), 267-276.
- Cowen, M., & Shenton, R. W. (1996). *Doctrines of development*. London: Routledge.
- Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Qualitative enquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Creswell, J. W., & Miller, D. L. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. *Theory into Practice*, 39(3), 124-130.
- Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2017). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (4th ed.). London: Sage Publications.
- Crotty, M. (1998). *The foundations of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process*. London: Sage.
- Dalziel, P., Saunders, C., Fyfe, R., & Newton, B. (2009). Sustainable development and cultural capital. *Official Statistics Research Series*, 5, Wellington: Statistics New Zealand.
- Dann, G. (1999). Theoretical issues for tourism's future development: Identifying the agenda. In D. G. Pearce & R. Butler (Eds.), *Contemporary Issues in Tourism Development* (pp. 13-30). London: Routledge.
- Darbellay, F., & Stock, M. (2012). Tourism as complex interdisciplinary research object. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39(1), 441-458. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2011.07.002>
- David, P. A. (1994). Why are institutions the 'carriers of history'? Path dependence and the evolution of conventions, organizations and institutions. *Structural Change and Economic Dynamics*, 5(2), 205-220.
- Davidson, C. (2009). Transcription: Imperatives for qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 8(2), 35-52.
- De Lopez, T. T. (2001). Stakeholder Management for Conservation Projects: A Case Study of Ream National Park, Cambodia. *Environmental Management*, 28(1), 47-60.
- DeCosse, P. J., Mazumder, A. H., Sharma, R. A., Ahmad, I. U., & Thompson, P. M. (2012). Introduction. In P. J. DeCosse, P. M. Thompson, I. U. Ahmad, R. A. Sharma, & A. H. Mazumder (Eds.), *Protected area co-management where people and poverty intersect: Lessons from Nishorgo in Bangladesh* (pp. 3-16). Dhaka, Bangladesh: United States Agency for International Development (USAID).
- DeCosse, P. J., Sharma, R. A., Dutta, U., & Thompson, P. M. (2012). Development of the collaborative governance model. In P. J. DeCosse, P. M. Thompson, I. U. Ahmad, R. A. Sharma, & A. H. Mazumder (Eds.), *Protected area co-management where people and poverty intersect: Lessons from Nishorgo in Bangladesh* (pp. 53-71). Dhaka, Bangladesh: United States Agency for International Development (USAID).
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Introduction: Entering the field of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 1-7). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2002). *The qualitative inquiry reader*. London: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2003). *Collection and interpreting qualitative materials* (2nd ed.). USA: Sage Publications.

- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research*. London: Sage Publications.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2011). *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research*. London: Sage Publications.
- Dev, O. P., Yadav, N. P., Springate-Baginski, O., & Soussan, J. (2003). Impacts of community forestry on livelihoods in the middle hills of Nepal. *Journal of Forest and Livelihood*, 3(1), 64-77.
- Dewan, T. (2014). *Study report on livelihood opportunities in the CHT and jum cultivation*. Kalyanpur, Rangamati: Taungya.
- DFID. (1999). *Sustainable livelihoods guidance sheets*. London: Department for International Development (DFID).
- Dhamai, B. M. (2014). An overview of indigenous peoples in Bangladesh. In M. S. Chowdhury (Ed.), *Survival under threat: Human rights situation of indigenous peoples in Bangladesh* (pp. 10-26). Chiang Mai: Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact (AIPP).
- Dictaan-Bang-oa, E. (2004). In search for peace in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh. In C. K. Roy, V. Tauli-Corpuz, & A. Romero-Medina (Eds.), *Beyond the Silencing of the Guns*. Philippines: Tebtebba Foundation. Retrieved from <http://mddconsortium.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Roy-2004-Chapter-8-Gold-Mining-and-Indigenous-conflict-Amarakaeri-in-Madre-de-Dios.pdf#page=25>.
- Dietz, S., & Neumayer, E. (2007). Weak and strong sustainability in the SEEA: Concepts and measurement. *Ecological Economics*, 61(4), 617-626.
- Dodge, R., Daly, A. P., Huyton, J., & Sanders, L. D. (2012). The challenge of defining wellbeing. *International Journal of Wellbeing*, 2(3), 222-235. doi:10.5502/ijw.v2i3.4
- Donaldson, T., & Preston, L. E. (1995). The stakeholder theory of the corporation: Concepts, evidence, and implications. *Academy of Management Review*, 20(1), 65-91.
- Driscoll, C., & Starik, M. (2004). The primordial stakeholder: Advancing the conceptual consideration of stakeholder status for the natural environment. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 49(1), 55-73.
- Drost, E. A. (2011). Validity and reliability in social science research. *Education Research and Perspectives*, 38(1), 105-123.
- Durlauf, S., & Blume, L. (2008). *The new Palgrave dictionary of economics* (2nd ed.). Hampshire, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dusek, G., Yurova, Y., & Ruppel, C. P. (2015). Using social media and targeted snowball sampling to survey a hard-to-reach population: A case study. *International Journal of Doctoral Studies*, 10.
- Dyer, P., Aberdeen, L., & Schuler, S. (2003). Tourism impacts on an Australian indigenous community: A Djabugay case study. *Tourism Management*, 24(1), 83-95. doi:[https://doi.org/10.1016/S0261-5177\(02\)00049-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0261-5177(02)00049-3)
- Dyer, W. G., & Wilkins, A. L. (1991). Better stories, not better constructs, to generate better theory: A rejoinder to Eisenhardt. *Academy of Management Review*, 16(3), 613-619.
- Easterly, W. (2001). Can institutions resolve ethnic conflict? *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 49(4), 687-706.
- Easterly, W., & Levine, R. (1997). Africa's growth tragedy: Policies and ethnic divisions. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 112(4), 1203-1250.
- Edwards, M. (2002). Public sector governance—future issues for Australia. *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 61(2), 51-61.
- Eisenhardt, K. M., & Graebner, M. E. (2007). Theory building from cases: Opportunities and challenges. *Academy of Management Journal*, 50(1), 25-32.
- Elliott, J. A. (2006). *An introduction to sustainable development*. NY: Routledge.

- Ellis, F. (2000). *Rural livelihoods and diversity in developing countries*. Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Ellis, S., & Sheridan, L. (2014). A critical reflection on the role of stakeholders in sustainable tourism development in least-developed countries. *Tourism Planning & Development*, 11(4), 467-471.
- Emerging Credit Rating Limited. (2016). *Bangladesh budget analysis and major economic challenges for FY17*. Retrieved from <http://emergingrating.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Budget-Analysis-FY17.pdf>
- Emmison, M., Smith, P., & Mayall, M. (2012). *Researching the visual* (2nd ed.). London: Sage Publications.
- Etzioni, A. (1964). *Modern organizations*. Englewood CliffsCliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Faiz, S., & Mohaiemen, N. (2010). Peace in our time? (1715-1997). In N. Mohaiemen (Ed.), *Between ashes and hope: Chittagong hill tracts in the blind spot of Bangladesh nationalism* (pp. 26-30). Dhaka: Drishtipat Writers' Collective.
- Farrell, B. H., & Twining-Ward, L. (2004). Reconceptualizing tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 31(2), 274-295. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2003.12.002>
- Feagin, J. R., Orum, A. M., & Sjoberg, G. (Eds.). (1991). *A case for the case study*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press.
- Fennell, D., Plummer, R., & Marschke, M. (2008). Is adaptive co-management ethical? *Journal of Environmental Management*, 88(1), 62-75.
- Fern, E. F. (2001). *Advanced focus group research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Filstead, W. J. (1979). Qualitative methods - a needed perspective in evaluation research. In T. D. Cook & C. S. Reichardt (Eds.), *Qualitative and quantitative methods in evaluation research* (pp. 33-48). London: Sage.
- Flora, C. B., Flora, J., & Fey, S. (2004). *Rural communities: Legacy and change* (2nd ed.). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Flora, C. B., Flora, J. L., & Gasteyer, S. P. (2015). *Rural communities: Legacy and change* (5th ed.). NY: Routledge.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five misunderstandings about case-study research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(2), 219-245.
- Forest Department. (2018, July 5). Co-management. Retrieved from <http://www.bforest.gov.bd/site/page/02256b12-c2ce-4c1a-8774-475e57d65bb6/Co-management>
- Forest Department. (2018, June 28). National and sub-national forest inventory. Retrieved from <http://www.bforest.gov.bd/site/page/1b2664a5-b0a6-445b-9d56-c4a85b8434e2/National-and-sub-national-Forest-inventory>
- Freeman, R. E. (2010). *Strategic management: A stakeholder approach*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Gall, M., Gall, J., & Borg, W. (2003). *Educational research*. Boston: Pearson Education, Inc.
- Gans, H. J. (1982). The participant observer as a human being: Observations on the personal aspects of fieldwork. In R. G. Burgess (Ed.), *Field research: A sourcebook and field manual* (pp. 53-61). Boston, MA: Allen & Unwin.
- Gerharz, E. (2015). What is in a name? Indigenous identity and the politics of denial in Bangladesh. *South Asia Chronicle*, 4, 115-137.
- Getz, D. (1983). Capacity to absorb tourism: Concepts and implications for strategic planning. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 10(2), 239-263. doi:[https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383\(83\)90028-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383(83)90028-2)
- Getz, D. (1986). Models in tourism planning: Towards integration of theory and practice. *Tourism Management*, 7(1), 21-32. doi:[https://doi.org/10.1016/0261-5177\(86\)90054-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/0261-5177(86)90054-3)
- Getz, D. (1987). *Tourism planning and research: Traditions, models and futures*. Paper presented at the Australian Travel Research Workshop, Bunbury, Western Australia.

- Gilmour, D. (2016). *Forty years of community-based forestry: A review of its extent and effectiveness*. Rome: Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO).
- Godfrey, K. B. (1998). Attitudes towards 'sustainable tourism' in the UK: A view from local government. *Tourism Management*, 19(3), 213-224.
- Goeldner, C. R., & Ritchie, J. B. (2009). *Tourism principles, practices, philosophies*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.
- Goetze, T. C. (2004). *Sharing the Canadian experience with co-management: Ideas, examples and lessons for communities in developing areas*. Working Paper 15, Rural Poverty and Environment Working Paper Series. Ottawa, ON: International Development Research Centre. Retrieved from <https://idl-bnc-idrc.dspacedirect.org/bitstream/handle/10625/31599/122071.pdf?sequence=1>.
- Golafshani, N. (2003). Understanding reliability and validity in qualitative research. *The Qualitative Report*, 8(4), 597-606.
- Goodman, L. A. (2011). Comment: On respondent-driven sampling and snowball sampling in hard-to-reach populations and snowball sampling not in hard-to-reach populations. *Sociological Methodology*, 41(1), 347-353.
- Graham, J., Amos, B., & Plumptre, T. (2003). Principles for good governance in the 21st century. *Policy Brief*, 15, 1-6.
- Gray, B. (1989). *Collaborating: Finding common ground for multiparty problems*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Gray, R. A. (1994). Genocide in the Chittagong hill tracts of Bangladesh. *Reference Services Review*, 22(4), 59-79.
- Green, P. (Ed.) (2002). *Slices of life: Qualitative research snapshots*. Melbourne: RMIT Publishing.
- Greenbaum, T. L. (1998). *The handbook for focus group research*. London: Sage Publications.
- Grootaert, C., & Van Bastelaer, T. (2001). *Understanding and measuring social capital: A synthesis of findings and recommendations from the social capital initiative* (Vol. 24): World Bank, Social Development Family, Environmentally and Socially Sustainable Development Network.
- Grootaert, C., & Van Bastelaer, T. (2002). Understanding and measuring Social Capital. *Analysis*, 1-320.
- Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 105-117). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Gunn, C. A., & Var, T. (2002). *Tourism planning: Basics, concepts, cases* (4th ed.). NY: Taylor & Francis.
- Hall, C. M. (2000). *Tourism planning: Policies, processes and relationships*. Harlow: Pearson Education.
- Haque, M. (2001). Chittagong hill tracts of Bangladesh: Physical environment. In Q. I. Chowdhury (Ed.), *Chittagong hill tracts: State of environment* (pp. 45-58). Dhaka: Forum of Environmental Journalists of Bangladesh (FEJB).
- Hardy, A., & Beeton, R. J. S. (2001). Sustainable tourism or maintainable tourism: Managing resources for more than average outcomes. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 9(3), 168-192. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09669580108667397>
- Hardy, A., Beeton, R. J. S., & Pearson, L. (2002). Sustainable tourism: An overview of the concept and its position in relation to conceptualisations of tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 10(6), 475-496. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09669580208667183>
- Hassan, A., & Burns, P. (2014). Tourism policies of Bangladesh—A contextual analysis. *Tourism Planning & Development*, 11(4), 463-466. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/21568316.2013.874366>
- Healey, M. J., & Ilbery, B. W. (1990). *Location and change: Perspectives on economic geography*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press Oxford.

- Heckathorn, D. D. (2011). Comment: Snowball versus respondent-driven sampling. *Sociological Methodology*, 41(1), 355-366.
- Henning, E., Van Rensburg, W., & Smit, B. (2004). *Finding your way in qualitative research*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Hermans, F. L. P., Haarmann, W. M. F., & Dagevos, J. F. L. M. M. (2011). Evaluation of stakeholder participation in monitoring regional sustainable development. *Regional Environmental Change*, 11(4), 805-815. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10113-011-0216-y>
- Hess, J. M. (1968). Group interviewing. *1968 ACR Fall Conference Proceedings*, Robert L. King (Ed.), Chicago: American Marketing Association, 193-196.
- Hettne, B. (2009). *Thinking about development*. NY: Zed Books.
- Hibbard, M., & Lurie, S. (2000). Saving land but losing ground challenges to community planning in the era of participation. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 20(2), 187-195.
- Holliday, A. (2007). *Doing and writing qualitative research* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Hollinshead, K. (2006). The shift to constructivism in social inquiry: Some pointers for tourism studies. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 31(2), 43-58.
- Hsieh, H.-F., & Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 15(9), 1277-1288.
- Huda, K. S. (2008). Co-management of protected areas in Bangladesh: A strategy for establishing an institutional framework. *Nishorgo Support Project, Bangladesh Forest Department (BFD), Ministry of Environment and Forest, Government of Bangladesh*. Retrieved from <http://nishorgo.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/1-6-Co-Mgmt-of-PAs-in-Bangladesh-Inst.framework.pdf>
- Hunt, L., & Haider, W. (2001). Fair and effective decision making in forest management planning. *Society & Natural Resources*, 14(10), 873-887. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/089419201753242788>
- Hunter, C. (1995). On the need to re-conceptualise sustainable tourism development. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 3(3), 155-165. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09669589509510720>
- Hunter, C. (2002). Aspects of the sustainable tourism debate from a natural resources perspective. In R. Harris, T. Griffin, & P. Williams (Eds.), *Sustainable tourism: A global perspective* (pp. 3-24). Great Britain: Elsevier Science Ltd.
- Ifejika Speranza, C., Wiesmann, U., & Rist, S. (2014). An indicator framework for assessing livelihood resilience in the context of social-ecological dynamics. *Global Environmental Change*, 28, 109-119. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2014.06.005>
- Ingham, B. (1993). The meaning of development: Interactions between “new” and “old” ideas. *World Development*, 21(11), 1803-1821. doi:[http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0305-750X\(93\)90084-M](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0305-750X(93)90084-M)
- Inskeep, E. (1994). *National and regional tourism planning: Methodologies and case studies*. London: Routledge.
- International Labour Organization. (2013). *Understanding the indigenous and tribal people convention, 1989 (No. 169): Handbook for ILO tripartite constituents*. Geneva: International Labour Standards Department, International Labour Organization. Retrieved from http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/@ed_norm/@normes/documents/publication/wcms_205225.pdf
- Islam, M. R. (2016, August 6). The restructuring of CHT land commission: An ice breaker? *The Daily Star*. Retrieved from <http://www.thedailystar.net/op-ed/politics/the-restructuring-cht-land-commission-ice-breaker-1265155>

- Islam, M. W., Ruhanen, L., & Ritchie, B. W. (2018). Adaptive co-management: A novel approach to tourism destination governance? *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management*, 37, 97-106. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhtm.2017.10.009>
- Islam, S. (2015, June 5). Tourism gets a boost: Budgetary allocation proposed to be double *The Daily Star*. Retrieved from <http://www.thedailystar.net/business/tourism-gets-boost-92515>
- Jabareen, Y. (2008). A new conceptual framework for sustainable development. *Environment, Development and Sustainability*, 10(2), 179-192.
- Jabareen, Y. (2009). Building a conceptual framework: Philosophy, definitions, and procedure. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 8(4), 49-62.
- Jafari, J. (1989). Sociocultural dimensions of tourism: An English language literature review. In J. Bystranowski (Ed.), *Tourism as a factor of change: A sociocultural study* (pp. 17-60). Vienna: Vienna Centre.
- Jahan, F. (2015). *Indigenous identity disputes in democratic Bangladesh*. Buenos Aires: Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO). Retrieved from <http://biblioteca.clacso.edu.ar/clacso/sur-sur/20150626092952/26.pdf>
- Jakariya, M., & Ahmed, M. F. (2013). Waterfalls and caves: The myth, reality and prospect in Bangladesh. *International Journal of Innovative Ideas*, 13(1), 20-30.
- Jamal, T., & Getz, D. (1995). Collaboration theory and community tourism planning. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 22(1), 186-204.
- Jamal, T., & Stronza, A. (2009). Collaboration theory and tourism practice in protected areas: stakeholders, structuring and sustainability. *Journal of Sustainable tourism*, 17(2), 169-189. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09669580802495741>
- Jamil, I., & Panday, P. K. (2012). The elusive peace accord in the Chittagong hill tracts of Bangladesh and the plight of the indigenous people. In N. Uddin (Ed.), *Politics of peace: A case of the Chittagong hill tracts in Bangladesh* (pp. 163-189). Dhaka: Institute of Culture & Development Research (ICDR).
- Janesick, V. J. (1998). The dance of qualitative research design: Metaphor, methodolatry, and meaning. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Strategies of qualitative inquiry* (pp. 35-55). Thousand Oaks: CA: Sage.
- Jayawardena, C. (2003). Sustainable tourism development in Canada: Practical challenges. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 15(7), 408-412.
- Jennings, G. (2010). *Tourism research* (2nd ed.). Milton, Australia: John Wiley and sons
- Jessop, B. (2008). *State power. A strategic-relational approach*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Johnson, R. B. (1997). Examining the validity structure of qualitative research. *Education*, 118(2), 282-292.
- Jones, T. M. (1995). Instrumental stakeholder theory: A synthesis of ethics and economics. *Academy of Management Review*, 20(2), 404-437.
- Joppe, M. (1996). Sustainable community tourism development revisited. *Tourism Management*, 17(7), 475-479.
- Junker, B. H. (1960). *Field work: An introduction to the social sciences*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kanemasu, Y. (2013). Social construction of touristic imagery: Case of Fiji. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 43, 456-481. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2013.06.004>
- Karim, M. R. (2014). Policy analysis of tourism development in Bangladesh compared with the Bhutanese policy. *Journal of Public Administration and Policy Research*, 6(6), 132-143.
- Keller, C. P. (1987). Stages of peripheral tourism development — Canada's northwest territories. *Tourism Management*, 8(1), 20-32. doi:[https://doi.org/10.1016/0261-5177\(87\)90036-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/0261-5177(87)90036-7)

- Kelly, I. (2012). Peace through tourism: An implementation guide. *The Journal of Tourism and Peace Research*, 2(2), 32-49.
- Kemp, R., Parto, S., & Gibson, R. B. (2005). Governance for sustainable development: moving from theory to practice. *International Journal of Sustainable Development*, 8(1-2), 12-30.
- Kent, N. J. (1993). *Hawaii: Islands under the influence*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Keogh, B. (1990). Public participation in community tourism planning. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 17(3), 449-465.
- Khondker, B. H., & Ahsan, T. (2015). *Background paper on tourism sector* [Background paper for the 7th Five Year Plan]. Planning Commission, Government of Bangladesh. Retrieved from http://www.plancomm.gov.bd/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/5_Prospect-and-Strategy-for-Tourism-Development.pdf
- Kim, Y. (2011). The pilot study in qualitative inquiry: Identifying issues and learning lessons for culturally competent research. *Qualitative Social Work*, 10(2), 190-206.
- Kitzinger, J. (1995). Qualitative research. Introducing focus groups. *BMJ: British Medical Journal*, 311, 299-302.
- Koutsouris, A. (2009). Social learning and sustainable tourism development; local quality conventions in tourism: A Greek case study. *Journal of Sustainable tourism*, 17(5), 567-581. doi:10.1080/09669580902855810
- Krueger, R. A., & Casey, M. A. (2014). *Focus Groups: A Practical Guide for Applied Research* (5th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Lambrick, F. H., Brown, N. D., Lawrence, A., & Bebbler, D. P. (2014). Effectiveness of community forestry in Prey Long Forest, Cambodia. *Conservation Biology*, 28(2), 372-381. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.1111/cobi.12217>
- Lange, P., Driessen, P. P. J., Sauer, A., Bornemann, B., & Burger, P. (2013). Governing towards sustainability—conceptualizing modes of governance. *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning*, 15(3), 403-425. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1523908X.2013.769414>
- Langseth, P. (2016). Measuring corruption. In S. Charles, S. Arthur, C. Carmel, & G. Fredrik (Eds.), *Measuring corruption* (pp. 7-44). Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- Laplaza, A., Tanaya, I. G. L. P., & Suwardji. (2017). Adaptive comanagement in developing world contexts: A systematic review of adaptive comanagement in Nusa Tenggara Barat, Indonesia. *Climate Risk Management*, 17, 64-77. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.crm.2017.04.003>
- Lee, T. H. (2013). Influence analysis of community resident support for sustainable tourism development. *Tourism Management*, 34, 37-46. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2012.03.007>
- Lehner, P. N. (1998). *Handbook of ethological methods*. NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Lehtonen, M. (2004). The environmental–social interface of sustainable development: capabilities, social capital, institutions. *Ecological Economics*, 49(2), 199-214.
- Levy, J. S. (2008). Case studies: Types, designs, and logics of inference. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 25(1), 1-18.
- Lewin, T. H. (1996). *Parbatya Chattagram o Lushai pahar* [Original title: A fly on the wheel]. (G. B. Chakma, Trans.). Rangamati: Upojatio Sangskritik Institute. (Original work published 1912).
- Lewin, T. H. (2015). *Chattagram er parbatya anchal o tar odhibashibrindo* [Original title: The hill tracts of Chittagong and the dwellers therein]. (H. Chakma, Trans.). Rangamati: Khudra Nri Goshthir Sangskritik Institute. (Original work published 1869).
- Lewins, F. W. (1992). *Social Science Methodology: A brief but critical introduction*. South Yarra: Macmillan Educational.
- Li, Y., & Hunter, C. (2015). Community involvement for sustainable heritage tourism: A conceptual model. *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development*, 5(3), 248-262.

- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (2000). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research (2nd ed.)* (pp. 163-188). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Liu, Z. (2003). Sustainable tourism development: A critique. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 11(6), 459-475.
- Macbeth, J., Carson, D., & Northcote, J. (2004). Social capital, tourism and regional development: SPCC as a basis for innovation and sustainability. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 7(6), 502-522.
- Mack, N., Woodsong, C., MacQueen, K. M., Guest, G., & Namey, E. (2005). *Qualitative research methods: A data collectors field guide*. Research Triangle Park, North Carolina: Family Health International.
- Mamun, S. (2016, August 1). Cabinet approves CHT land commission amendment act. *Dhaka Tribune*. Retrieved from <http://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/2016/08/01/cabinet-approves-cht-land-commission-amendment-act/>
- March, R., & Wilkinson, I. (2009). Conceptual tools for evaluating tourism partnerships. *Tourism Management*, 30(3), 455-462.
- Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (2010). *Designing qualitative research (5th ed.)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Mason, P. (2010). *Tourism impacts, planning and management*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- Mathur, V. N., Price, A. D. F., & Austin, S. (2008). Conceptualizing stakeholder engagement in the context of sustainability and its assessment. *Construction Management and Economics*, 26(6), 601-609. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01446190802061233>
- Maxwell, J. (1992). Understanding and validity in qualitative research. *Harvard Educational Review*, 62(3), 279-301.
- Maykut, P., & Morehouse, R. (1994). *Beginning qualitative research: A philosophic and practical guide*. The Falmer Press, London: Taylor & Francis Inc.
- Mayntz, R. (2003). From government to governance: Political steering in modern societies. *Summer Academy on IPP*, 7-11.
- Mazumder, R. K. (u. d.). Forest financing in Bangladesh. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/esa/forests/pdf/aheg/finance/Mazumder%20Bangladesh.pdf>
- McCay, B. J., & Acheson, J. M. (1987). Human ecology of the commons. In B. J. McCay & J. M. Acheson (Eds.), *The question of the commons* (pp. 1-34). Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press.
- McCay, B. J., & Jentoft, S. (1998). Market or community failure? Critical perspectives on common property research. *Human Organization*, 57(1), 21-29.
- McCool, S., Butler, R., Buckley, R., Weaver, D., & Wheeler, B. (2013). Is concept of sustainability utopian: Ideally perfect but impracticable? *Tourism Recreation Research*, 38(2), 213-242.
- McGehee, N. G., Lee, S., O'Bannon, T. L., & Perdue, R. R. (2010). Tourism-related social capital and its relationship with other forms of capital: An exploratory study. *Journal of Travel Research*, 49(4), 486-500.
- Mckercher, B., & Ritchie, M. (1997). The third tier of public sector tourism: A profile of local government tourism officers in Australia. *Journal of Travel Research*, 36(1), 66-72.
- McLafferty, I. (2004). Focus group interviews as a data collecting strategy. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 48(2), 187-194.
- Mey, W. (Ed.) (1984). *Genocide in the Chittagong hill tracts, Bangladesh*. Copenhagen: Document No. 51, IWGIA

- Mikulcak, F., Haider, J. L., Abson, D. J., Newig, J., & Fischer, J. (2015). Applying a capitals approach to understand rural development traps: A case study from post-socialist Romania. *Land Use Policy*, 43, 248-258. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2014.10.024>
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ministry of Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs. (2016). *Annual report 2014-15*. Retrieved from <https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BxclLptYi6jsS3o2cHJreidXa3M/view>
- Ministry of Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs. (2018). CHT at a glance. Retrieved from <http://mochta.portal.gov.bd/site/biography/ce3e959e-e77d-4f17-b610-185a29a8cf00>
- Ministry of Civil Aviation and Tourism. (2010). *National tourism policy-2010*. Retrieved from <http://www.tourismboard.gov.bd/en/planning-and-program/policy/>
- Ministry of Environment and Forests. (2017). *Protected area management rules, 2017* (Bangladesh Gazette: Additional Issue, November 12, 2017; Registered No. D A-1; S. R. O. No. 314-Act/2017; 16789-16804). Dhaka: Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. Retrieved from <http://bforest.portal.gov.bd/site/page/906b882c-360a-4b29-9cef-8ff2388ce0d0/Rules>
- Ministry of Finance. (u. d.). *Grant No. 49: 53-Ministry of Civil Aviation and Tourism, Medium terms expenditure*. Retrieved from https://mof.portal.gov.bd/sites/default/files/files/mof.portal.gov.bd/page/b618ee33_8727_40f6_b290_5d_bd3dd0090b/53_Civil_English.pdf
- Mishler, E. (1990). Validation in inquiry-guided research: The role of exemplars in narrative studies. *Harvard Educational Review*, 60(4), 415-443. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.17763/haer.60.4.n4405243p6635752>
- Mitchell, R. K., Agle, B. R., & Wood, D. J. (1997). Toward a theory of stakeholder identification and salience: Defining the principle of who and what really counts. *Academy of Management Review*, 22(4), 853-886.
- Mitchell, R. K., & Reid, D. G. (2001). Community integration: Island tourism in Peru. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 28(1), 113-139.
- Mitleton-Kelly, E., & Subhan, N. (2002). *Experiencing complexity thinking in practice (a narrative)*. London: LSE Complexity Research Programme.
- Mohaiemen, N. (Ed.) (2010). *Between ashes and hope: Chittagong hill tracts in the blind spot of Bangladesh nationalism*. Dhaka: Drishtipat Writers' Collective.
- Mohsin, A. (1997). *The politics of nationalism: The case of the Chittagong hill tracts, Bangladesh*. Dhaka: University Press Limited.
- Mohsin, A. (2003). *The Chittagong hill tracts of Bangladesh on the difficult road to peace*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc.
- Moneruzzaman, M. (2017, April 17). SC reinstates CHT Regulation 1900. *New Age*. Retrieved from <http://www.newagebd.net/article/13646/sc-reinstates-cht-regulation-1900>
- Morgan, D. L. (1996). Focus groups. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 22(1), 129-152.
- Moscardo, G. (2005). Peripheral tourism development: Challenges, issues and success factors. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 30(1), 27-43.
- Moscardo, G. (2011). Exploring social representations of tourism planning: Issues for governance. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 19(4-5), 423-436. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2011.558625>
- Moscardo, G. (2014). Tourism and community leadership in rural regions: Linking mobility, entrepreneurship, tourism development and community well-being. *Tourism Planning & Development*, 11(3), 354-370.

- Moscardo, G., Konovalov, E., Murphy, L., & McGehee, N. (2013). Mobilities, community well-being and sustainable tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 21(4), 532-556.
- Moscardo, G., & Murphy, L. (2014). There is no such thing as sustainable tourism: Re-conceptualizing tourism as a tool for sustainability. *Sustainability*, 6(5), 2538-2561.
- Moscardo, G., Schurmann, A., Konovalov, E., & McGehee, N. G. (2013). *Using tourism to build social capital in communities: New pathways to sustainable tourism futures*. Paper presented at the BEST EN Think Tank (13), pp. 219-236, BEST EN Think Tank XIII: engaging communities in sustainable tourism development, 23-26 June 2013, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.
- Mowforth, M., & Munt, I. (2015). *Tourism and sustainability: Development, globalisation and new tourism in the third world*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- Murdoch, J., & Abram, S. (1998). Defining the limits of community governance. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 14(1), 41-50. doi:[https://doi.org/10.1016/S0743-0167\(97\)00046-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0743-0167(97)00046-6)
- Murphy, K. (2012). The social pillar of sustainable development: A literature review and framework for policy analysis. *Sustainability: Science, Practice, & Policy*, 8(1). 15-29. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/15487733.2012.11908081>
- Murphy, P. E. (1998). Tourism and sustainable development. In W. F. Theobald (Ed.), *Global Tourism* (pp. 173-190). Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Murray, D. J. (2006). *A critical analysis of communicative planning theory as a theoretical underpinning for integrated resource and environmental management*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Griffith University, Queensland.
- Nepal, S., & Saarinen, J. (Eds.). (2016). *Political Ecology and Tourism*. NY: Routledge.
- Neuman, W. L. (2014). *Social work research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (7th ed.). Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.
- Nicodemus, D. M. (2004). Mobilizing information: Local news and the formation of a viable political community. *Political Communication*, 21(2), 161-176.
- Nikander, P. (2008). Working with transcripts and translated data. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 5(3), 225-231.
- North, D. C. (1990). *Institutions, institutional change, and economic performance*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- North, D. C. (1991). Institutions. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 5(1), 97-112.
- Ochieng Odhiambo, M. (2000). *Oxfam karamoja conflict study: A report*. Oxfam: Kampala.
- OECD. (2001a). *OECD territorial outlook: Territorial economy*. Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).
- OECD. (2001b). *The well-being of nations: The role of human and social capital*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD. (2015). Create your better life index [Wellbeing Indicators]. Retrieved from <http://www.oecdbetterlifeindex.org/>
- Okazaki, E. (2008). A community-based tourism model: Its conception and use. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 16(5), 511-529. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/09669580802159594>
- Ostrom, E. (2005). *Understanding institutional diversity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Ostrom, E., Gardner, R., & Walker, J. (1994). *Rules, games, and common-pool resources*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press.
- Pansiri, J. (2009). Evolution of a doctoral thesis research topic and methodology: A personal experience. *Tourism Management*, 30(1), 83-89. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2008.04.001>

- Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Paulson, D. D. (1998). Collaborative management of public rangeland in Wyoming: Lessons in co-Management. *The Professional Geographer*, 50(3), 301-315. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1111/0033-0124.00122>
- PCJSS. (2016). *A brief report on implementation of the CHT Accord*. Rangamati: Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti (PCJSS).
- Pennington-Gray, L., Schroeder, A., & Gale, T. (2014). Co-management as a framework for the development of a tourism area response network in the rural community of Curanipe, Maule region, Chile. *Tourism Planning & Development*, 11(3), 292-304. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/21568316.2014.890124>
- Pernecky, T. (2014). Realist and constructionist shades of grey. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 48, 295-298. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2014.06.011>
- Pfarr, C. (2001). Concepts of sustainable development, sustainable tourism, and ecotourism: Definitions, principles, and linkages. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 1(1), 68-71.
- Philp, M. (2016). Corruption definition and measurement. In S. Charles, S. Arthur, C. Carmel, & G. Fredrik (Eds.), *Measuring corruption* (pp. 45-56). Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- Pierre, J. (1999). Models of urban governance the institutional dimension of urban politics. *Urban Affairs Review*, 34(3), 372-396.
- Pierre, J., & Peters, G. B. (2005). *Governing complex societies: Trajectories and scenarios*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Pink, S. (2003). Interdisciplinary agendas in visual research: re-situating visual anthropology. *Visual Studies*, 18(2), 179-192.
- Pinkerton, E. W. (Ed.) (1989). *Cooperative management of local Fisheries, new directions for improved, management and community development*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Platenkamp, V., & Botterill, D. (2013). Critical realism, rationality and tourism knowledge. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 41, 110-129. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2012.12.006>
- Platje, J. (2008). "Institutional capital" as a factor of sustainable development - The importance of an institutional equilibrium. *Technological and Economic Development of Economy*, 14(2), 144-150. doi:<https://doi.org/10.3846/1392-8619.2008.14.144-150>
- Plummer, R., & Fennell, D. A. (2009). Managing protected areas for sustainable tourism: Prospects for adaptive co-management. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 17(2), 149-168.
- Plummer, R., & Fitzgibbon, J. (2004a). Co-management of natural resources: A proposed framework. *Environmental Management*, 33(6), 876-885.
- Plummer, R., & FitzGibbon, J. (2004b). Some observations on the terminology in co-operative environmental management. *Journal of Environmental Management*, 70(1), 63-72.
- Plummer, R., Kulczycki, C., & Stacey, C. (2006). How are we working together? A framework to assess collaborative arrangements in nature-based tourism. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 9(6), 499-515. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.2167/cit284.0>
- Pomeroy, R. S. (1998). A process for community-based fisheries co-management. *Naga, The ICLARM Quarterly*, 21(1), 71-75.
- Pomeroy, R. S., & Berkes, F. (1997). Two to tango: The role of government in fisheries co-management. *Marine Policy*, 21(5), 465-480. doi:[https://doi.org/10.1016/S0308-597X\(97\)00017-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0308-597X(97)00017-1)

- Prothom Alo Reporter. (2017, December 2). Pahare oiponibeshik shason beboatha cholche: Shantu Larma [Colonial rule is going on in the hills: Shantu Larma]. *The Daily Prothom Alo*. Retrieved from <http://www.prothomalo.com/bangladesh/article/1378066/%E0%A6%AA%E0%A6%BE%E0%A6%B9%E0%A6%BE%E0%A7%9C%E0%A7%87-%E0%A6%94%E0%A6%AA%E0%A6%A8%E0%A6%BF%E0%A6%AC%E0%A7%87%E0%A6%B6%E0%A6%BF%E0%A6%95-%E0%A6%B6%E0%A6%BE%E0%A6%B8%E0%A6%A8%E0%A6%AC%E0%A7%8D%E0%A6%AF%E0%A6%AC%E0%A6%B8%E0%A7%8D%E0%A6%A5%E0%A6%BE-%E0%A6%9A%E0%A6%B2%E0%A6%9B%E0%A7%87-%E0%A6%B8%E0%A6%A8%E0%A7%8D%E0%A6%A4%E0%A7%81-%E0%A6%B2%E0%A6%BE%E0%A6%B0%E0%A6%AE%E0%A6%BE>
- Prothom Alo Special Representative. (2016, August 1). Parbotto bhumi birodh nishpottite badha kathe [The barriers to CHT land disputes are going to be removed]. *The Daily Prothom Alo*. Retrieved from <http://www.prothomalo.com/bangladesh/article/932293/%E0%A6%AA%E0%A6%BE%E0%A6%B0%E0%A7%8D%E0%A6%AC%E0%A6%A4%E0%A7%8D%E0%A6%AF-%E0%A6%AD%E0%A7%82%E0%A6%AE%E0%A6%BF-%E0%A6%AC%E0%A6%BF%E0%A6%B0%E0%A7%87%E0%A6%BE%E0%A6%A7-%E0%A6%A8%E0%A6%BF%E0%A6%B7%E0%A7%8D%E0%A6%AA%E0%A6%A4%E0%A7%8D%E0%A6%A4%E0%A6%BF%E0%A6%A4%E0%A7%87-%E0%A6%AC%E0%A6%BE%E0%A6%A7%E0%A6%BE-%E0%A6%95%E0%A6%BE%E0%A6%9F%E0%A6%9B%E0%A7%87>
- Pulok, M. H., & Ahmed, M. U. (2017). Does corruption matter for economic development? Long run evidence from Bangladesh. *International Journal of Social Economics*, 44(3), 350-361.
- Putnam, R. D. (1993). *Making democracy work: Civic traditions in modern Italy*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. NY: Simon and Schuster.
- Rabiee, F. (2004). Focus-group interview and data analysis. *Proceedings of the Nutrition Society*, 63(4), 655-660.
- Rahman, M. A. (2018). Governance matters: Climate change, corruption, and livelihoods in Bangladesh. *Climatic Change*, 147(1), 313-326. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10584-018-2139-9>
- Rahman, M. M. (2012). Autonomy for indigenous people of CHT: Aftermath of the 1997 Peace Accord. In N. Uddin (Ed.), *Politics of peace: A case of the Chittagong hill tracts in Bangladesh* (pp. 222-228). Dhaka: Institute of Culture & Development Research (ICDR).
- Rahman, M. S.-U., & Shahid, R. B. (2012). A growing dilemma of tourism diffusion and sustainability: Wows and woes for Bangladesh eco-tourism. *UTMS Journal of Economics*, 3(1), 57-69.
- Rashiduzzaman, M. (1998). Bangladesh's Chittagong hill tracts peace accord: Institutional features and strategic concerns. *Asian Survey*, 38(7), 653-670.
- Rasul, G., Thapa, G. B., & Zoebisch, M. A. (2004). Determinants of land-use changes in the Chittagong hill tracts of Bangladesh. *Applied Geography*, 24(3), 217-240. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.apgeog.2004.03.004>
- Reed, M. G. (1997). Power relations and community-based tourism planning. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 24(3), 566-591.
- Reid, D. G., & Sindiga, I. (1999). Tourism and community development: An African example. *World Leisure & Recreation*, 41(2), 18-21.
- Riley, R. W., & Love, L. L. (2000). The state of qualitative tourism research. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27(1), 164-187. doi:[http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383\(99\)00068-7](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(99)00068-7)
- Rist, G. (2014). *The history of development: From western origins to global faith* (4th ed.). London: Zed Books.

- Ritchie, B. W. (2009). *Crisis and disaster management for tourism* Bristol, UK: Channel View Publications Limited.
- Ritchie, B. W., Burns, P., & Palmer, C. (Eds.). (2005). *Tourism research methods: Integrating theory with practice*. Wallingford, Oxfordshire, UK: CABI Publishing.
- Robbins, P., Hintz, J., & Moore, S. A. (2010). *Environment and society: A critical introduction*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Roberts, L., & Simpson, F. (2000). Developing partnership approaches to tourism in central and eastern Europe. In B. Bramwell & B. Lane (Eds.), *Tourism collaboration and partnerships: Politics, practice and sustainability* (pp. 230-246). Clevedon: Channel View Publications.
- Robson, C. (2011). *Real world research: A resource for users of social research methods in applied settings* (3rd ed.). West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons.
- Robson, J., & Robson, I. (1996). From shareholders to stakeholders: critical issues for tourism marketers. *Tourism Management*, 17(7), 533-540.
- Rogers, P. P., Jalal, K. F., & Boyd, J. A. (2012). *An introduction to sustainable development*. London: Earthscan.
- Rogers, S. H., Gardner, K. H., & Carlson, C. H. (2013). Social capital and walkability as social aspects of sustainability. *Sustainability*, 5(8), 3473-3483.
- Rose, G. (2001). *Visual methodologies: An introduction to the interpretation of visual methodologies*. London: Sage Publications.
- Roy, R. C. (2000). *Land rights of the indigenous peoples of the Chittagong hill tracts, Bangladesh*. Document No. 99. Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA).
- Roy, R. D. (2002). *Background study on the Chittagong hill tracts land situation*. Dhaka: CARE Bangladesh.
- Roy, R. D. (2003). The discordant accord: Challenges towards the implementation of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Accord of 1997. *Journal of Social Studies*, 100(April-June), 4-57.
- Royhan, S. A. (2016). *The Chittagong hill tracts*. Dhaka: Kalikolom Prokashona.
- Ruhanen-Hunter, L. M. (2006). *Sustainable tourism planning: An analysis of Queensland local tourism destinations*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Queensland, Australia.
- Ruhanen, L., Weiler, B., Moyle, B. D., & McLennan, C.-I. J. (2015). Trends and patterns in sustainable tourism research: a 25-year bibliometric analysis. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 23(4), 517-535.
- Rumi, M. (2015, June 15). Infrastructure is the main problem to attract tourists (Translated from Bengali version). *The Daily Kalerkantho*. Retrieved from <http://www.kalerkantho.com/print-edition/industry-business/2015/06/15/233644>.
- Rusnak, G. (1997). *Co-management of natural resources in Canada: A review of concepts and case studies*. Working Paper 1, Rural Poverty and Environment Working Paper Series. Ottawa, ON: International Development Research Centre. Retrieved from <https://idl-bnc-idrc.dspacedirect.org/bitstream/handle/10625/30126/1/117241.pdf>.
- Ryan, C., & Gu, H. (2010). Constructionism and culture in research: Understandings of the fourth Buddhist Festival, Wutaishan, China. *Tourism Management*, 31(2), 167-178. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2009.01.003>
- Sachs, J. D. (2012). From millennium development goals to sustainable development goals. *The Lancet*, 379(9832), 2206-2211.

- Sadler, G. R., Lee, H.-C., Lim, R. S.-H., & Fullerton, J. (2010). Recruitment of hard-to-reach population subgroups via adaptations of the snowball sampling strategy. *Nursing & Health Sciences*, 12(3), 369-374. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1442-2018.2010.00541.x>
- Sadler, J. (2004). Sustainable tourism planning in Northern Cyprus. In B. Bramwell (Ed.), *Coastal mass tourism: Diversification and sustainable development in Southern Europe* (pp. 133-156). Clevedon: Channel View Publications.
- Sampson, P. (1972). Qualitative research and motivation research. In R. M. Worchester (Ed.), *Consumer market research handbook* (pp. 7-27). Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill Book Co. (UK), Ltd.
- Sandelowski, M. (1995). Sample size in qualitative research. *Research in Nursing & Health*, 18(2), 179-183.
- Santos, C. A. (2005). Framing analysis: Examining mass mediated tourism narratives. In B. W. Ritchie, P. Burns, & C. Palmer (Eds.), *Tourism research methods* (pp. 149-161). Oxfordshire, UK: CABI Publishing.
- Sarantakos, S. (1998). *Social research* (2nd ed.). South Melbourne: Macmillan Education Australia.
- Sarker, M. N. I., Bingxin, Y., Sultana, A., & Prodhan, A. (2017). Problems and challenges of public administration in Bangladesh: Pathway to sustainable development. *International Journal of Public Administration and Policy Research*, 3(1), 016-025.
- Sathi, M. C. (2016, August 21). Not indigenous enough. *Dhaka Tribune*. Retrieved from <http://www.dhakatribune.com/opinion/longform/2016/08/21/not-indigenous-enough/>
- Sautter, E. T., & Leisen, B. (1999). Managing stakeholders a tourism planning model. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26(2), 312-328.
- Scheyvens, R. (1999). Ecotourism and the empowerment of local communities. *Tourism Management*, 20(2), 245-249. doi:[https://doi.org/10.1016/S0261-5177\(98\)00069-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0261-5177(98)00069-7)
- Schilcher, D. (2007). Growth versus equity: The continuum of pro-poor tourism and neoliberal governance. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2-3), 166-193.
- Schischka, J., Dalziel, P., & Saunders, C. (2008). Applying Sen's capability approach to poverty alleviation programs: Two case studies. *Journal of Human Development*, 9(2), 229-246. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/14649880802078777>
- Scoones, I. (1998). *Sustainable rural livelihoods: A framework for analysis*. (No. IDS Working Paper 72). Brighton: Institute of Development Studies. Retrieved from <https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/123456789/3390/Wp72.pdf?sequence=1>
- Seale, C., Gobo, G., Gubrium, J. F., & Silverman, D. (Eds.) (2004). *Qualitative research practice*. London: Sage.
- Sechrest, L., & Sidani, S. (1995). Quantitative and qualitative methods:: Is There an Alternative? *Evaluation and Program Planning*, 18(1), 77-87.
- Sen, A. (1999). *Freedom as development*. Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Shakya, M. (2009). *Risk, vulnerability and tourism in developing countries: The case of Nepal*. Berlin: Logos Verlag.
- Shamsuddoha, M., Alamgir, M., & Nasir, T. (2011). Cultural tourism: Bangladesh tribal areas perspective. *Revista de turism-studii si cercetari in turism*, 12, 28-32.
- Sharpley, R. (2000). Tourism and sustainable development: Exploring the theoretical divide. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 8(1), 1-19.
- Sharpley, R., & Telfer, D. J. (2014). *Tourism and development: Concepts and issues* (Vol. 63). Clevedon: Channel View Publications.

- Shelly, M. R. (Ed.) (1992). *The Chittagong hill tracts of Bangladesh: The untold story*. Dhaka: Centre for Development Research, Bangladesh.
- Shen, F., Hughey, K. F. D., & Simmons, D. G. (2008). Connecting the sustainable livelihoods approach and tourism: A review of the literature. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management*, 15(1), 19-31. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1375/jhtm.15.19>
- Shone, M. C. (2013). *Local government and tourism public policy: A case of the Hurunui District, New Zealand*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Lincoln University, New Zealand.
- Simmons, D. G. (1985). *Integrating formal and informal research methods*. In Issues in tourism research in the South Pacific. Proceedings of the meeting of the Sub-commission on Tourism in the South West Pacific, Christchurch, 23-25 January, 1983.
- Simmons, D. G. (1994). Community participation in tourism planning. *Tourism Management*, 15(2), 98-108.
- Simmons, D. G., Fairweather, J. R., & Shone, M. C. (2003). *Tourism in Christchurch and Akaroa: Challenges for planning and recommendations for management* (1175-5385). Retrieved from <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.555.8902&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Simmons, D. G., & Shone, M. C. (2002). Roles and responsibilities in tourism: Managing the potential tensions caused by tourism on the West Coast. *Planning Quarterly*, 145(20-22), 28.
- Simpson, K. (2001). Strategic planning and community involvement as contributors to sustainable tourism development. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 4(1), 3-41.
- Small, J. (1999). Memory-work: A method for researching women's tourist experiences. *Tourism Management*, 20(1), 25-35. doi:[http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0261-5177\(98\)00091-0](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0261-5177(98)00091-0)
- Smith, B. H. (2006). *Scandalous knowledge: Science, truth and the human*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Soulard, J., Knollenberg, W., Boley, B. B., Perdue, R. R., & McGehee, N. G. (2018). Social capital and destination strategic planning. *Tourism Management*, 69, 189-200. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2018.06.011>
- Stacey, R. D. (2007). *Strategic management and organisational dynamics: The challenge of complexity to ways of thinking about organisations* (5th ed.). Harlow: Financial Times Prentice Hall.
- Stake, R. E. (1990). Situational context as influence on evaluation design and use. *Studies in Educational Evaluation*, 16(2), 231-246.
- Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Stake, R. E. (2006). *Multiple case study analysis*. NY: The Guilford Press.
- Stiglitz, J. E. (2000). Formal and informal institutions. In D. Partha & S. Ismail (Eds.), *Social capital: A multifaceted perspective* (pp. 59-68). Washington DC: The World Bank.
- Stone, M. T., & Nyaupane, G. P. (2017). Ecotourism influence on community needs and the functions of protected areas: A systems thinking approach. *Journal of Ecotourism*, 16(3), 222-246. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/14724049.2016.1221959>
- Stone, M. T., & Nyaupane, G. P. (2018). Protected areas, wildlife-based community tourism and community livelihoods dynamics: Spiraling up and down of community capitals. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 26(2), 307-324. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2017.1349774>
- Suchman, M. C. (1995). Managing legitimacy: Strategic and institutional approaches. *Academy of Management Review*, 20(3), 571-610.
- Suri, H. (2011). Purposeful sampling in qualitative research synthesis. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 11(2), 63-75.

- Susskind, L., & Cruikshank, J. L. (1987). *Breaking the impasse: Consensual approaches to resolving public disputes*. USA: Basic Books.
- Svendsen, G. L. H., & Sørensen, J. F. L. (2007). There's more to the picture than meets the eye: Measuring tangible and intangible capital in two marginal communities in rural Denmark. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 23(4), 453-471. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2007.01.008>
- Swarbrooke, J. (2001). *Sustainable tourism management* (2nd ed.). London: CAB International.
- Tao, T. C. H., & Wall, G. (2009). Tourism as a sustainable livelihood strategy. *Tourism Management*, 30(1), 90-98. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2008.03.009>
- Tashakkori, A., & Teddlie, C. (1998). *Mixed methodology: Combining qualitative and quantitative approaches* (Vol. 46). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Taylor, S. J., Bogdan, R., & DeVault, M. (2015). *Introduction to qualitative research methods: A guidebook and resource* (4th ed.). New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons.
- Telfer, D. J. (2015). The evolution of tourism and development theory. In R. Sharpley & D. J. Telfer (Eds.), *Tourism and development: Concepts and issues* (2nd ed., pp. 31-79). Bristol: Channel View Publications.
- Telfer, D. J., & Sharpley, R. (2015). *Tourism and development in the developing world*. London: Routledge.
- The Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Accord. (1997). Translated english version of agreement between the National Committee on Chittagong Hill Tracts constituted by the government and the Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti. Retrieved from http://mochta.portal.gov.bd/sites/default/files/files/mochta.portal.gov.bd/page/8a162c4c_1f3f_4c6e_b3c0_63ad2ef9d2b3/Peace%20Accord%20%28Englih%29.pdf
- The World Bank. (1999). *Report from the international workshop on community-based natural resource management (CBNRM)*. Retrieved from Washington DC. 10-14 May 1998. URL: <http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/conatrem/>. http://info.worldbank.org/etools/docs/library/97605/conatrem/conatrem/documents/May98Workshop_Report.pdf
- Timur, S., & Getz, D. (2008). A network perspective on managing stakeholders for sustainable urban tourism. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 20(4), 445-461.
- Tooman, L. A. (1997). Tourism and development. *Journal of Travel Research*, 35(3), 33-40.
- Tosun, C. (1999). Towards a typology of community participation in the tourism development process. *Anatolia*, 10(2), 113-134. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13032917.1999.9686975>
- Tosun, C. (2000). Limits to community participation in the tourism development process in developing countries. *Tourism Management*, 21(6), 613-633.
- Transparency International. (2018). *Corruption perceptions index 2017*. Retrieved from https://files.transparency.org/content/download/2172/13704/file/CPI2017_FullDataSet.xlsx
- Transparency International. (2018, July 15). *Anti-corruption glossary*. Retrieved from <https://www.transparency.org/glossary/term/corruption>
- Tripura, B. K. (2014). *CHT map*. Retrieved from <https://bktcht.wordpress.com/cht-map/>
- Tripura, N. B. K. (Ed.) (2016a). *Chittagong hill tracts: Long walk to peace & developmet*. Dhaka: Ministry of Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs, Bangladesh Secretariat.
- Tripura, N. B. K. (Ed.) (2016b). *Statement of honourable Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina made in the Bangladesh National Parliament on 10 February, 2016*. In N. B. K. Tripura (Ed.), *Chittagong hill tracts: Long walk to peace & developmet* (pp. 33-46). Dhaka: Ministry of Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs, Bangladesh Secretariat.

- Tripura, P. (2014). Indigenous peoples under the legal and policy frameworks of Bangladesh. In M. S. Chowdhury (Ed.), *Survival under threat: Human rights situation of indigenous peoples in Bangladesh* (pp. 28-38). Chiang Mai: Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact (AIPP).
- Tripura, S. L. (2012). *Parbatya Chattagramer prakriti o sangskriti*. [Nature and culture of the Chittagong hill tracts]. Rangamati: Khudra Nri Goshtir Sangskritik Institute.
- Tsang, E. W. (2014). Generalizing from research findings: The merits of case studies. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 16(4), 369-383. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1111/ijmr.12024>
- Tuli, F. (2011). The basis of distinction between qualitative and quantitative research in social science: Reflection on ontological, epistemological and methodological perspectives. *Ethiopian Journal of Education and Sciences*, 6(1), 97-108.
- Turner, K. G., Anderson, S., Gonzales-Chang, M., Costanza, R., Courville, S., Dalgaard, T., . . . Wratten, S. (2016). A review of methods, data, and models to assess changes in the value of ecosystem services from land degradation and restoration. *Ecological Modelling*, 319, 190-207. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolmodel.2015.07.017>
- UNEP, & UNWTO. (2005). Making tourism more sustainable: A Guide for policy makers. Jointly Published by UNEP and UNWTO. Retrieved from <http://www.unep.fr/shared/publications/pdf/DTIx0592xPA-TourismPolicyEN.pdf>
- United Nations. (2008a). *Resource kit on indigenous peoples' issues*. New York: Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations Secretariat. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/resource_kit_indigenous_2008.pdf.
- United Nations. (2008b). United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf
- University of Waterloo. (2015). Canadian index of wellbeing [Wellbeing Indicators]. Retrieved from <https://uwaterloo.ca/canadian-index-wellbeing/>
- UNWCED. (1987). *Our common future. The report of the World Commission on Environment and Development*: New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- UNWTO. (2015a). *Tourism and the sustainable development goals*. Madrid: UNWTO. Retrieved from <http://www.e-unwto.org/doi/pdf/10.18111/9789284417254>
- UNWTO. (2015b). United Nations declares 2017 as the international year of sustainable tourism for development [Press Release] [Press release]. Retrieved from <http://media.unwto.org/press-release/2015-12-07/united-nations-declares-2017-international-year-sustainable-tourism-develop>
- Uriely, N., & Belhassen, Y. (2006). Drugs and risk-taking in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 33(2), 339-359. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2005.10.009>
- Van Schendel, W. (1992). The invention of the 'Jummas': State formation and ethnicity in Southeastern Bangladesh. *Modern Asian Studies*, 26(1), 95-128. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X00015961>
- van Zeijl-Rozema, A., Corvers, R., Kemp, R., & Martens, P. (2008). Governance for sustainable development: A framework. *Sustainable Development*, 16(6), 410.
- Vogel, R. K., & Swanson, B. E. (1989). The Growth Machine versus the Antigrowth Coalition The Battle for our Communities. *Urban Affairs Review*, 25(1), 63-85.
- von Friedrichs Grängsjö, Y. (2003). Destination networking: Co-opetition in peripheral surroundings. *International Journal of Physical Distribution & Logistics Management*, 33(5), 427-448.

- Waligo, V. M., Clarke, J., & Hawkins, R. (2013). Implementing sustainable tourism: A multi-stakeholder involvement management framework. *Tourism Management*, 36, 342-353. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2012.10.008>
- Wall, G. (1999). Partnerships involving indigenous peoples in the management of heritage sites. In M. Robinson & P. Boniface (Eds.), *Tourism and Cultural Conflicts* (pp. 269-286). New York: CABI.
- Wall, G. (2005). Sustainable tourism - unsustainable development. In J. J. Pigram & S. Wahab (Eds.), *Tourism, development and growth: The challenge of sustainability* (pp. 33-49). London: Routledge.
- Wallis, J., & Dollery, B. (2002). Social capital and local government capacity. *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 61(3), 76-85.
- Walpole, M. J., & Goodwin, H. J. (2000). Local economic impacts of dragon tourism in Indonesia. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27(3), 559-576.
- Wan, Y. K. P. (2013). A comparison of the governance of tourism planning in the two Special Administrative Regions (SARs) of China—Hong Kong and Macao. *Tourism Management*, 36, 164-177.
- Wang, Y., & Bramwell, B. (2012). Heritage protection and tourism development priorities in Hangzhou, China: A political economy and governance perspective. *Tourism Management*, 33(4), 988-998.
- Webster, C., & Ivanov, S. H. (2014). Tourism as a force for political stability. In C. Wohlmuther & W. Wintersteiner (Eds.), *International handbook on tourism and peace* (pp. 167-180). Austria: Drava Verlag.
- Weenink, E., & Bridgman, T. (2017). Taking subjectivity and reflexivity seriously: Implications of social constructionism for researching volunteer motivation. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 28(1), 90-109.
- Wells, W. D. (1974). Group interviewing. In R. Ferber (Ed.), *Handbook of marketing research* (pp. 133-146). NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Wengraf, T. (2001). *Qualitative research interviewing: Biographic narrative and semi-structured methods*. London: Sage.
- Wintersteiner, W., & Wohlmuther, C. (2014). Peace sensitive tourism: How tourism can contribute to peace. In C. Wohlmuther & W. Wintersteine (Eds.), *International handbook on tourism and peace* (pp. 31-61). Austria: Drava Verlag.
- Woolcock, M. (2000). Why should we care about social capital? *Canberra Bulletin of Public Administration*, 98, 17-19.
- Woolcock, M., & Narayan, D. (2000). Social capital: Implications for development theory, research, and policy. *The World Bank Research Observer*, 15(2), 225-249.
- Xiao, H., & Smith, S. L. J. (2006). Case studies in tourism research: A state-of-the-art analysis. *Tourism Management*, 27(5), 738-749. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2005.11.002>
- Yasarata, M., Altinay, L., Burns, P., & Okumus, F. (2010). Politics and sustainable tourism development – can they co-exist? Voices from North Cyprus. *Tourism Management*, 31(3), 345-356.
- Yasmin, L. (2014). The tyranny of the majority in Bangladesh: The case of the Chittagong hill tracts. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 20(1), 116-132. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/13537113.2014.879769>
- Yin, R. (1993). *Applications of case study research*. Volume 34 of Applied Social Research Methods. CA: Sage Publications.
- Yin, R. (2003). *Case study research: Design and methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Yin, R. (2009). *Case study research: Design and methods* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

- Yin, R. (2010). 'Analytic generalization'. In A. J. Mills, G. Durepos, & E. Wiebe (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of case study research: L - Z ; Index, Volume 1*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Yin, R. (2012). *Applications of case study research* (3rd ed.). London: Sage Publications.
- Yin, R. (2014). *Case study research: Design and methods* (5th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Yuksel, F., Bramwell, B., & Yuksel, A. (1999). Stakeholder interviews and tourism planning at Pamukkale, Turkey. *Tourism Management*, 20(3), 351-360.
- Zaman, M. (1982). Crisis in Chittagong hill tracts: Ethnicity and integration. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 17(3), 75-80.
- Zurba, M., Ross, H., Izurieta, A., Rist, P., Bock, E., & Berkes, F. (2012). Building co-management as a process: Problem solving through partnerships in aboriginal country, Australia. *Environmental Management*, 49(6), 1130-1142. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1007/s00267-012-9845-2>

Appendix A

Purposeful Sample Plan Before Fieldwork

The preliminary purposeful sample overview was prepared to decide on a particular start point of the interview process, which later complemented by a snowball technique.

Table A.1 Table showing sample overview (prepared before fieldwork)

Categories	Sub-categories	Affiliation/Designation/Explanation
Co-management Actors and/or Tourism Stakeholders’ (Community Residents)	Indigenous/Tribal Residents	<u>Bandarban Sadar:</u> On-site investigation will inform whom to recruit but a representation of diverse communities should be ensured. The targeted communities are (as per secondary information): <div><div>1. Chakma</div><div>6. Lushei</div><div>2. Marma</div><div>7. Khumi</div><div>3. Mro</div><div>8. Chak</div><div>4. Tanchangya</div><div>9. Bawm</div><div>5. Tripura</div><div>10. Khyang</div></div>
		<u>Rangamati Sadar:</u> To ensure maximum representation within following targeted communities: <div><div>1. Pankho</div><div>4. Lushei</div><div>2. Tanchangya</div><div>5. Chakma</div><div>3. Tripura</div><div>6. Marma</div></div>
	Migrated/Non-tribal/Bengali Residents (for both units)	To ensure maximum representation within following targeted groups: <div><div>1. Muslim</div><div>2. Hindu</div><div>3. Barua/Buddhist</div></div>
Co-management Actors and/or Tourism Stakeholders’ (Institutional Representatives)	Local Government (for both units)	<div><div>— Chairman, Hill District Council (elected by the communities)</div><div>— CEO, Hill District Council (nominated by the govt.)</div><div>— HDC Member(s) in-charge of Tourism affairs</div><div>— Mayor of Pourasava/Municipality (elected by the communities)</div></div>
	Regional Government	<div><div>— Chair, Regional HT Council (Tribal and elected by the members internally)</div><div>— Chair, CHTs Development Board (nominated by the govt.)</div></div>
	Central Government	<div><div>— State Minister of CHTs Affairs (elected Member of Parliament from CHTs region and selected by the govt. for the position. Must be tribal)</div><div>— Minister and/or Secretary of Tourism & Civil Aviation Ministry (appointed position)</div><div>— Representative from BD Planning Commission</div><div>— Chairman, BD Parjatan Corporation (appointed)</div><div>— CEO, Bangladesh Tourism Board (appointed)</div></div>
	Tourism Related Organisations (Private) (for both units)	Representatives from local tourism related businesses such as accommodation, transportation, tour operation etc. (to be informed on-site)
	Others	To be informed on-site.

Appendix B

Research Information Sheet for Interviews



Department of Tourism, Sport and Society; Faculty of Environment, Society and Design

Research Information Sheet

You are invited to participate as an informant in my Doctoral research project titled as:

How Co-management of Tourism Development Supports the Enhancement of Community Wellbeing: The Case of Hill Tracts, Bangladesh

The purpose of this research is to broaden the understanding of sustainable tourism development and enhanced community wellbeing through the mechanism of stakeholder co-management of tourism and community resources allocations. Under the broad objective, the specific objectives are to:

1. Locate tourism co-management frameworks within broader joint management frameworks and assess resources'/capitals' interconnectedness.
2. Explore the critical role of social capital within co-management frameworks and processes as it influences wellbeing of destination communities' especially indigenous communities.
3. Identify the functioning of co-management frameworks in influencing various capitals' decisions pertaining to sustainable tourism development and community wellbeing outcomes.

Your participation in this project will involve a face-to-face interview of approximately 60-75 minutes duration. The interview will be conducted based on a semi-structured questionnaire. This interview will include questions about: the allocation and interaction of resources/capitals; the nature and functioning of joint management structure (which essentially resulted from the Peace treaty), and the reality of tourism related decision-making within this structure concerning the resources/capitals; sustainable tourism development imperatives; and the communities' wellbeing issues. In general, I am interested in both of your professional and personal views and opinions of tourism development in sustainable ways within my study areas (Bandarban Sadar and Rangamati Sadar). This research is designed to collect information from participants' of at least 18 years old. Please indicate to the researcher if you do not fit the criteria.

Your participation is voluntary and you may decline to answer any question. You may also withdraw from the research at any time (up to 8 weeks after completion of the interview) by contacting either the principal researcher i.e., myself or anyone from my supervisory team by email or phone (see contact details below). The interview will either be audio

recorded, notes taken or both depending on your consent. The interview will be conducted at a time and place to suit you. The whole session will be transcribed in full and you will be communicated with a transcribed copy for your comments. As a follow-up to this activity, wish to seek your consent to contact you if further information is required at a later stage of the research.

The results of the project will be presented as a thesis and published as a paper in an academic journal. They may also be presented at an international conference. You may be assured of your confidentiality in this investigation and any associated publications: the identity of any participant will not be made public, or made known to any person other than the principal researcher and his supervisory team without the participant's consent. To ensure confidentiality the data will be handled and stored in accordance with the Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee Guidelines, which are available upon request.

I, or any of my supervisory committee will be pleased to discuss any concerns you have about participation in the project.

Principal Researcher:

Muhammad Shoeb-Ur-Rahman

Email: Muhammad.Rahman@lincoln.ac.nz / shoeb_mgt@yahoo.com

Phone: +64226905019 (New Zealand); +8801736107010 (Bangladesh) / +8801684711143 (Bangladesh)

Supervisory Team:

Prof. David G. Simmons (Supervisor); Email: David.Simmons@lincoln.ac.nz; Phone: +64272246663

Dr. Michael Shone (Associate Supervisor), Email: Michael.Shone@lincoln.ac.nz; Phone: +6433253857

Dr. Nazmun Ratna (Associate Supervisor), Email: Nazmun.Ratna@lincoln.ac.nz; Phone: +6434230232

Dr. Tracy Berno (Advisor), Email: tracy.berno@aut.ac.nz; Phone: +6434230481

The project has been reviewed and approved by the Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee. The researcher is a Commonwealth scholar doing PhD under the New Zealand Aid Scholarship programme. The scholarship secured full funding for 3.5 years to complete the Doctoral study. Besides, regular Lincoln University postgraduate research fund will assist to conduct the study.

Appendix C

Research Consent Form for Interviews

A sample consent form (if the participant is literate)

You are invited to participate in my Doctoral research project titled as:

How Co-management of Tourism Development Supports the Enhancement of Community Wellbeing: The Case of Hill Tracts, Bangladesh

I have read and understood the description of the above-named project. On this basis I agree to participate in the project, and I consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that confidentiality will be preserved. I provide consent to (please tick one or both of the following options)

Audio record of the interview

☐

Take notes of the interview

☐

I understand also that I may at any time withdraw from the project, including withdrawal of any information I have provided, up to 8 weeks after completion of the interview.

Name: _____

Signed: _____ Date: _____

A sample consent form (if the participant is illiterate)

You are invited to participate in my Doctoral research project titled as:

How Co-management of Tourism Development Supports the Enhancement of Community Wellbeing: The Case of Hill Tracts, Bangladesh

I have been fully briefed and understood the description of the above-named project. On this basis I agree to participate in the project, and I consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that confidentiality will be preserved. I provide consent to (please tick one or both of the following options)

Audio record of the interview ☐

Take notes of the interview ☐

I understand also that I may at any time withdraw from the project, including withdrawal of any information I have provided, up to 8 weeks after completion of the interview.

Name: _____

Thumbprint: _____ Date: _____

Nominee's Section:

I have been nominated by _____ to countersign on this consent form. I have witnessed that the information are duly briefed and the informant gives his/her consent by thumbprint endorsement.

Name: _____

Signed: _____ Date: _____

Appendix D

Research Information Sheet, Consent Form and Notification Form for Focus Group Discussions

Research information sheet for focus group participants

Information sheet for a Focus Group participants' in my Doctoral research project titled as: How Co-management of Tourism Development Supports the Enhancement of Community Wellbeing: The Case of Hill Tracts, Bangladesh.

The purpose of my research is to broaden the understanding of sustainable tourism development and enhanced community wellbeing through the mechanism of stakeholder co-management of community resources allocations. Under the broad objective, the specific objectives are to:

1. Locate tourism co-management frameworks within broader joint management frameworks and assess resources'/capitals' interconnectedness.
2. Explore the critical role of social capital within co-management frameworks and processes as it influences wellbeing of destination communities' especially indigenous communities.
3. Identify the functioning of co-management frameworks in influencing various capitals' decisions pertaining to sustainable tourism development and community wellbeing outcomes.

With this end in view, I have conducted a series of interviews with a number of key co-management actors and/or tourism stakeholders. To facilitate effective triangulation, I have also planned focus group discussions in my research.

You have been identified as an important source of information because of your individual orientation that conforms the sample categories in my research and/or being referred by *[to be tailored to individual recommender]*. Your contact details have been obtained from *[to be tailored to individual recommender / information source]*. You are invited to take part in a focus group. The aim of the focus group is to ensure the construct validity as well as methodological validity of this research project through internal verification of data collected from other methodological implementation. Moreover, it is assumed that the focus group will enable the researcher to elaborate the findings of interviews and further understand the research topic. Thus, your participation and sharing of information will help me to achieve above mentioned objectives.

The focus group will comprise elected, selected and appointed representatives from different institutions as well as community residents from different communities. By reviewing relevant literature, I have determined the standard size for a focus group in this research should be between 8 to 12 participants. It is anticipated that the focus group will take 60 to 75 minutes of your time.

Any information you contribute to the focus group will not lead to you being identified in any subsequent components of the study by the researcher. It is also important that you respect the privacy of other participants and not convey any information to those outside of the research; therefore you must treat the information provided by other participants as confidential.

Participation in this focus group is voluntary. You may withdraw at anytime (up to 8 weeks after completion of the focus group), or decline to be involved in any part of the discussion or research. You may ask to view any notes compiled by the researcher during the focus group. Any such notes will be preserved separately and destroyed later with other documents as per the Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee Guidelines, which are available upon request.

I am undertaking this focus group as part of my studies towards a PhD degree. I, or any of my supervisory committee will be pleased to address any questions you might have regarding this research. Our contact details are as follows:

Principal Researcher:

Muhammad Shoeb-Ur-Rahman

Email: Muhammad.Rahman@lincolnuni.ac.nz / shoeb_mgt@yahoo.com

Phone: +64226905019 (New Zealand); +8801736107010 (Bangladesh) / +8801684711143 (Bangladesh)

Supervisory Team:

Prof. David G. Simmons (Supervisor); Email: David.Simmons@lincoln.ac.nz; Phone: +64272246663

Dr. Michael Shone (Associate Supervisor), Email: Michael.Shone@lincoln.ac.nz; Phone: +6433253857

Dr. Nazmun Ratna (Associate Supervisor), Email: Nazmun.Ratna@lincoln.ac.nz; Phone: +6434230232

Dr. Tracy Berno (Advisor), Email: tracy.berno@aut.ac.nz; Phone: +6434230481

Thank you for your valued assistance.

Kindest regards,

Muhammad Shoeb-Ur-Rahman

Consent form for focus group participants

You are invited to participate in a focus group discussion which has been planned as a research tool for triangulation in my Doctoral research project titled as:

How Co-management of Tourism Development Supports the Enhancement of Community Wellbeing: The Case of Hill Tracts, Bangladesh

I have read and understood the description of the above-named project. On this basis, I agree to participate in the focus group to generate relevant information from my professional and personal experiences based on the research theme.

I understand that I participate in this focus group voluntarily and eight to twelve people can join the session including me. I will respect the privacy of information given to me by others participating in the focus group and not discuss the information they have provided with others outside of the focus group. I consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that confidentiality will be preserved. I provide consent to (please tick one or both of the following options)

Audio record of the discussions

☐

Take notes of the discussions

☐

I understand also that I may at any time withdraw from the project, including withdrawal of any information I have provided, up to 8 weeks after completion of the focus group discussions.

Name: _____

Signed: _____ Date: _____


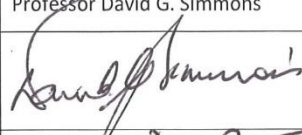
Notification form for focus groups

Notification of research undertaking focus group as a research tool.

Name of overall research project:	How Co-management of Tourism Development Supports the Enhancement of Community Wellbeing: The Case of Hill Tracts, Bangladesh
Date when you plan to undertake your focus group: (You must notify the HEC five working days prior to undertaking the focus group)	July 2016
Date when you plan to apply to the HEC for ethical approval for your overall research project:	01 December 2015

The focus group will comprise elected, selected and appointed representatives from different institutions' as well as community resident' in general. By reviewing relevant literature, I have determined the standard size for a focus group in this research should be between 8 to 12 participants'. It is anticipated that the focus group will take 60 to 75 minutes of your time.

The aim of the focus group is to ensure the construct validity as well as methodological validity of this research project through internal verification of data collected from other methodological implementation. Moreover, it is assumed that the focus group will enable the researcher to elaborate the findings of interviews and further understand the research topic. Thus, focus group will assist the researcher in justifying the objective of the proposed research which is stated as to broaden the understanding of sustainable tourism development and enhanced community wellbeing through the mechanism of stakeholder co-management of community resources allocations.

Researcher(s) declaration:	
I, the researcher – as listed below – am undertaking focus groups in order to augment the triangulation process of my research and ensure internal verification of data collected from other methodological implementation. I confirm that I will comply with the requirements of Section 6.7.1 of the ACHE (the HEC's policies and procedures).	
Name of researcher:	Muhammad Shoeb-Ur-Rahman
Email address and phone number of the researcher:	Email: Muhammad.Rahman@lincolnuni.ac.nz / shoeb_mgt@yahoo.com Phone: +64226905019 (New Zealand); +8801736107010 (Bangladesh) / +8801684711143
Signature:	
Date:	30/11/2015
Supervisor's declaration:	
I have read the relevant HEC requirements governing focus groups and pilot studies, and I confirm that the applicant(s) will comply with these requirements.	
Name:	Professor David G. Simmons
Signature:	
Date:	1-Dec-2015

Send this form to the Secretary of the Human Ethics Committee at the Research and Commercialisation Office, 3rd Floor, Forbes Building (F316).

A response by the HEC will be emailed to the primary researcher.

The HEC may request further information regarding your focus group and may, in some instances, ask you to modify aspects of your focus group before commencement if the HEC feels that such modifications would better align the proposed focus group with Section 6 of the [ACHE](#) (the Human Ethics Committee Policy and Procedures document).

Appendix E

Human Ethics Approval

Research and Innovation

T 64 3 423 0817
PO Box 85084, Lincoln University
Lincoln 7647, Christchurch
New Zealand
www.lincoln.ac.nz

1 February 2016

Application No: 2016- 02

Title: "How Co-management of Tourism Development Supports the Enhancement of Community Wellbeing: The Case of Hill Tracts, Bangladesh"

Applicant: M Rahman

The Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee has reviewed the above noted application.

Thank you for your response to the questions which were forwarded to you on the Committee's behalf.

I am satisfied on the Committee's behalf that the issues of concern have been satisfactorily addressed. I am pleased to give final approval to your project.

Thank you for the extensive and thoughtful changes you have made.

Please note that this approval is valid for three years from today's date at which time you will need to reapply for renewal.

Once your field work has finished can you please advise the Human Ethics Secretary, Alison Hind, and confirm that you have complied with the terms of the ethical approval.

May I, on behalf of the Committee, wish you success in your research.

Yours sincerely



Grant Tavinor
Chair, Human Ethics Committee

PLEASE NOTE: The Human Ethics Committee has an audit process in place for applications. Please see 7.3 of the Human Ethics Committee Operating Procedures (ACHE) in the Lincoln University Policies and Procedures Manual for more information.

Appendix F

Interview Guidelines

Part 1: Basic information - Interviewee background (to be stored separately from the interview data)

Table A.2 Listing interviewees' basic information

Interviewee No./Code:	
Informant Category:	
Name of the Ethnic Group (if indigenous):	
Types of Institution (if belongs to institution):	
Interviewee No. under Specific Category:	
Name	
Age	
Gender	
Occupational Status	
Educational Status	
Any Kind of Involvement in Tourism Activities	
Time of Tourism Related Experience	
Special Notes (if any)	
Time of Interview	
Place of Interview (record with GPS)	

Part 2: Indicative interview questions

Representatives from community residents and institutions will be interviewed in this research project. Under the broad categories, there will be some sub-categories of informants/interviewees. The specific types of questions to be asked of each interviewee will therefore be dependent upon the type of affiliation they signify.

An indicative set of questions (developed prior to fieldwork) is presented below. This is to be noted that not all the questions are equally applicable to all informant categories:

Theme	Indicative Questions
Sustainable Tourism Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Define the ‘sustainable tourism development’ concept in your view. What are the easy bits and what are the challenges to achieving sustainable tourism in the hill tracts? — How have tourism enterprises affected economic, social, political and environmental conditions in the hill tracts/specific study area? — Would a co-management or joint-management framework be helpful in this regard? How and in what combination?
Natural Capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Please describe the natural resource stocks in the hill tracts/specific study area from a tourism development viewpoint. — How is the government functioning to protect the natural resources in the hill tracts? — What are the responsibilities of communities to protect natural resources?
Human Capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Please describe the importance of human resources in terms of the availability and requirements for developing tourism. — How is the government responding to the supply and quality of human resources in this industry? — Is there any responsibility vested with community in this regard? Please elaborate.
Social Capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — In your opinion, please explain the social network, trust and cooperative norms in the hill tracts/specific study area. — When did you migrate to this area? What was the reason? — How do you evaluate your relationships with people? — Please describe any social groups to which you belong. — How do you explain the transition in peoples' trust over time? — Can you identify and elaborate on an example that focuses on working collectively to face any challenges posed by the communities?
Built Capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — How do you evaluate the infrastructure and superstructure (tourism specific establishments) in relation to tourism development in the hill tracts/specific study area? — Please explain the significance and constraints of community participation in regard to infrastructural/superstructure development. — Is there any plan or strategy from government to develop infrastructure and superstructure in the hill tracts/specific study area?
Financial Capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Please describe the financial support for tourism development, including necessity, sources and accessibility.
Formal Institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Please elaborate on the formal institutional involvement in tourism development in the hill tracts/specific study area. — What benefits do these institutions usually provide and what complexities/problems do they create in terms of tourism development?
Co-management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Can you identify a co-management process and/or structure that shares power, duties and responsibilities among the actors/stakeholders in the hill tracts? If yes, is it equally applicable to tourism development? — In your opinion, what features or dimensions should a co-management framework/process exhibit? Please explain. — How do you think your developed set of features/dimensions will integrate various resources towards sustainable tourism development?
Community Wellbeing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Please define the term ‘community wellbeing’ from your own viewpoint, along with some indicators. Does sustainable tourism fit for this? Why or why not? — Can tourism be used as a tool for mitigating conflicts? Why and how, or why not? — Do you think wellbeing in communities itself can contribute to sustainable tourism? Please elaborate.

Appendix G

Fieldwork Management

Tracking progress during fieldwork

Table A.3 Visualising fieldwork progress on day-to-day basis

Data Collection Timeframe & Action Summary			
Day-to-Day Basis			
Date	Actions	Outcomes	Status
2 MAR 2016 - 10 MAR 2016	Meeting parents and spending family times.	Refreshment and preparation for field.	Done
11 MAR 2016 - 14 MAR 2016	Getting back to Dhaka. Printing CF, RIS, BIS and other necessary documents including articles.	Preparing logistics.	Bill Collected
15 MAR 2016 - 26 MAR 2016	Contacting informants over phone and meeting face-to-face for a suitable time at Dhaka.	Setting the ground.	Done
27 MAR 2016	Interviewing the BPC representative & Summarizing the session.	1st interview conducted.	Done
28 MAR 2016	Interviewing the BTB representative & Summarizing the session.	2nd interview conducted.	Done
29 MAR 2016	Preparing for Bandarban.	Setting the ground.	Done
30 MAR 2016	Reach Bandarban and take rest.	Refreshment. Collect the bill.	Collected
31 MAR 2016 - 5 APR 2016	Pre-arrangements for David. Preparing an initial list of potential participants along with contacts & meeting circle chief (RAJA).	Setting the ground.	Done
6 APR 2016	Getting back to Dhaka.	Preparing David's Reception.	Collected
7 APR 2016 - 8 APR 2016	Meeting Prof. Farid at RU, Rajshahi and learning from his recent PhD experiences.	Confidence build up and system design.	Done
9 APR 2016	Getting Back to Dhaka and receive Professor David at the Airport.	David's reception.	Done
10 APR 2016 - 19 APR 2016	Spending time with the supervisor: Field visit, recreation, meeting potential participants, sharing research and seeking advises.	Recreation and research sharing.	Done
20 APR 2016 - 23 APR 2016	Spending time with Family.	Days Off. Cheer Up!	Done
24 APR 2016 - 26 APR	Reworking on transcribed interviews as per supervisor's feedback.	Supervisor's comments addressed	In-progress
27 APR 2016	Back to Bandarban for collecting data, take rest.	Getting prepared. Collect the bill.	Collected
28 APR 2016	Interviewing the CR Bengali group's representative & Summarizing the session.	3rd interview conducted	Done
29 APR 2016	Interviewing the CR indigenous groups' representative & Summarizing the session.	4th interview conducted	Done
30 APR 2016			
1 MAY 2016			

Table A.4 A sample structure showing the tracking of fieldwork progress from case study unit

Data Collection & Preliminary Analysis Plan & Progress										
BANDARBAN										
Sl. No	Sample Code	Name	Contact	Interview Date	Category	Interview Summa	Bengali Transc	Approval	English Trans	Pre-analyse
1	01_CRBBB/01	*****	*****	28 APR 2016	Comm. Rep.	See Green NB	Done	Taken	Done	Done
2	02_CRIBB/01	*****	*****	29 APR 2016	Comm. Rep.	See Green NB	Done	Taken	In-Progress	Done
3	03_IRTRO/01	*****	*****	1 & 4 MAY 2016	Inst. Rep.	See Green NB	Done	Taken	In-Progress	Done
4	03_CRIBB/02	*****	*****	1 MAY 2016	Comm. Rep.	See Green NB	Done	Taken	Not Yet Done	Done
5	04_CRBBB/02	*****	*****	5-May-16	Comm. Rep.	See Green NB	Done	Taken	Not Yet Done	Done
6	04_JRTRP/01	*****	*****	5-May-16	Inst. Rep.	See Green NB	Done	Not Sent	Not Yet Done	Not Yet Done
7	05_IRWCC/01	*****	*****	6-May-16	Inst. Rep.	See Green NB	Done	Taken	Not Yet Done	Not Yet Done
8	05_CRBBB/03	*****	*****	6-May-16	Comm. Rep.	See Green NB	Done	Not Sent	In-Progress	Not Yet Done
9	06_CRIBB/03	*****	*****	6-May-16	Comm. Rep.	See Green NB	Done	Not Sent	Not Yet Done	Not Yet Done
10	07_CRIBB/04	*****	*****	7-May-16	Comm. Rep.	See Green NB	Done	Taken	Not Yet Done	Not Yet Done
11	08_CRIBB/05	*****	*****	8-May-16	Comm. Rep.	See Green NB	Done	Not Sent	Not Yet Done	Not Yet Done
12	06_JRRG/01	*****	*****	9-May-16	Inst. Rep.	See Green NB	Done	Not Sent	Not Yet Done	Not Yet Done
13	07_IRTRO/02	*****	*****	9-May-16	Inst. Rep.	Not Yet Done	Done	Taken	Not Yet Done	Not Yet Done
14	09_CRIBB/06	*****	*****	11-May-16	Comm. Rep.	Not Yet Done	Done	Taken	Not Yet Done	Not Yet Done
15	10_CRIBB/07	*****	*****	11-May-16	Comm. Rep.	Not Yet Done	Done	Not Sent	Not Yet Done	Not Yet Done
16	08_IRNGO_NOTES	*****	*****	12-May-16	Inst. Rep.	Not Yet Done	Not Needed	Taken	Not Needed	Not Yet Done
17	11_CRIBB/08	*****	*****	12-May-16	Comm. Rep.	Not Yet Done	Done	Not Sent	Not Yet Done	Not Yet Done
18	09_IRDFO_NOTES	*****	*****	13-May-16	Inst. Rep.	Not Yet Done	Not Needed	Taken	Not Needed	Not Yet Done
19										
20										

Appendix H

Description of Codes for Research Informants

Table A.5 Description of interview and focus group codes

Category	Sub-category	Participant Code	Elaboration	Sample Interview and Focus Group Code
Community Resident (CR)	Indigenous	CRIBB	Community Resident Indigenous Bandarban	02 ¹⁰ _CRIBB_01 ¹¹ , 03_CRIBB_02
		CRIRM	Community Resident Indigenous Rangamati	15_CRIRM_11, 21_CRIRM_16
	Migrated/Bengali	CRBBB	Community Resident Bengali Bandarban	01_CRBBB_01, 04_CRBBB_02
		CRBRM	Community Resident Bengali Rangamati	16_CRBRM_06, 19_CRBRM_07
Institutional Representative (IR)	Central	IRBPC	IR Bangladesh Parjatan Corporation	01_IRBPC_01
		IRBTB	IR Bangladesh Tourism Board	28_IRBTB_02
		IRMOCAT	IR Ministry of Civil Aviation and Tourism	26_IRMOCAT_01_NOTES
		IRMOCHTA	IR Ministry of Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs	27_IRMOCHTA_01_NOTES
		IRCG	IR Central Government	15_IRCG_02
	Regional	IRRG	IR Regional Government	19_IRRG_02
	Local	IRLG	IR Local Government	14_IRLG_02, 20_IRLG_05
	Economic and others	IRTRO	IR Tourism Related Organisation	03_IRTRO_01, 23_IRTRO_04
		IRTRP	IR Tourism Related Project	04_IRTRP_01
		IRWCC	IR Women Chamber of Commerce	05_IRWCC_01
		IRDFO	IR Divisional Forest Officer	09_IRDFO_01_NOTES ¹²
		IRNGO	IR Non-government Organisation	16_IRNGO_02
		IRARMY	IR Army (Military Administration)	21_IRARMY_02_NOTES
		IRTA	IR Traditional Administration	24_IRTA_01
		IRICI	IR Indigenous Cultural Institution	10_IRICI_01
Focus Groups				
Focus Group Discussion (FGD)	Interviewees' sub-set	FGD_BB	FGD Bandarban	FGD_BB_12_08
		FGD_RM	FGD Rangamati	FGD_RM_12_08
Youth Focus Group (YFG)	Field-driven	YFG_RM	YFG Rangamati	YFG_RM_10_08
		YFG_BB	YFG Bandarban	YFG_BB_14_08
Industry Focus Group (IFG)		IFG_DAC	IFG Dhaka	IFG_DAC_30_08

¹⁰ Indicating category total

¹¹ Indicating sub-category total

¹² Notes taken only

Appendix I

An Illustration of Data Analysis Tables and Observation Notes

Sample data analysis tables representing data of different categories of informants

Table A.6 A specimen of thematic analysis table showing the interview data from central government representatives

CF CONFINED THEME: HUMAN CAPITAL				
Emergent Themes	Supporting Themes	Transcript's Excerpts Hyperlinked	Treatment_Ref Interpretation	Source Code
Proper training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Host community training (2)¹³ — Skilled human resources (2) — Local trainer for easy and fast communication (1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government should train up them well like how to sell the food in a proper way and how to prepare food in hygienic way so that tourists can take it easily • Government creates skilled human resources through NSDC – National skill development Councils under this there are eight ISDC – Industrial skill development council. Tourism and hospitality is one of the ISDC. So through ISDC government is trying to provide training and skill project over there. • We have to retain the guides after giving them proper training with the help of database...For hill tracts, we have to create specialized tour guide training program. Then we have to involve the local people into this program. This is how we need to convince them about their benefits and earn their trust. The trainer must be local for easy and fast communication. 	<p>IM_p.2_govt. should facilitate training CO_p.9_govt. initiatives</p> <p>Q.1_p.16_specialised treatment</p>	<p>01_IRBPC_01</p> <p>02_IRBTB_01</p>
Lack of skilled labour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Skill development need (2) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They have some special knowledge though they don't have any special training. • Skilled human resources are not available there • Through NHTTI every year we produce 1600 trained human resources for tourism and hospitality industries. 	<p>CO_p.2 & p.8_skill development</p> <p>Q.2_p.20_central level production</p>	<p>01_IRBPC_01</p> <p>25_IRBPC_02</p>

¹³ Number of times the thematic issue has been discussed/mentioned.

Table A.7 A specimen of thematic analysis table showing the interview data from ‘economic and other’ sub-category

CF CONFINED THEME: FINANCIAL CAPITAL				
Emergent Themes	Supporting Themes	Transcript’s Excerpts Hyperlinked	Treatment_Ref Interpretation	Source Code
Accessibility	— Collateral or security (8)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> You may get loans from private bank after fulfilling their requirements but it is not for tourism sector and not accessible by the community people who lacks security deposits. They need finance but they are not getting that. There are not enough sources as well as accessibility is a great problem in the usual banking procedure. Those who have mortgage are getting financial or loan access. It is important to ensure the supply of finance from the governmental sector. It is also vital to manage the system of supplying loans to the local people in easy terms. 	<p>CO_p.37_typical security issues & root level accessibility</p> <p>CO_p.42_lack of access</p> <p>CO_p.56_lack of access</p>	<p>03_IRTRO_01</p> <p>04_IRTRP_01</p> <p>07_IRTRO_02</p>
Availability	— Lack of funding (6) — Institutional involvement (11) — Financing not an issue (3)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tourism development needs lots of initial investment but there is no loan facility on behalf of the government. Government can think of a specialized bank for tourism or alternately can instruct ‘Krishi Bank’ or similar specialized bank to address the issues so that the root level community people have access to the bank loan or funding. My point is that if you encourage funding from outside as joint venture that might create problem. Government declared three hill districts as ‘special economic zone’ and the people here can enjoy loan at 5% interest. The usual process needs to pay 8% or even 10%; this will help us to better repayment. This not followed straightforward. in Bandarban, the interest rate of House building Loan is 14%. The government has directed to sanction up to 2.5 million BDT to the women entrepreneurs without any mortgages. In reality, our women are not getting more than 2 to 3 lac BDT and that also requires submission of huge documents and lengthy procedures to follow. 	<p>IM_p.37_lack of funding</p> <p>CO_p.42_specialized bank for funding</p> <p>CO_p.42_see the background</p> <p>Q.4_p.45_govt. promise and realities</p>	<p>03_IRTRO_01</p> <p>04_IRTRP_01</p> <p>05_IRWCC_01</p>

Table A.8 A specimen of thematic analysis table showing the interview data from ‘indigenous community resident’ sub-category

FIELD DATA DERIVED THEME: CULTURAL CAPITAL				
Emergent Themes	Supporting Themes	Transcript's Excerpts Hyperlinked	Treatment_Ref_ Interpretation	Source Code
Cultural diversities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Exotic cultures (5) — Spread tradition and cultures (6) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We can use the culture, tradition of the people of here as an element of tourism. • And there is a section in the peace treaty which is for the protection of the cultural diversity of tribal people. • We, 11 tribes have completely different ritual and traditions and this could be a great attraction for tourists. 	IM_p.31_culture for tourism	08_CRIBB_05
			IM_p.91_protection of cultures	21_CRIRM_16
			CO_p.94_selling cultural diversities	22_CRIRM_17
Cultural sensitivities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Patronise local culture (8) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development shouldn't destroy the faith, culture and heritage of the people of this area; the preservation must also be ensured. • There is a cultural institute in Bandarban where the Chakmas and Marmas give presentation as Kheyang. Aren't we losing our own identity? In cultural programs, they will introduce themselves as Kheyang but in real they are Marmas. Tourist will not understand this because dresses are different and they do not notice this. This is the actual scenario of social communication. • The cultural aggression is taking a charge over our language. The local places' names are replaced with Bengali names. . So, our identity is in threat. This can't promote wellbeing for community. If the community people get the opportunity to define their geographical location by themselves and if they can preserve their own culture, heritage, tradition, ritual only then community wellbeing will be ensured. • The rehabilitation of tribal people is not done properly. Their livelihood and culture are in great stake. For example, the name of different places are taken away by cultural aggression- Shepru Para (now Jibon Nagar). • You have to prioritise their culture, tradition as well as if you can prevent about any sort of deterioration of these resources then sustainable tourism will be possible up here. 	IM_p.128_patronize local culture	08_CRIBB_05
			Q.2_p.55_patronize local culture	13_CRIBB_10
			Q.3_p.86_cultural importance for CWB linking STD	20_CRIRM_14-15
			CO_p.88_cultural preservation need	21_CRIRM_16
			IM_p.92_patronize local culture	22_CRIRM_17

Table A.9 A specimen of thematic analysis table showing the focus groups' data

CF CONFINED THEME: SOCIAL CAPITAL (INFORMAL INSTITUTIONS)				
Emergent Themes	Supporting Themes	Transcript's Excerpts Hyperlinked	Treatment_Ref Interpretation	Source Code
Trust	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Inter-ethnic community trust — Ethnic and Bengali communities' trust — Military presence — Political impacts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ... "Who is the justice- Bengali; who is the member secretary- Bengali; who will give the verdict- Bengali; who will pull the chain- Bengali; who will record- Bengali; then conclusion is that Paharis will not get the justice". • Lack of trust exists very acutely among all. Not only between Bengali and Pahari people but also among Pahari people themselves. And the conflict between Bengali and Pahari people only arises for armies. • Some people think that the way West Pakistan government before 1971 wanted to dominate the East Pakistan people through militarisation; the same is happening in the CHTs. Armies' main focus is to change the demography and ultimately now, Bengali is the majority. • Let me pick an example, during the last water festival- we were observing that a few Bengali boys are watering a group of indigenous girls to their sensitive places. After some times, one of the girls slapped one boy. We were also dissatisfied but if we touched a boy it could flash as a conflict between Pahari and Bengali. Here, it is quite easy to give any conflict a communal flavour. 	<p>CO_p.18_ethnic-bengali trust linked to YFG observations—officials postings</p> <p>CO_p.19_military presence creating distrust</p> <p>IM_p.19_military presence creating distrust</p> <p>Q.25_p.24_ethnic Bengali trust_linked to social perception</p>	<p>FGD_BB_12_08</p> <p>YFG_RM_10_08</p>
Linking Capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Supportive leadership 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "If the tourism facilities are increased, more and more tourists will come to visit and experience the place"- this philosophy instilled in him and he is successful in this regard. He cooperates (including funding/bank loan to land acquiring issues) from his positions and in some cases exploits special power. 	<p>CO_p.2_leader's perception and initiatives</p>	<p>FGD_RM_12_08</p>
Networking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Social harmony — Social norms 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The self-esteem or ego of the Pahari people is very high. We never down our heads even when we are poor and only 10 or 20 Tk in our pockets. Earning money is not the only goal of their life. They want to enjoy their lives and living. This again comes from traditional practice. • Here in Bandarban, we are residing in harmony. This is happening as we are having a compromising mentality. If you observe in Rangamati then you'll see there are strikes and other activities quite common. • Let me give you an example, in our village we've 52 families. Of these, Tanchangya are 13; hindus are 15; and the rest are Muslims. If you visit then you'll find a very good relationship. Everyone knows each other. 	<p>Q.22_p.14_social norms of indigenous linked to socio-cultural priority for STD</p> <p>CO_p.25_social harmony linked to unit comparison</p> <p>Q.23_p.25_good networks_unit compared</p>	<p>FGD_RM_12_08</p> <p>YFG_BB_14_08</p>

Table A.10 An instructive table example of categorising and grouping of identified issues

Base Themes	Emergent Themes	Supporting Themes	Categorizations & Groupings	
			Emergent Supporting	
Natural Capital	1. Imperfect for heavy industries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Tourism potency for employment (1) — High dependency (2) — Agricultural use (1) 	<div> <div></div> <div>Helps to ELABORATE and Contextualize</div> </div>	
	2. Unique natural resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — No proper inventory (6) — Invent new attractions (3) — Unique hills (4)ARG 	Unique resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Inventory & invention need
	3. Protective measures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Co-management (2) — Confidence building (1) — Community awareness (7)ELA — Promote CBT (2)ELA — Community roles (17) — Government roles (12) — Corruption (29) — Lack of resources (1)ARG — Community ownership (8) Linked to community role 	Protective measures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Governance issues — Community ownership — Government roles
	4. Land ownership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Core issue (16) — Complex issue (9) — Khas lands (3)ELA — No formal documents (5)ARG — Political issue (3)ARG 	Land ownership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Core issue — Collective vs individual ownership
Formal Institutions	5. Empowering local and regional institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Commitment of CHT Peace Treaty (7)ELA — Delegation of authority (25) — Egocentric gap (4)Linked to coordination — Elected body (21) — Faulty transfer (15) — Policy support (4)Linked to admin capacity — Effective policy making body (1)ARG [FGD] — CG intention (1)ARG [FGD] 	Empowering institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Delegation of authority — Elected body — Faulty transfer — Overcome administrative incapacity

	6. Multilayer government institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Too many public institutional involvement (20) Lack of institutional trust (6) ...Linked to governance Internal coordination (18) 	Multilayer govt. institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Too many institutions Coordination problem
	7. Rigid regulations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entry barriers/ease of access (13)ELA Bureaucratic problem (7)ARG 	Institutional governance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Corruption Rigid regulations Law & order implementation
	8. Lack of expertise	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> New phenomenon (3)ARG Local administrative incapacity (12)ARG Overall administrative incapacity (7) New provisions development need (1)ELA [FGD] 		
	9. Institutional governance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Corruption (25) Law & order implementation (8) Democratic right (4)ELA Government directives (2)ELA 		

Sample field observation notes

Workshop Organised by BHDC

Project: HIMALICA

Date: 03-05-2016

Reason to include:

An existing community-based project while focusing tourism. Also the session characterise typical collaborative decision-making environment when accommodating multi-level stakeholder into the process.

Centred on setting vision for Bandarban Tourism.

Both the community and multi-layer institutional representatives (including military) present in the session.

Informal session begins with a presentation by an ICIMOD expert.

After presentation, brainstorming session started. Military personnel left the session (not allowed to express views in public forum). Community members were briefly interpreted in Bengali (as a common language to all) about the outcomes of the process. The participants were asked to do a SWOT analysis on Bandarban Tourism after 20 years. The session participants identified natural resources and indigenous cultures as key strength for tourism vision and/or strategy setting. The community participants in the workshop raised their concern about army (potentially identified as threat) for smooth functioning of their usual works. An example- few months ago military 'ordered' them to close all establishments by early evening (6pm), failed to serve tourists with water. During that time, a few shop owners were treated badly due to their negative response to the instruction.

At the very end of this brainstorming session, military personnel entered again. Interestingly, those community participants who were arguing military role; stopped talking about that and changed the topic to discuss their need for remote accessibility and other issues. Among the other issues, some key issues include enhancing civic sense to respond environment (waste disposal and treatment by individual), clean air, measure to stop deforestation, accessibility for tourists, carrying capacity of destination and security.

Finally, a formal speech session concluded the workshop, where the key institutional representatives and representatives from the community and civil society. A representative from the DC's office, superintendent of police (SP) office, army, BHDC, journalist, community beneficiary group altogether shared the speech session.

Appendix J

Resource Rights and Land Transfer Process in the CHT

Customary resource rights of the CHT residents

Table A.11 CHT residents' rights on customary resources (*Source: Roy, 2002, p.21*)

Natural Resource	Right-Holder	Regulatory Law/Custom	Regulating Authority
Homestead Lands	Hillpeople	Rule 50, CHT Regulation	Headman
Swidden (Jum) Lands	Hillpeople	Rule 41, CHT Regulation	Headman, DC
Used Swidden Lands	Hillpeople	Traditional Customs	Headman
Forest Produce	Mauza Residents/ Hillpeople	Rule 41 A, CHT Regulation/ CHT Forest Transit Rule	Headman & Karbari
Grazing Lands	Mauza Residents	Rule 45B, CHT Regulation	Headman, DC
Grasslands	Mauza Residents	Rule 45, CHT Regulation	Headman, DC
Wild Game	Hillpeople/ State	Traditional Customs/ Various Acts	Headman, Circle Chiefs/ Forest Department
Marine Resources	Mauza Residents	Undefined	Headman
Large Water Bodies	Mauza Residents/State	Undefined	DC
Smaller Aquifers	Mauza Residents	Undefined	Headman

Land title transfer process in CHT

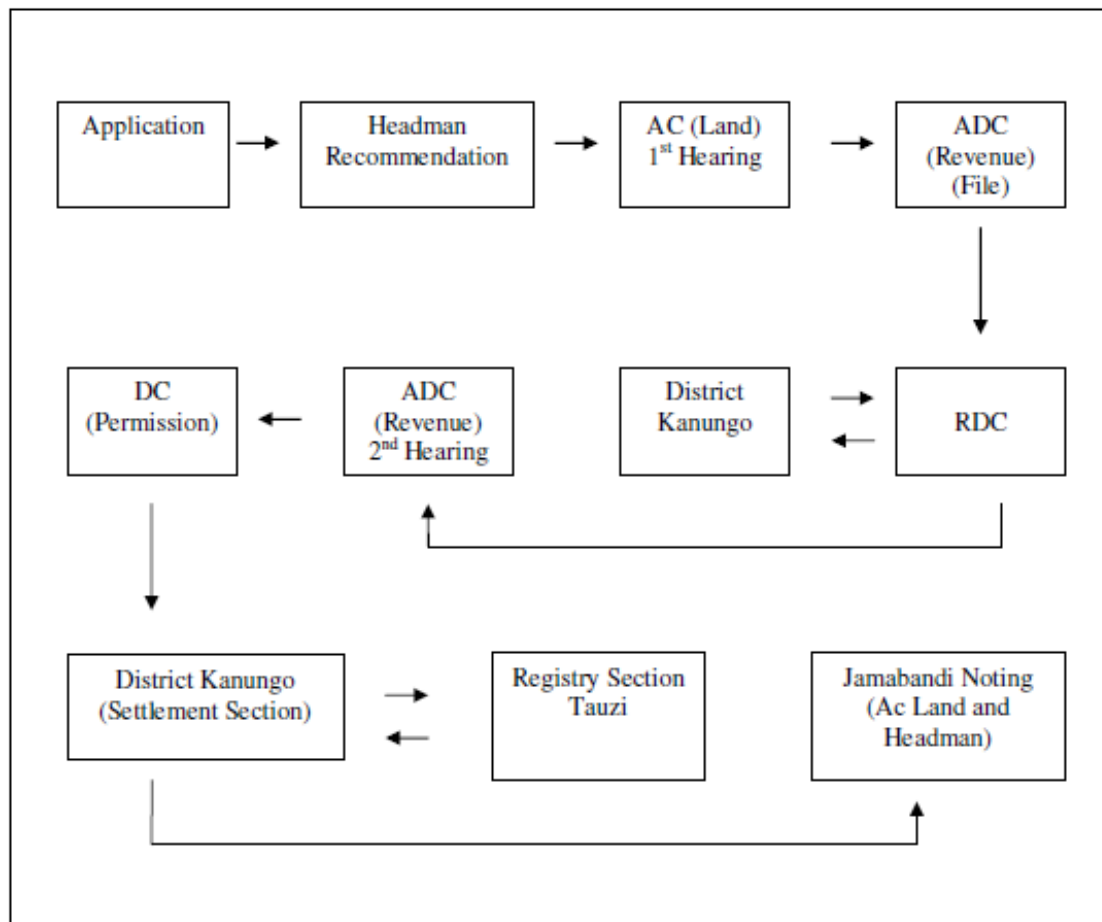


Figure A.1 System of land title transfer in CHT (Source: Roy, 2002, p. 17)

Appendix K

Changing Composition of Stakeholders in the Existing Co-management Practices

Structure of co-management council and co-management committee in 2006

Table A.12 Preliminary structure for co-management committees in Bangladesh (*Source: DeCosse, Sharma, Dutta and Thompson, 2012, p. 54*)

Co-Management Council Structure	Co-Management Committee Structure
<p>1 Upazila Nirbahi Officer (UNO) - Chairperson</p> <p>1 Assistant Conservator of Forest or Range Officer – Member-Secretary</p> <p>9 Representatives from the organized poor</p> <p>13 Chairmen and members from relevant Union Parishads and Pourashava (closest wards to PA, at least 1 woman)</p> <p>9 Representatives of poor resource users</p> <p>6 Representative from resource owners (brickfields, sawmills etc)</p> <p>3 Representatives from ethnic minorities</p> <p>2 Representatives from local youth</p> <p>6-8 Representatives from local elite</p> <p>1 representative of other major stakeholders</p> <p>1 Representative from law enforcing agencies</p> <p>4-6 Representatives from other Government agencies</p> <p>2-4 Representatives from local NGOs</p> <p>Relevant Member of Parliament to act as Advisor</p> <p>Maximum 55 members, including 10 women.</p> <p>Term of those not officials or elected, 4 years.</p>	<p>1 Assistant Conservator of Forest or Range Officer - Member-Secretary</p> <p>3-4 Representatives from local government (UP) (1 woman)</p> <p>2-3 Representatives from civil society</p> <p>2 Representatives from resource user groups</p> <p>1 Representative from local youth</p> <p>2 Representatives of resource owner group</p> <p>2 Representatives from ethnic minorities</p> <p>1 Representative of law enforcing agencies</p> <p>2 Representatives from other Government agencies</p> <p>1 Representative from NGOs</p> <p>Upazila Nirbahi Officer (UNO) - Adviser</p> <p>President and Vice-President to be elected by Committee members from among their membership. Term of office 2 years except for Member-Secretary and law enforcement agency representative</p>

Stakeholders and composition of co-management organisations as of 2009

Table A.13 Revised structure for co-management organisations (*Source: Adapted from Biswas and Chowdhury, 2011, pp. 119-120*)

Co-management Council		Co-management Committee	
Categories of Stakeholder	Maximum No.	Categories of Stakeholder	Maximum No.
Local Administration and Government (UNO, ACF, RO, BO and other local government officials)	16	Assistant Conservator of Forest (ACF)	01
Other Government Department: (Agriculture, Environment, Youth Development, Social Welfare)	05	Respective Range Officer (RO) (as Member Secretary of Council & Committee)	01
Local Civil Society (local elites, teacher, social workers, physicians, journalist, religious leader, freedom fighter)	05	Local Government Representative (at least one woman)	03
Forest Resources Users Organization	04	Local Civil Society Representative	02
Local Indigenous Community	03	People's Forum (PF) Representative	06
Forest Conservation Club Member	05	Forest Conservation Club Representative	02
Community Patrolling Group Member	05	Beat Officer (BO)/Station Officer of Related Protected Area (PA)	05
People's Forum Representative/Village Conservation Forum Members	22	Local Indigenous Community Representative	02
		Community Patrolling Group (CPG) Representative	03
		Forest Resources Users Organization's Representative	01
		Law Enforcement Agencies (Police, Border Guard, Coast Guard)	02
		Other Government Department: (Agriculture, Environment, Youth Development, Social Welfare)	01
Total	65	Total	29
Member of Parliament (Local MP), Upazila Chairman and Divisional Forest Officer (DFO) shall act as the advisers. Out of 65 members, 15 must be women.		Divisional Forest Officer (DFO) and Upazila Nirbahi Officer (UNO) shall act as advisers. Out of 29 members, 5 must be women.	

Structure and stakeholders representation in CGC and CEC

Table A.14 Latest structure of co-management committees (Source: Informed by Ministry of Environment and Forests, 2017)

Sl. No.	Co-management General Committee		Co-management Executive Committee	
	Categories of Stakeholder	No.	Categories of Stakeholder	No.
a.	Upazila Nirbahi Officer (UNO)- Chair	01	Upazila Agricultural Officer	01
b.	Upazila Agricultural Officer	01	Upazila Fisheries Officer	01
c.	Upazila Fisheries Officer	01	Upazila Livestock officer	01
d.	Upazila Livestock Officer	01	Upazila Social Services Officer	01
e.	Upazila Social Services Officer	01	Assistant Conservator of Forest	01
f.	Assistant Conservator of Forest	01	Respective Range Officer- Member Secretary	01
g.	Respective Range Officer- Member Secretary	01	Relevant Range's Beat Officer and Station Officer	01
h.	Relevant Range's All Beat Officer and Station Officer	05 ¹⁴	Representatives from Law Enforcing Agencies (based on availability 1 member from each of the three agencies: Police, Rapid Action Battalion and Coast guard)	03
i.	Representatives from Law Enforcing Agencies (based on availability 1 member from each of the three agencies: Police, Rapid Action Battalion and Coast guard)	03	UNO nominated 2 members (1 woman) from Protected Area's Union Council	02
j.	UNO nominated 2 members (1 woman) from Protected Area's Union Council	02	06 members nominated by Peoples' Forum (2 women and 4 men)	06
k.	10 members nominated by Peoples' Forum (4 women and 6 men)	10	2 members nominated by 'Community Patrol Group'	02
l.	4 members nominated by 'Community Patrol Group'	04	1 member from any 'Response Team', if prepared based on Section 19(5) of Wildlife (Protection and Security) Act, 2012	01
m.	1 member from any 'Response Team', if prepared based on Section 19(5) of Wildlife (Protection and Security) Act, 2012	01	1 member from Forest Resources Users Organisation, nominated by Divisional Forest officer	01
n.	2 members from Forest Resources Users Organisations nominated by Divisional Forest officer	02	1 member, if any, from ethnic minorities (nominated by UNO)	01
o.	1 member, if any, from ethnic minorities (nominated by UNO)	01		
	Maximum total (approximately)	35	Maximum total	23
	Relevant Upazila Chairman and Divisional Forest Officer shall Act as Advisors. Terms of a 'Co-management General Committee' Shall be 4 (four) years.		President, Vice-President and Treasurer shall be elected among i-n (Co-management Executive Committee) by direct votes of the members from j-o of 'Co-management General Committee'. The President must represent a 'Village Conservation Forum'. Terms of office (except officials) shall be 2 (two) years with maximum two consecutive terms.	

¹⁴ This is an assumed number. The actual total may vary based on each case.