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Editorial: Tourismus im Fokus / Tourism in Focus

Alexander Trupp

ASEAS Redaktion / ASEAS Editorial Board

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Vor einigen Jahren reiste ich als junger Student mit drei Freundinnen in den *Shan State* von Burma/Myanmar. Das diktatorisch geführte Regime, so waren unsere Gedanken damals, sei politisch isoliert, sozio-ökonomisch wenig entwickelt und weise eine vergleichsweise sehr niedrige Anzahl von internationalen TouristInnenankünften auf. Wir erwarteten daher, dort noch „echte" und „ursprüngliche" Kulturen zu erleben. An die Ferienmonate des europäischen Sommers gebunden, erreichten wir Anfang August die angestrebte Stadt im *Shan State*, wo schnell ein Reiseführer gefunden war, der uns eine mehrtägige Dschungelwanderung zu traditionellen Dörfern und ursprünglichen Bevölkerungsgruppen versprach. Am darauffolgenden Morgen starteten wir hochmotiviert in Richtung Berge, doch schon nach einer Stunde Marsch verflog un-

Some years ago, as a young student, I was travelling to the Burmese Shan State together with three friends. We believed the Burmese dictatorship to be politically isolated, hardly socio-economically developed, and receiving comparably few international tourists. Therefore we expected to experience still 'real' and 'authentic' cultures. Bound to European summer holidays, we arrived at our desired destination in the Shan State in August. On arrival, we easily found a promising trekking guide to lead us through the jungle to see traditional villages and authentic ethnic groups. Fired with enthusiasm, we started our tour the next morning, but after just one hour of hiking, our spirit of adventure declined as heavy monsoon rain started and numerous leeches turned up. As we arrived at the eagerly awaited ethnic minority village, we experienced another dis-

sere Abenteuerlust, da heftiger Monsunregen einsetzte und Blutegel zu unseren ständigen Begleitern wurden. Als wir mit Verspätung am nächsten Morgen das ersehnte Minderheitendorf erreichten, folgte eine weitere Enttäuschung: Anstatt traditioneller Häuser aus Naturmaterialien erblickten wir Wellblechhütten aus denen Radiostimmen tönten. Wir wurden in ein Haus eingeladen, um mit dem so vorgestellten „traditionellen Medizinmann" zu sprechen. Als dieser um ein Aspirin fragte, war unsere Hoffnung auf ein besonders „exotisches" Erlebnis endgültig begraben.

Dieses Reiseerlebnis spiegelt einige zentrale Aspekte des internationalen Ferntourismus wider: Erstens, eines der Hauptmotive von Reisenden, nämlich die Suche nach Authentizität (MacCannell, 1973) und Exotik, nach Ursprünglichkeit und somit nach einer Welt, die in unserer eigenen Gesellschaft offenbar verloren gegangen ist. Zweitens, die touristische Perspektive (*tourist gaze*) (Urry, 1990), die durch Medien wie etwa Postkarten, Reisebücher, Reportagen, aber auch durch Erzählungen von FreundInnen geprägt wird und so die touristische Erwartungshaltung bestimmt. Werden während der Reise die konstruierten Vorstellungen nicht erfüllt, sind

appointment: Instead of traditional houses made of natural materials, we caught sight of corrugated iron houses and heard radio voices. We were invited to one of the houses in order to talk to a 'traditional shaman' but when he asked us for aspirin, our hope for a special and 'exotic' experience was definitely abandoned.

This travel experience mirrors some central aspects of international long-haul tourism: First, one of the main travel motivations; that is the quest for authenticity (MacCannell, 1973) and exoticism as well as the search for another world that seems to have been lost in our own society. Second, the *tourist gaze* (Urry, 1990) which is constructed through media such as postcards, travel brochures, or documentaries, but also through stories of friends. Such factors strongly influence our expectation of journeys and we are disappointed if these constructed expectations are not fulfilled. Tourists compare their 'pre-designated' tourist gaze with real experiences and impressions during the trip. Therefore they do not assess their tourist experience according to reality, but reality according to their pre-constructed images (Steinbach, 2002, p. 42). Finally, this narration reflects a limited perspective on the phenomenon of tour-

TouristInnen zumeist enttäuscht. Sie vergleichen ihre vorbestimmten Bilder der touristischen Perspektive mit ihren realen Erlebnissen und Eindrücken und beurteilen somit „nicht das Abbild nach der Realität, sondern die Realität nach dem Abbild“ (Steinbach, 2002, S. 42). Schließlich reflektiert die Erzählung auch eine eingeschränkte Perspektive auf das Phänomen Tourismus. Bereiste Kulturen und Orte sollen so ursprünglich wie möglich bleiben und dürfen sich im Gegensatz zu unserer eigenen Kultur nicht verändern. Das dabei unterstellte statische Modell von Kultur negiert die Tatsache, dass die Bereisten aktive AkteurInnen sind, die im touristischen Kontext Kultur und Ethnizität neu verhandeln.

Die genannten Aspekte des internationalen Ferntourismus wurden von westlichen AutorInnen im Kontext westlicher TouristInnen-Erfahrungen entwickelt und haben nicht unbedingt Gültigkeit für die Analyse von Reisemotivationen asiatischer TouristInnen (Alneng, 2002). Evrard und Leepreecha (2009) erwähnen, dass sich inländische TouristInnen im nordthailändischen Hügelland weniger nach Authentizität, sondern eher nach *sanuk* (Spaß) sehnen (S. 250). Außerdem beschäftigt sich die große Mehrheit der Tourismusstudien mit Phänomen

ism. Tourists want the cultures and places they visit to remain as authentic and traditional as possible while in our own culture, socio-economic and cultural changes are self-evident. Such a viewpoint implies a static model of culture and totally avoids the fact that the visited persons are active agents who re-negotiate their own culture and ethnicity in the context of tourism.

These outlined aspects of international tourism have been developed by Western scholars in the context of Western travel experiences and are not necessarily applicable to the analysis of travel motivations of Asian tourists (Alneng, 2002). Evrard and Leepreecha (2009) mention that domestic tourists in the highlands of northern Thailand favour *sanuk* (fun) over authenticity (p. 250). In addition, the majority of tourist studies are concerned with the phenomena of international tourism (Winter, Teo, & Chang, 2009), even though domestic tourism for many countries plays a crucial role as well. Vietnam, for instance, counted 4.2 million international tourist arrivals in 2009 (UNWTO, 2010) while simultaneously registering 25 million domestic travellers. Huong Thanh Bui (Griffith University) and Lee Jolliffe (University of West Indies) start off this special is-

nen des internationalen Tourismus (Winter, Teo, & Chang, 2009), obwohl für zahlreiche Länder der Inlandstourismus eine mindestens ebenso zentrale Rolle spielt. So wies Vietnam im Jahr 2009 etwa 4,2 Millionen internationale Tourismusankünfte auf (UNWTO, 2010), während die Anzahl der InlandstouristInnen 25 Millionen beträgt. Huong Thanh Bui (Griffith University) und Lee Jolliffe (University of West Indies) eröffnen mit ihrem Beitrag über Reisemotivationen vietnamesischer InlandstouristInnen die aktuelle Schwerpunktausgabe *Tourismus in Südostasien*. Sie weisen unter anderem die signifikante Rolle der von Unternehmen gesponserten Reisen (*bien che*) sowie von Familienurlauben nach. Achariya Nate-Chei (Chiang Mai University) untersucht in ihrer ethnographischen Studie die Interaktionen der Bereisten und der Reisenden in ausgewählten *White Tai*-Dörfern im nordwestlichen Hügelland von Vietnam und argumentiert, dass deren Beziehungen sowie die Wahrnehmungen der bereisten Bevölkerung nur verstanden werden können, wenn klassische Konzepte von Authentizität und Kommodifizierung erweitert werden. Am Beispiel der thailändischen Ferieninsel Phuket illustriert Bianca Gantner (Universität Wien) Entwicklung sowie

sue on *Tourism in South-East Asia* with a contribution on travel motivations in Vietnamese domestic tourism. The authors highlight the significant role of family holidays as well as of the employer sponsoring the trip (*bien che*). Using an ethnographic approach, Achariya Nate-Chei (Chiang Mai University) explores the interactions between hosts and guests in selected *White Tai* villages in the North-Western highlands of Vietnam. She argues that host-guest relations and villagers' perceptions can only be understood if one looks beyond classical concepts of authenticity and commodification. Using the example of the Thai holiday island Phuket, Bianca Gantner (University of Vienna) illustrates the development of tourism's informal sector as well as its network of actors and its supply structure, and analyses the interdependencies between formal and informal sectors. Critics often argue that the fast tourism development in South-East Asia has caused negative ecological and social problems including the exclusion of local people in the context of tourism decision-making processes. Alternative forms of travel such as community-based tourism aim to enhance the local people's participation and minimize negative ecological effects. Christian Byczek

Angebots- und Akteursstruktur des touristisch informellen Sektors und analysiert die Interdependenzen zwischen formellem und informellem Sektor. Oftmals wird kritisiert, dass die touristische Entwicklung in Südostasien zu rasant verläuft und somit negative ökologische und soziale Folgen, wie etwa den Ausschluss lokaler Bevölkerungsgruppen an der touristischen Entwicklung, mit sich bringt. Alternative Reiseformen wie gemeindeorientierter Tourismus sollen der einheimischen Bevölkerung mehr Mitspracherecht ermöglichen sowie ökologisch negative Auswirkungen minimieren. Christian Byczek (Tourismus-Experte und Absolvent der Universität Bonn) untersuchte ein gemeindeorientiertes Ökotourismusprojekt auf der Insel Bali, Indonesien und beschäftigt sich mit der Frage, inwieweit diese Tourismusform eine Alternative zum dominierenden massentouristischen Angebot darstellen kann.

In der Rubrik „Forum“ werden zwei sehr gegensätzliche touristische Erscheinungsformen in Thailand vorgesellt. Claudia Dolezal (University of Brighton/SEAS) diskutiert am Beispiel eines gemeindeorientierten Projekts das Konzept von Authentizität sowie die vorherrschenden Machtverhältnisse zwischen den touristischen Akteu-

(tourism expert und graduate of the University of Bonn) examined a community-based ecotourism project on the island of Bali, Indonesia. He deals with the question of to what extent such a type of tourism may constitute a sustainable alternative to the dominating forms of mass tourism.

In the section ‘Forum’, two quite contrasting tourist attractions in Thailand are presented. Claudia Dolezal (University of Brighton/SEAS) discusses the concept of authenticity as well as prevailing power relations by reference to a community-based tourism project. She calls for a holistic approach that integrates both dynamic concepts of culture and the problems of unequal power relations. Alexander Trupp (University of Vienna/ASEAS) discusses colonial forms of ‘human zoos’ in which inhabitants of ‘remote’ countries were exhibited for money, and compares these with ethnic tourism attractions that can be visited in twenty-first century Thailand and Southern China.

ASEAS aims to support young researchers by making their work more visible. Thus, the section ‘Research Workshop’ also features two Master’s thesis projects. Christian Wollnik (University of Marburg) presents his study on Timor-Leste (East Timor), a country

rInnen und plädiert für einen Denkansatz, der einen dynamischen Kulturbegriff ebenso integriert wie die Problematik bestehender Machtungleichgewichte. Alexander Trupp (Universität Wien/ASEAS) diskutiert die kolonialen Formen von „Menschenzoos", in denen BewohnerInnen „ferner" Länder gegen Eintrittsgeld zur Schau gestellt wurden, und vergleicht diese mit heutigen ethnotouristischen Attraktionen in Thailand und Südchina.

ASEAS hat sich zum Ziel gesetzt, die Nachwuchsforschung in den Südostasienstudien zu fördern und sichtbarer zu machen. Daher werden in der Rubrik „Research Workshop" diesmal auch zwei Diplomarbeitsprojekte vorgestellt. Christian Wollnik (Universität Marburg) beschäftigt sich mit Timor-Leste (Osttimor), einem Land das noch am Beginn der touristischen Entwicklung steht. Im Gegensatz zu anderen südostasiatischen Ländern wie etwa Thailand oder Indonesien, wo eine zu rasante und unkontrollierte touristische Entwicklung stattgefunden hat, bestünde in Timor-Leste die Chance, ein nachhaltiges Tourismuskonzept von Anfang an zu implementieren. Julia Jöstl und Birgit Wieser (Universität Wien) behandeln das Phänomen der Altersmigration nach Thailand. Das beliebte Reiseland bietet viele Annehm-

that has just started out on tourism development. In contradistinction to Thailand or Indonesia, which experienced fast and uncontrolled growth in tourism, Timor-Leste has the opportunity to implement a sustainable tourism concept from the beginning. Julia Jöstl and Birgit Wieser (University of Vienna) elaborate on the phenomenon of 'Amenity/Retirement Migration' to Thailand. The popular travel destination offers several amenities for 'long-term tourists', but the question of whether this development benefits both hosts and guests is controversial. 'In Dialogue' with Michelle Proyer (University of Vienna/ASEAS), Astrid Winkler, Director of ECPAT Austria, explains that child sex tourism, contrary to popular media representations, is not limited to Thailand and Cambodia, the countries that are commonly associated with this problem.

This special issue will be completed by two book reviews concerning Tourism in South-East Asia (Claudia Dolezal) and Heritage Tourism in South-East Asia; both volumes are edited by Hitchcock, King, and Parnwell.

Outside the tourism focus, Otto von Feigenblatt (Millenia Atlantic University) analyses governance structures and the conflict in the South of Thailand which is mainly populated by

lichkeiten für „LangzeittouristInnen“, doch die Frage, ob diese Entwicklung für beide Seiten eine „Win-Win“-Situation darstellt, wird kontrovers diskutiert. „Im Dialog“ mit Michelle Proyer (Universität Wien/ASEAS) erläutert Astrid Winkler, Geschäftsführerin von ECPAT Österreich, dass Kindersextourismus entgegen medialer Repräsentation nicht auf die vielfach genannten Länder Thailand und Kambodscha beschränkt bleibt.

Der Themenschwerpunkt dieser Ausgabe wird mit zwei Buchrezensionen zu Tourismus in Südostasien (Claudia Dolezal) bzw. Heritage-Tourismus in Südostasien (Kerstin Schiele), beide Werke herausgegeben von Hitchcock, King und Parnwell, abgeschlossen.

Abseits des Tourismus-Schwerpunktes analysiert Otto von Feigenblatt (Millenia Atlantic University) die Governance-Strukturen und den Konflikt im von der malaiischen Minderheit bewohnten Südthailand. Er kritisiert, dass beträchtliche Möglichkeiten zur wirtschaftlichen, politischen und sozialen Entwicklung aufgrund fehlgeleiteter politischer Maßnahmen ausgelassen wurden. In der Rubrik „Research Workshop“ stellen Michelle Proyer, Margarita Schiemer und Mikael Luciak (Universität Wien) ihr vom the Malay ethnonationality. He makes the criticism that, due to misguided governance policies, considerable economic, political, and social opportunities for development are being lost.

In the section ‘Research Workshop’, Michelle Proyer, Margarita Schiemer, and Mikael Luciak (University of Vienna) outline their ASF-funded research project that aims to explore classifications of disabilities in the field of education in Thailand, Austria, and Ethiopia.

Furthermore, ASEAS continues the introduction of Austrian research institutes working on South-East Asian related topics: Petra Dannecker and Wolfram Schaffar present the Department of Development Studies of the University of Vienna. Finally, Kosita Butratana (University of Vienna) and Alexander Trupp (University of Vienna/ASEAS) provide some impressions of Thai communities in Vienna, which constitute Austria’s second biggest immigrant group from South-East Asia. We hope to be able to continue this pilot project in order to enhance the representation of South-East Asia in Vienna.

FWF gefördertes Projekt zu Klassifizierungen von Behinderungen im Bildungssystem in Thailand, Österreich und Äthiopien vor.

Außerdem wird in der Rubrik „Netzwerk Südostasienforschung" die Vorstellung österreichischer Forschungseinrichtungen, an denen zu Südostasien gearbeitet wird, fortgesetzt: Petra Dannecker und Wolfram Schaffar präsentieren das Institut für Internationale Entwicklung der Universität Wien. Mit einem Beitrag zu thailändischen Communities in Wien liefern Kosita Butratana (Universität Wien) und Alexander Trupp (Universität Wien/ASEAS) des Weiteren einige visuelle Eindrücke zur zahlenmäßig zweitgrößten südostasiatischen Bevölkerungsgruppe in Wien. Wir hoffen, in den nächsten ASEAS-Ausgaben diesen Pilotversuch zur stärkeren Repräsentation von Südostasien in Wien fortführen zu können.

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Vietnamese Domestic Tourism: An Investigation of Travel Motivations

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Citation Bui, H. T., & Jolliffe, L. (2011). Vietnamese Domestic Tourism: An Investigation of Travel Motivations. *ASEAS - Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies, 4*(1), 10-29.

This article approaches domestic tourism in Vietnam from a native Asian perspective aiming to examine Vietnamese domestic travel motivations. This quantitative study is based on a self-administered questionnaire to survey 230 Vietnamese domestic travellers. Results highlight the significant roles of the employer sponsoring the trip, family, travel promotion, and favourable weather in determining travel, in addition to their motivations to seek time for leisure and recreation. Moreover, the study detected a perception gap between the tourist's demand and the travel agent's supply. The behaviour of Vietnamese domestic travellers reflects the characteristics of a transition economy and reveals certain aspects which are also peculiar to other Asian countries.

Keywords: Domestic Tourism, Travel Motivations, Social Tourism, Urban Tourism, Vietnam

Die hier präsentierte quantitative Studie untersucht Reisemotive vietnamesischer InlandstouristInnen mittels eines an 230 ProbandInnen gerichteten Fragebogens. Die Ergebnisse heben neben dem Motiv der Freizeitgestaltung und Erholung die signifikante Rolle der Reisefinanzierung durch ArbeitgeberInnen, der Familie, der Tourismuswerbung sowie der Wetterbedingungen für die Reiseentscheidung hervor. Außerdem ergab die Studie, dass sich die touristischen Motivationen vom Angebot der Reiseagenturen unterscheiden. Die Autorinnen argumentieren, dass das Urlaubsverhalten vietnamesischer InlandstouristInnen Charakteristika eines im wirtschaftlichen Umbruch befindenden Landes widerspiegelt sowie Aspekte aufzeigt, die auch in anderen asiatischen Ländern eine wichtige Rolle spielen.

Schlagworte: *Inlandstourismus, Reisemotive, Sozialer Tourismus, Städtetourismus, Vietnam*

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Introduction

Over the last two decades, South-East Asia, East Asia, and the Pacific have experienced the most rapid growth in regional tourist arrivals in the world, averaging 9.2 percent per annum (Hitchcock, King, & Parnwell, 2009). Since the 1990s tourism has become one of South-East Asia's foremost industries (Hitchcock, King, & Parnwell, 1993). The World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC, 2010) estimates that travel and tourism contributed USD59 billion to the region's GDP, and created 8.2 million jobs in 2010 and expect an average growth rate of 6.6 percent per annum between 2010 and 2020. Tourism in the region has gradually recovered from the Asian financial crisis in 1997, the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) epidemics in 2003 and the massive earthquake and tsunami in 2004 that seriously shrank international demand. The significant growth of regional tourism despite these crises and disasters has proven that the tourism industry in South-East Asia has not been over-dependent on international arrivals and indeed has greatly benefited from its massive domestic demand. Vietnam's tourism development also shares similar attributes (Suntikul, Butler, & Airey, 2008).

Vietnam has been recognised as an emerging economy with a significant and growing tourism market (Bennet, 2009). The country has undergone radical economic reform since 1986 (Berger, 2005), turning since the 2000s into an emerging low-cost destination for international tourists. Besides this significant increase in international arrivals, Vietnam has a population of 89 million people, with one in every three residents travelling domestically in 2009: this made for a total of 25 million domestic travellers (VNAT, 2010). While the significance of this huge domestic market is ignored by government policy, planning, and promotion efforts, there has been some attention paid to the emergence of domestic tourism in Vietnam in the literature (Gillen, 2008; 2010).

The current Western approach to tourism as a subject of study in South-East Asia, and to Vietnam in particular, often places domestic travel in a marginal position, as Alneng (2002a) claims in *The Modern Does Not Cater for the Native*. This treatment of native tourists coupled with the negligence of the local government in recognising this sector has hindered the progress of research on domestic travel in South-East Asia. Despite the potential challenge of mismatching Western travel theory to native

(South-East) Asian travellers, and the lack of well-established theories to fully explain the behaviour of (South-East) Asian travellers, it is now timely to investigate this relatively under-researched topic of domestic travel in South-East Asia through the case of Vietnam.

This research thus views Vietnamese domestic tourism within the context of the transition from a centrally planned to a market-driven economy; providing an analysis of Vietnamese domestic tourist motivations from a native Asian perspective. One author was born and raised in Vietnam and both authors have had training and consulting experience in tourism-related institutions in Vietnam. In addition, the survey instrument was in Vietnamese, and was carried out with Vietnamese participants, blending the unique characteristics of Vietnamese tourism with existing Western theories. Addressing the lack of reliable statistics on domestic tourist behaviours, the researchers conducted an empirical study to elaborate motivations and travel patterns, complementing simple descriptive government tourism data. Understanding the characteristics of domestic tourists is vital to comprehending the challenges for the emerging tourism industry in Vietnam in particular and in South-East Asia in general.

Literature Review

The review aims to provide contextual and theoretical grounds for the study. It starts with an overview of tourism studies in the context of South-East Asia and points to the limitations of existing approaches. This is followed by reviews of current research on domestic tourism in Asia and Vietnam, highlighting research gaps to be addressed. Finally, a theoretical foundation for the study is built upon the existing literature on tourist motivation, identifying some influential socio-cultural factors.

South-East Asia Regional Studies – Tourism in Context

The term 'South-East Asia' was created primarily during World War II to impose conceptual, geographical, and strategic order on a medley of territories lying to the east of India and south of China (Kratoska, Raben, & Nordholt, 2005). The South-East Asia region includes Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Brunei, Laos,

Vietnam, Cambodia, Myanmar and latterly East Timor. Tourism within a regional boundary is a well-justified subject of South-East Asian studies according to Hitchcock, King and Parnwell (2009). First, there is an official tourism region of 'South-East Asia' recognised by the Pacific Asia Tourism Association (PATA). Second, the traditions of the colonial era in the region make tourism here a favourable topic for study in Western literature.

South-East Asia, as a part of the developing world, has been addressed in the tourism literature largely from an economic angle where tourism contributes to the local economy and in the context of host-guest relations between the rich, mainly tourist-generating regions of the North, and the poor, mainly tourist-receiving regions of the South (Ghimire, 2001; Selwyn, 1990; Winter, Teo, & Chang, 2009a) including Vietnam (Biles, Lloyd, & Logan, 1999, Lloyd, 2003; 2004). The region is known for its diverse cultures, rich heritage, and inexpensive tourism services, making it a favourite destination for young Western backpackers seeking authentic experiences with a limited budget (Cohen, 2004; 2006; Richards & Wilson, 2004). From an anthropological perspective, South-East Asia is seen as an indigenous society that primarily creates a kind of fantasy to motivate travelling here amongst Westerners (Burns, 2004; van Egmond, 2007). This approach to South-East Asian studies reflects a colonial view that places the Northern rich tourists at the centre. However, over the last several decades, South-East Asia's economy has dramatically developed, leading to an expansion of the tourism industry (Hitchcock et al., 2009, Winter et al., 2009a) helping to reposition the region on the world tourism map. Consequently, domestic tourism in South-East Asia has increasingly been recognised as a novel topic in tourism research (Singh, 2009), adding a new perspective to the existing colonial, Western-centric view on South-East Asia tourism (Winter, Teo, & Chang, 2009b).

Domestic Tourism in Asia

Domestic tourism is defined as "journeys and visits within a person's home country" (Singh, 2009, p. 1) and the domestic tourist is understood as "any person residing in a country who travels to a place within the country, outside his/her usual environment for a period not exceeding 12 months" (UNTWO, 1995, p. 4). Indeed, from the academic and policy perspective, domestic tourism is a poor and undervalued

cousin to international tourism, particularly in Asia (Richter, 1989). Earlier research on the domestic tourist in Asia was initiated by Richter's (1989) seminal work *The Politics of Tourism in Asia*. It focuses on the unique circumstances that characterise tourism in Asian countries. More recently, *Domestic Tourism in Asia* edited by Singh (2009) brings the Asian domestic tourist into the centre of the discussion, as do Winter et al. (2009a) in *Asia on Tour: Exploring the Rise of Asian Tourism*. China and India, the most populous countries in the world, also have the two largest domestic tourism markets. Consequently, research on domestic tourism cannot ignore these markets. Pilgrimage travel is popular amongst Indian domestic travellers (Edensor, 1998; Ghimire, 2001; Singh, 2005) as well as for the Vietnamese (Alneng, 2009) while research on Chinese domestic tourists reveals a focus on different motivations such as family togetherness, company-sponsored trips (Chan, 2006) and normative destination choices (Nyiri, 2006).

The ongoing growth of Asian tourism demands a reappraisal of how tourism is analysed and conceptualised (Winter et al., 2009b). For example, Alneng (2002a) states that some patterns of Asian domestic travellers may be different to those of their Western counterparts. Studying the symbolism of the World Heritage Site the Taj Mahal that appeals to the native Indian tourist, led Edensor (1998) to conclude that Western travel behaviour theories might be little applicable to Asian tourists. In addition, Chan (2006, p. 205) calls the behaviour of searching for modernity by Chinese travellers "inadequacy", which is similar to what Oakes (1998, p. 229) labels "false modernity" in comparison to Western assumptions. Another study of a Chinese scenic spot by Nyiri (2006) records a reverse perception of destination attributes when domestic tourists are compared to their Western counterparts. Similarly, Gillen (2008) addresses these points directly in relation to Vietnamese. These findings from previous studies may provide some indication of what the Vietnamese domestic tourist might be like in terms of behaviour, beyond the explanations offered by existing Western travel theories.

An Overview of Domestic Tourism in Vietnam

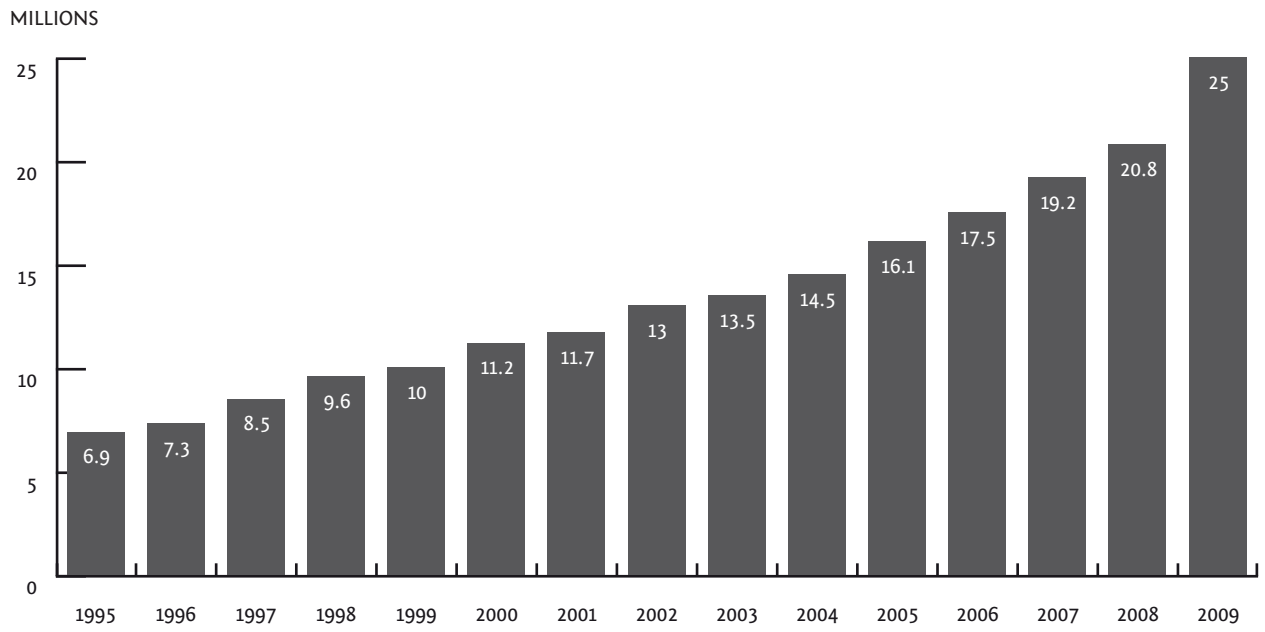
Vietnam obtained membership in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 1995, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) in 1998 and the World Trade

Organisation (WTO) in 2007. These memberships hastened Vietnam's integration into the world economy, and facilitated Vietnam's active participation in regional integration initiatives, including tourism. Tourism in Vietnam has thus been the focus of a number of anthropological studies addressing host (Vietnamese) and guest (foreign tourist) perspectives (Alneng, 2002a; 2002b; Chan, 2006; Michaud & Turner, 2006). In criticising the anthropological approach as a superficial 'looking glass', Alneng (2002a) calls for addressing a more comprehensive picture of the Vietnamese as tourists. His latest publication (Alneng, 2009) on Zen tourism is a pioneering attempt to understand pilgrimage tourism in Vietnam. Michaud & Turner (2006) discuss the blend between market-driven demand and centrally-planned command economies that produce a form of social tourism sponsored by their employers called *bien che*. This occurs when the person who is on the permanent payroll of an organisation receives a company-sponsored holiday as part of the organisation's employment package.

From the standpoint of the South-East Asian tourism industry, domestic travellers are seen as a primary market, now and in the future. In Vietnam, economic achievements have led to the emerging urban middle class being a driving force for consumption. As a matter of fact, with the global recession in full swing, tourists are trying to save money yet still travel, so travel within their own country is an attractive option. In addition, domestic tourists can stimulate the local economy by reducing overseas travel. As a consequence, the number of domestic tourists in Vietnam has increased almost threefold in 15 years, peaking in 2009 at 25 million tourists (Figure 1), nearly reaching the projection by the Vietnam National Administration of Tourism (VNAT) of 30 million domestic trips by 2010 (VNAT, 2007). This spectacular growth in domestic travel and tourism has been caused by both economic and social factors.

Vietnam has the sixth largest population in Asia with 89 million people in 2009, of which 68.3 percent lies within the working age of 15-64 and 29.6 percent are urban residents, according to the General Statistics Office (GSO, 2006b). In terms of economic development, the GDP per capita of Vietnamese has increased sevenfold over the last 15 years, resulting in USD700 in 2007. The continued increase in disposable income opens additional opportunities for the development of domestic tourism. A 2005 survey (GSO, 2006a) reveals that the majority of domestic visitors travelled independently, arranging their own itineraries (88.1 percent). The average expenditure

Figure 1: Domestic Tourists in Vietnam (1995 – 2009)



Source: Vietnam Administration of Tourism (VNAT, 2010)

per domestic tourist travelling independently was USD118 for an average of 3.5 days, around USD35 per day.

The major problems with existing tourism databases in Vietnam are that the patterns of domestic tourists are much more complicated than reported, well beyond the simple descriptive statistics in national surveys and official government documentation. This gap signifies the need to conduct an empirical study informed by a framework based on theories of travel behaviours.

Theoretical Foundations

The theoretical framework for this study is drawn from a functional approach to travel demand, including economic factors together with a socio-psychological approach dealing with intrinsic factors. Ryan (2003, p. vii) has confirmed it is necessary to adopt both in an approach to the study of recreational tourism: "In one sense economic factors enable holiday choice to be exercised while the social and psychologi-

cal variables help to shape the nature of choice to be made … The factors are interdependent". These factors such as income, availability of time, and favourable weather primarily determine the propensity to travel. Ryan (2003) defines economic factors as level of income and the cost of travel. Several studies have confirmed the impacts of income in generating travel demand (Crouch, 1995; Lim, 1997; Morley, 1992). Similarly, Leiper (2004) states that to turn needs into demand, the persons must have enough money. In addition, the impacts of time, in regards to seasonality and weather conditions, are specified as influencing travel demand (Goh & Law, 2002). There is also growing debate on climatic impacts on travel demand (de Freitas, 2005; Hamilton & Tol, 2004; Lise & Tol, 2002). Specifically, Martín and Belén (2005) consider the influence that climate and weather exert on the geographical space, demand, supply, and market agents of the tourism system.

From the social and psychological perspectives, the theoretical framework of the study is therefore grounded in various theories of tourist motivations. Western motivational theory in tourism is marked by a seminal empirical study by Dann (1977) who introduces 'push' and 'pull' factors. Iso-Ahola (1982; 1980) defines the key components of a satisfactory experience as both intrinsic motivation, i.e. psychological rewards from participation in leisure activities, and extrinsic motivation, i.e. the pressures of daily life. Mayo and Jarvis (1981) mention two types of motivation: physiological and psychological. Motivation for travel and tourism changes with experience as a longitudinal dimension, labelled as a 'travel career' by Pearce (1988). He also proposes a travel-need model based on Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Further work by Pearce on the social role of tourist has an emphasis on the role of reference groups (2005).

In the study of domestic Vietnamese travel patterns, it would be erroneous not to mention the socio-cultural background of these tourists that influences their behaviour (Nash, 1996). Vietnam shares many characteristics of Asian culture, placing great value on family relationships (Reid, 1999). Family ties are one of the factors strongly influencing Asian travellers (Chan, 2006; Guo, 2006). The deep value placed on family in Asian societies can be hypothesised to influence the Vietnamese domestic traveller's behaviour.

The economic background of the country should also be noted. The tourism system in Vietnam reflects certain characteristics of a transitional economy transforming from a centrally-planned to market-oriented system (Bennet, 2009; Berger, 2005),

for example in the type of tourism products and experiences, such as the resort visit discussed below. Thus, in this study the researchers incorporate various social, cultural, and economic elements of contemporary Vietnam into the design of the instrument.

Methodology

This exploratory study aims to generate a profile of Vietnamese domestic travellers by highlighting their demographic characteristics, travel patterns, and motivations through the use of a quantitative questionnaire. The methods used to conduct the study will be discussed in terms of the development of the survey instrument, the choice of participants, and the data analysis.

The Instrument

The study adopted three different strategies to increase the validity of the survey instrument. Firstly, the items on the travel demand and motivational scales were informed both by existing theories in the literature and by qualitative interviews with a number of domestic tour operators. Secondly, in order to be comparable to previous surveys of the GSO, the categorical design of questions in the demographics and the travel patterns sections were based on categories commonly used in the GSO's travel survey. Finally, the survey items were reviewed and amended through several discussions with tour companies for their feedback. Based on the suggestions of tour operators, a new element of travel demand was hypothesised: the influence of promotional campaigns by the tour companies. The questionnaire consisted of four main sections arranged into three pages presented in Vietnamese. The first section asked about the travel patterns of the travellers. The second part investigated the demographic characteristics of the travellers. The major part of the questionnaire covered six scales to measure demand and motivation, including the factors of weather, timing, promotional activities, economic factors, reference group influences, and psychological factors. Each factor included five smaller statements that were divided into five point scales (1 – 'highly disagree' to 5 – 'highly agree'). The survey items are in Table 3.

The Participants

The participants were Vietnamese who travelled to Thac Da Resort for a weekend visit. Thac Da is an all-inclusive resort located some 70 kilometres from Hanoi. This mountainous destination resort has increasingly become a popular destination for city residents from Hanoi to spend their weekend at. The survey was carried out in Vietnamese over a three-week period in October 2007. Of the 300 questionnaires distributed there were 244 usable surveys, while 14 were incomplete, leaving a response rate of 81 percent. Participant demographic details are in Table 1.

The Analysis

The data was analysed using SPSS 15. The demographic characteristics and travel patterns were analysed descriptively. Factor analysis was used to explore travel demand and motivational factors. There were 26 motivational items for factor analysis with the principal component method and promax rotation. There were 230 cases available for analysis, which imposed a limitation because factor analysis should include 10 respondents for each item (Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994; Pett, Lackney, & Sullivan, 2003). However, the sample was not too far from the desirable 260 cases (for 26 motivational items). An exploratory factor analysis was used. Eight factors emerged from the initial solution. Items with low communality (less than .50) and items with a less than .40 loading on any one factor were removed one at a time. Two factors were found to be trivial factors with only one item, therefore these were removed from the analysis. After removing each item, another factor analysis was run to fine-tune the results. The final six-factor solution retained 16 items, accounted for 66 percent of the variance. Summated scale was computed and rescaled (1 to 5). Means and standard deviation for these summated scales were calculated (Table 3).

Findings and Discussion

The findings from the survey are structured into three parts. The first part describes the demographic characteristics of the respondents (Table 1), followed by the second part highlighting their travel patterns (Table 2), with finally the results of factor

analysis on 26 items on demand and motivation being presented (Table 3).

With regards to the demographics of the respondents, the proportion of male and female respondents was 41.3 percent and 58.7 percent respectively. Regarding employment, 46.1 percent were employed in the public sector, with the rest in the private, foreign-invested, and self-employed sectors (25.7, 12.2, and 16.1 percent respectively). More than 80 percent of the respondents were within the 20-49 years age range, the working and childbearing period. Those age groups under 50 make up the majority of the current and potential future domestic market in Vietnam tourism. Distribution of annual gross income was 25.2 percent for "under VND10 million" (equivalent to USD700) and 17.4 percent for "VND10-19.9 million" (USD700-1,200) income groups. The potential lucrative market for tourism is the income group of VND20 million (USD1,200) and over, with 15.2 percent with an average annual income of "VND20-39.9 million" (USD1,200-2,400), 20 percent with "VND40-59.9 million" (USD2,400-3,600), and 8.7 percent with "VND60-79.9 million" (USD3,600-4,800). Based on these responses, the representation of

Table 1: Sociodemographic Characteristics of Respondents

	N	Percent
Gender		
Male	95	41.3
Female	135	58.7
Age		
Under 20	10	4.3
20 – 29	112	48.7
30 – 39	33	14.3
40 – 49	47	20.4
50 – 59	22	9.6
Over 59	6	2.6
Residency		
City	196	85.2
Small Town (Near City)	13	5.7
Rural Town	7	3.0
Other	14	6.1
Occupation		
Manager/Director	29	12.6
Professional (Doctor, Lawyer, Teacher, etc.)	24	10.4
Technical (Technician, Nursing, etc.)	11	4.8
Office Worker/Administration	62	27.0
Service/Salesperson	18	7.8
Worker/Peasant Farmer/Manual Worker	16	7.0
Student	49	21.3
Other	21	9.1
Economic Sector		
State-Owned	106	46.1
Private (Non-Foreign-Invested)	59	25.7
Foreign-Invested	28	12.2
Self-Employed	37	16.1
Annual Income		
Under 10m VND	58	25.2
10 – 19.9m VND	40	17.4
20 – 39.9m VND	35	15.2
40 – 59.9m VND	46	20.0
60 – 79.9m VND	20	8.7
80 – 99.9m VND	11	4.8
100 – 119.9m VND	10	4.3
Over 120m VND	10	4.3

Source: Authors' Survey

the sample is applicable to the overall population found in the GSO's 2005 survey. However, the sample reflects an imbalance in the frequency representing occupational groups. As seen in Table 1, almost half of the sample was in the office worker or administration and student categories. There is a disparity of average income between the surveyed respondents and the GSO's samples.

In terms of the travel patterns, the majority (72.6 percent) of respondents choose July, August, and September as a time to travel. This information is congruent with the high season of Vietnamese domestic tourism. The next most popular travel periods were from April to June, and from January to March, (13.5 and 8.7 percent respectively). These periods are the shoulder seasons in Vietnamese tourism. Holiday travel was often organised with family (42.6 percent) or friends (29.1 percent). Domestic tourists travelled with partners (11.7 percent), and other regular contacts, such as colleagues (9.1 percent). A few domestic tourists went alone (6.1 percent) and only 1.3 percent participated in organised tours or group travel. Vietnamese domestic tourists prefer to organise their own tours as opposed to purchasing package tours (59.6 and 40.4 percent respectively). The major source of travel information was from friends (40.4 percent), followed by the internet (28.3 percent), past experience (25.2 percent), and guidebooks (21.3 percent). Travel agents, tour operators and brochures played a very minor role (less than 15 percent) in travel decisions. These figures do not deviate from the general domestic travellers' survey by the government (GSO, 2006b).

Table 2: Travel Patterns

	N	Percent
Travel Time		
Jan – Mar	20	8.7
Apr – Jun	31	13.5
Jul – Sep	167	72.6
Oct – Dec	12	5.2
Travel Partners		
Alone	14	6.1
Your partner	27	11.7
Family (with children)	69	30.0
Family (no children)	29	12.6
Friends	67	29.1
A tour group	3	1.3
Other	21	9.1
Travel Arrangements		
Tour package	93	40.4
Independent	137	59.6
Source of Information		
Friends	93	40.4
Past experience	58	25.2
Internet	65	28.3
Tour operator	3	1.3
Travel agent	33	14.3
Television	37	16.1
Magazine	41	17.8
Brochure	34	14.8
Guidebook	49	21.3
Other	21	9.1

Source: Authors' Survey

The purpose of factor design for the survey is to identify factors that influence travel demand and motivation of Vietnamese domestic tourists. The

six-factor solutions include: weather, timing, promotions, income, reference groups, and a psychological element. The result from the analysis revealed a different six-factor structure. Two original factors, time and reference groups were diluted. Two valid items of the time factor (*when I have free time*, *children have school holidays*) were retained but merged into other two different factors. In a similar fashion, two items in reference groups (*employer sponsorship* and *family suggestion*) were retained but became two different new factors. Two new factors were formulated capturing the influence from employer and family on travel motivation. Items in the company factor were *employers arrange holiday* and *employer's sponsorship*. In the newly formed family factor, three items are *family suggestion* (designated under the reference group), *strengthen family togetherness* (designated for the psychological factor) and *children have school holidays* (designated for the time factor). The dissolution of the timing and reference group factors suggested that these elements might not be determinants of travel motivation.

The formulation of two new factors showed that the family and the employer played a more important role than previously anticipated in travel decision-making. The most stable factor was promotions and travel cost, which retained three out of five items. The weather factor retained only two items. The psychological factor had two original design items and a new item (*when I have free time*), so the factor was renamed as 'relaxation'. Detailed results of the factor analysis are shown in Table 3.

The first factor is called 'employer sponsorship'. This factor relates to the practice of social tourism that Michaud and Turner (2006) called *bien che* and accounted for the largest variance (21.24 percent). As 80 percent of the respondents were in the working age group, this might explain the significant role of their employer. The employer involvement in an individual's travel decision has been measured by both the dimensions of timing, when the employer arranges the holiday, and the financial sponsorship of the trip. This characteristic type of travel results from the pre-market economy socialist era, when all aspects of a state employee's life were taken care of by their employer, whose duty was to keep the worker's spirits high. The findings also reflect an ongoing tradition inherited from the communist era before 1986 when the state owned enterprises (SOE) were the most powerful sector in the economy and which had the money, power, and contacts to be able to offer employees free travel in the summer holidays. Despite of the changing role of SOEs in Vietnam after 'doi moi',

this 'employer sponsorship' tradition still plays a crucial role in building corporate culture and given birth to an unique corporate tourism product in Vietnam termed 'team building'. The destination for the employer-sponsored trip as part of social tourism is usually selected collectively or by the head of the unit (Michaud & Turner, 2006). This free trip motivates individuals to travel with co-workers. It is a chance for employees to get to know each other and become closer in order to foster a shared organisational culture. In the new post-socialist Vietnam this *bien che* terminology truly reflects the purpose of employer-sponsored holiday, which is no longer only limited to government workers and SOEs. This practice as a motivational factor has been discussed on a limited basis in Western tourism literature, perhaps simply because it was an exclusive product of a marriage between socialist philosophy and market-driven demand. Vietnamese employers have utilised the company trip as a fringe benefit for workers and also to strengthen the team spirit and collectivism – a vital part of Eastern business culture that is comparable to similar patterns of Chinese travellers found by Chan (2006).

Table 3: Factor Analysis of Motivational Items

	Mean	SD	Loading	Variance
Empoyers' Sponsorship	3.05	0.8		21.24
.Employer-arranged holidays			0.86	
.Employers' sponsorhip			0.81	
Relaxation	3.32	0.93		12.56
.Change of everyday routine			0.84	
.When I have free time			0.8	
.Reduce stress			0.63	
Promotion	3.23	0.87		9.12
.Advertisements are attractive			0.92	
.New products launched			0.75	
.Great discount and promotions			0.6	
Cost	2.59	0.86		8.76
.Travel greatly affects my income			0.83	
.Sharing cost with a group			0.68	
.Free trips from my company			0.49	
Family	2.77	0.87		7.42
.Family suggestion			0.78	
.Strengthen family togetherness			0.67	
.Children have school holidays			0.63	
Weather	3.75	0.72		6.98
.Safe enough to travel			0.83	
.Fit the form of travel			0.8	

Source: Authors' Survey

The second factor, named 'relaxation', includes the items of *change of everyday routine*, *when I have free time*, and *reduces stress*, accounting for 12.56 percent of the variance. It corresponded to Iso-Ahola's (1982) theory that travelling is primarily a mode of escape. In a state of disequilibrium, people either try to find more or less stimulation to satisfy their needs and return balance to their life. In today's Vietnamese society, people can be over-stimulated by stress at home or at work, thus they often try to free themselves from daily hassles and to seek a sense of relaxation and renewal.

The third factor 'promotion' and the fourth factor 'cost' explained 9.12 percent and 8.76 percent of the total variance. These factors reflected the way in which income and financial arrangements affect travel decisions. The importance and relatively high mean value of the 'promotion' factor (3.23) corresponded to a moderate degree of the agreement of tourists to the price discounting strategy used by domestic tour operators. However, low mean value of the 'cost' factor (2.59) inferred a low propensity to save money in travelling amongst the customers. In other words, while Vietnamese domestic tourists may value opportunities to get discounted prices via travel promotions, this factor might not greatly affect their travel decision since the propensity to save on travel costs is rather weak. These findings can be explained by the fact that nearly 75 percent of the respondents who participated in the survey had annual incomes well above the average of USD700. These findings, in conjunction with the average expenditure of USD118 per trip reported by the GSO survey (2006), have confirmed that Vietnamese domestic travellers have a great propensity to spend on travel. Theoretically, this confirms Leiper's (2004) statement that enough money, time, and freedom from constraints such as family or health were determinant factors in turning needs into travel demands. It appears that, in our study the results from these two factors reflect a perception gap between tour operators and tourists, where the former expect positive responses to travel promotions focusing on price while the latter may be willing to pay more than the operators anticipated.

The fifth factor 'family' can be categorised as a part of the 'social' factor, the influence of kinship group specified by Pearce (2005). However, the cluster of three items originally designed under time, psychology and reference group hang together and formed a new factor explaining for 7.42 percent of the variance. In reference to the respondents' majority age group (between 25 and 49), it is the child-bearing and

child-raising period. The formation of the 'family' factor reveals unique characteristics of the Vietnamese, who are strongly influenced by Confucianism's emphasis on good family relationships (Reid, 1999). The family orientation in travelling is in line with the findings of Guo (2006). It also somewhat matches the statements regarding family togetherness of Chinese travellers to Vietnam (Chan, 2006).

The final factor determined the role of weather, which had the highest mean value (3.75). The important role of weather in travel decisions found in this study supports the argument that weather conditions have significant effects on tourism and its relevant activities (de Freitas, 2005; Hamilton & Tol, 2004; Lise & Tol, 2002). Practically, the weather in Vietnam is perceived to be good and safe for domestic tourist travel in the three summer months in the middle of the year. In the study, the peak period starts from July and continues through September, accounting for more than 70 percent of domestic trips. Apart from the fact that the weather is good, children are off from school in summer. This mid-year time is also convenient for parents since there is less work pressure.

To draw a conclusion from the findings, the relatively young, working, and childbearing age characteristics of the respondents reflect the strong influence of employer and family on travel decision-making. The domestic Vietnamese predominantly travel for leisure purposes. Their travel motivation can be affected by promotions by travel agents but they were also looking for value-for-money trips. Weather is also a travel determinant.

Conclusion

Domestic tourism in Vietnam is rapidly expanding. The domestic travellers are 'pushed' towards tourism by disposable income, a sense of family togetherness, and motivated by the prospect for relaxation facilitated by their employer's sponsorship. In the meantime, the tourists are 'pulled' by destination weather conditions, and promotional efforts of tour operators. The role of employer sponsorship as a travel motivation facilitator has been discussed and elaborated upon. Fitting the picture of domestic tourists into a wider context of socio-cultural and economic development in Vietnam, some unique behaviour has emerged. In detail, the main influence of family values is reflected in Vietnamese domestic travel patterns. The role of employ-

er sponsorship in shaping individuals' travel decisions reflects a distinctive model of corporate travel (or social tourism) in the transition period from a central-planned to a market economy. The study also identified a perception gap between tour operators who focus on promotion while most travellers seek value for money rather than low cost travel.

The findings from this research can benefit both academic and tourism practitioners. Destination managers can use the result of this study in developing communication materials that appeal to domestic travellers that address the need to relax and the need to be with family. More important, corporate travel is a very important marketing channel for attracting Vietnamese domestic travellers. Such corporate travel should include various activities to serve the goal of building corporate culture while meeting the needs of individuals and their families.

In terms of research implications, this study has explored travel patterns of Vietnamese domestic travellers. Despite the fact that the study took a functional approach to studying the phenomenon, the results revealed that the travel motivations of Vietnamese domestic travellers could be a subject of study beyond Vietnam. This paper has addressed a gap in the literature on domestic tourists' motivation and their travel patterns in Vietnam by providing insight into the behaviour of domestic holidaymakers in Vietnam.

Further research is needed in order to plan for fulfilling the promise of tourism for Vietnamese. Understanding the nature of domestic tourism contributes to the knowledge on South-East Asian studies. There is much more research to be done on domestic tourism in Vietnam. This paper has provided a starting point for further study by identifying and discussing the motivations of domestic tourists in contemporary Vietnam.

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Aktuelle Südostasienforschung / Current Research on South-East Asia

Beyond Commodification and Politicisation: Production and Consumption Practices of Authenticity in the White Tai Tourist Market in the Uplands of Vietnam

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This paper is based on an ethnographic enquiry conducted over the last four years and shows the setting of a close interaction between hosts and guests in the White Tai villages in Mai Chau district, in the northwest uplands of Vietnam. The author argues that tourism is utilised as a medium to demonstrate a culture of hospitality. A new trend in tourism production and consumption is brought into discussion; in relation to this, this paper looks at what is really happening in the tourism spaces of the White Tai villages through the experiences not only of tourists but also of villagers. The author identifies several types of host-guest relationships and argues that there is a transformation of the host-guest relationship within these tourist spaces, a transformation evident in the new production and consumption practices of the market. Such relationships must be understood by looking beyond conceptions of commodification and politicisation of ethnicity.

Keywords: *Ethnic Tourism, Tourist Market, Authenticity, Production and Consumption, Vietnam*

Basierend auf einer vierjährigen ethnographischen Feldforschung schildert dieser Beitrag die Interaktionen zwischen Bereisten und Reisenden anhand von White Tai-Dörfern im Mai Chau-Bezirk im nordwestlichen Hügelland Vietnams. Die Autorin argumentiert, dass Tourismus als Medium zur Demonstration von Gastfreundlichkeit eingesetzt werde. Neben einer Diskussion zu touristischer Produktion und Konsum, werden in diesem Artikel auch die Erfahrungen und Wahrnehmungen der TouristInnen und DorfbewohnerInnen analysiert sowie verschiedene Typen von Beziehungen zwischen GastgeberInnen und Gästen identifiziert. Es wird dabei argumentiert, dass im Kontext touristischer Räume eine Transformation dieser Beziehungen stattfinde, die in den neuen Produktions- und Konsumpraktiken evident sei. Solche Beziehungen können nur verstanden werden, wenn ein altbekanntes Verständnis von Kommodifizierung und Politisierung von Ethnizität erweitert werde.

Schlagworte: *Ethnotourismus, Tourismusmarkt, Authentizität, Produktion und Konsum, Vietnam*

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Introduction

The notion of commodification currently dominant among academics sees the tourist product (that is ethnic authenticity) as a sign of value. In other words, a variety of meanings of ethnic authenticity are created by tourist actors. In addition, since the late twentieth century, postmodern society has been categorised as a consumption society. This means that through consumption, consumers construct and express their identity. On the other hand, ethnic tourism can be seen as a tool of production which consists of produced representations of ethnic authenticity. That product is created by the second producers (tour agencies, the state, and so forth) including economic victors who are not from a local minority group (Michaud & Turner, 2006, p. 785). That product is subsequently contested by first producers through a manipulation of ethnic identity that helps local people base their claims to power as shown in many ethnic tourism studies in South-East Asia and Southern China (Adams, 1984; 2006; Cohen, 2001; Cole, 2007; 2008; King, 2008; Su & Teo, 2008; Wherry, 2006; Yang & Wall, 2009; Zhihong, 2007). Such an attempt at simplifying the complexity of market relations into cultural sign values or symbolic interaction reduces ethnic relations to an instance of minority politics.

Nonetheless, in the context of a rapidly globalising market, the cultural economy of ethnic tourism is seen in this paper as integrating both production and consumption of ethnicity in complex and multiple ways. In the process of negotiating authenticity, production and consumption do not remain isolated: Rather than exclusively by the primary producers (villagers, tour agencies, and the state), the tourist product is co-produced by the consumers themselves (that is the tourists) in the process of consumption. In order to sustain these ideas, this paper looks at processes of production and consumption of ethnicity within the space of a village homestay in which hospitality plays an important role. Even though the relevance of notions such as 'commodification' and 'politics of ethnic minority' is not denied, reaching beyond such notions, and reflecting the achievements of the ethnic tourist market, the paper concludes on a positive note regarding the establishment of these 'new social relationships'.

This paper presents the illustration of a *White Tai* (in Vietnam, this group is called *Thai Trang*) ethnic minority site in the north-western uplands of Vietnam, popular

nowadays as an ethnic tourism attraction. The two villages studied, *Ban Lac* and *Ban Pom Cong* in *Chieng Chau* Commune, are located in a valley in *Mai Chau* District, *Hoa Binh* Province. Before the colonial period, *Mai Chau* District was a town (*muong*) of *Sipsong Chau Tai*. Since the first half of the 1990s, the 'tourist market' has held an increasing importance for villagers' livelihoods; it has become the main source of income for most households, especially in *Ban Lac*, the main tourist village.

The tourist market here is not in the hands of outsiders. Villagers have rapidly grasped the opportunities brought by the tourist market as a means of changing their economic situation. The popularity of the site is not only due to the beautiful landscape, but also to the traditional hospitality of the *White Tai* people in charge of the homestay business. Whereas outsiders have attempted to commodify this culture as a 'cultural product', the villagers have moved beyond that by taking this opportunity to transcend the economic rationality of the tourist market. The villagers construct their new identities with the aim of claiming dignity as well as power to control and manage cultural resources. In addition, through the interactions between hosts and visitors the *Mai Chau* tourist space creates a new kind of relationship. This paper attempts to overcome accepted notions of 'commodification' and 'minority politics', and looks for more adequate explanations.

As a researcher who has gained a fair degree of skill in speaking, reading, and writing Vietnamese and *White Tai*, I collected the primary data during 2007-2010 from mainly informally talking with the informants and long-stay observation in a variety of roles (Bruner, 1995; Crick, 1995). Such roles include being a tourist, a student studying *White Tai* in *Mai Chau*, and finally a researcher.

Commodification of Mai Chau

In a similar way to many other tourist places in Vietnam, *Mai Chau* has been promoted as an 'ethnic tourism community' by many tourism organisations, including state and local authorities, hotels and tour agencies located in the old city of Ha Noi, the national television channel for ethnic minorities (VTV5), websites, and even by Lonely Planet (the world famous travel guidebook). In this promotion, *Mai Chau* is often referred to as the beautiful valley of rice fields where the *White Tai* people live. It is a place for exploring the ethnic minorities' cultures and livelihoods, and for enjoying

nature trekking. Furthermore, as the main tourist villages of *Mai Chau* District, *Ban Lac* and *Ban Pom Cong* are promoted as homestay villages where visitors can enjoy the *Tai* stilt houses, local fabric weaving, and cultural performances. At present, *Mai Chau* is known as a romantic place for couples, a site of eco-sightseeing (trekking), an ethnic cultural attraction for Vietnamese and foreigners, and a research site for university lecturers and students. Every weekend, *Kinh* couples ('*Kinh*' is the ethnographic name of the Vietnamese majority), and large groups of *Kinh* and particular Ha Noi students, as well as foreigners including backpackers, flock to the villages. In short, the success of *Mai Chau*'s commodification lies in its representation in terms of a traditional and exotic culture and way of life, a representation determined by the notion of 'otherness'.

We can see that the commodification of *Mai Chau* carried out by outsiders is mainly based on a certain representation of *Mai Chau* (even the way of life of ethnic minority is also seen as a production of place). The exception is the representation of hospitality, which brings a sense of social relations. However, villagers, especially those who are involved in the tourism business, overlook being represented as primitive. Actually, they attempt to differentiate themselves from the *Kinh*, and see themselves as more than just another different and exotic ethnic group and culture: in relation to their interaction with tourists, the *White Tai* here feel that they are better than the *Kinh*. They will say, for instance, "We are better-hearted and more moral." Furthermore, they see themselves more skilful in any craft-making, and forming a more peaceful community than the *Kinh* majority.

Even though they engage with processes of modernisation and Vietnamisation, the tourist market of the *White Tai* in *Mai Chau* has allowed them to construct a new moral identity which moves beyond the image of a primitive community. Villagers proudly present themselves as modern: in the villages, there are satellite dishes, washing machines, cars, concrete roads, and modern toilets with water heaters. Certainly, they are reluctant to dress in *White Tai* traditional costume when government officials or other guests ask for it. This tourist site also offers a combination of modern economic rationality and traditional *White Tai* moral values. In this way, villagers are able to maintain their old ways of hospitality, while at the same time diversifying their products and services.

Therefore, far from the images constructed by outsiders, villagers are willing to

construct their village as a space of cultural richness with not only tangible but also intangible elements, such as honesty, modesty, and hospitality. Of course, this commodification of ethnicity is not only aimed at making money, but also at stating a claim for ethnic dignity, and for power to keep their authority over the management of their 'places' as both tourist spaces and agricultural lands. Certainly, that construction is not based on temporary transactions which depend on the mechanisms of the market, but rather on a more elaborate and complex relationship which goes beyond the framework of minority politics.

Local Cultures and Habits in the Ethnic Tourism Market

Before examining how complex host-guest relations are constructed and experienced in the context of the tourist market, it is necessary to understand the cultures underlying such relations. Those driving forces are hospitality and the morality of money.

Hospitality

Customarily, the *White Tai* always welcome outsiders who pass through their villages. Their villages are more likely to be chosen for a homestay than other ethnic sites in the same area. In the past, villagers offered visitors a night in their houses and a meal for free even if they were strangers. *White Tai* society has a saying, "*hach peng khach ma huon*", which means "love whoever visits your house." According to *White Tai* custom, if someone arrives at a house, the house owner must first ask "How are you and your family?" and then serve the visitor a drink.

While talking with their visitors, *White Tai* people always ask them, "Could you have a meal with us?" According to Trong (2007), after this, if the visitors show their desire to eat, the host will be happy to serve them food, and family members and guests will sit around the table and have a meal together (p. 27). Sharing good food and drink is the best way to get acquainted and cement a lasting friendship (Trong, 2007, p. 91). Anyone who shares a meal with a *White Tai* family is considered to be their guest. This means that foreign tourists brought by tour agencies are not treated as guests, because they usually do not share meals with their hosts.

Another basic point about the villagers' perceptions of their visitors or guests is

that, even though the terms 'guest' or 'visitor' can be translated in general as *khach* in *White Tai*, there are many kinds of *khach*, and villagers will treat them differently. The guests mentioned directly above are sometimes called *khach huon* (meaning the guest of the home or *khach nha* in Vietnamese); however, they would not be considered as 'close guests' (or '*khach than tinh*' in Vietnamese), i.e. non-paying guests in the social sense, as opposed to paying guests or 'customers'. In most cases they are from the same ethnic group, i.e. any *Tai* (or in most of the remaining cases, a *H'Mong* trader whom the villagers know well, or otherwise in several cases they are from other ethnic groups such as *Muong* or *Lao*, coming from villages in other locations in Vietnam or even other countries such as Thailand or Laos for whatever reason but not as tourists.

Meanwhile, Vietnamese tourists are referred by the hosts as only *khach* or *khach ma inn* (*ma inn* means visit; this kind is known as *khach du lich* or *khach vang lai* in Vietnamese). It is a term expressing the normal feelings towards a visitor. Foreign backpackers, in turn, are called by the more derogatory term *Tay ba lo* (*Tay* means Westerner; *ba lo* means backpack). In contrast, the foreign tourists who are brought in by tourist agencies are perceived as high-class visitors and known by the term *khach Tay*. In the villages, it is possible to hear stories about locals cheated by *Tay ba lo* which seem to demonstrate the untrustworthy character of such visitors.

However, we may ask what the difference then between a 'guest' and a 'visitor' is. A guest relationship is understood to be a long-term connection, based on a close or kinship relationship, even if the connection is for market business. Besides this, in host-guest relationships, the two parties treat one another on an equal basis. The host-visitor relationship, on the other hand, is just a temporary interaction. Regarding their business relationship, it is an asymmetrical transaction where it is actually expected that participants will try to take advantage of each other.

For that reason, not all visitors are treated as guests; they will not be perceived as such if they do not share a meal with the host, especially the *khach Tay*. Even though the host family lives in the homestay venue, the host-visitor relationship is not very different from that of a hotel – because they do not communicate directly. The tour guide acts as an intermediary, quite in the same manner as the front desk clerk of a hotel would do. However, according to *White Tai* culture, whether you are a guest, a visitor, a customer, or a friend, you are warmly welcomed by villagers. According

to custom, once a guest or a visitor comes into the house, the host must act in a specific way. Firstly, the host cannot ask, "What's the matter, why have you come here?"; second, the host must say "Hi" followed by "How are you?" before the visitors do so, then invite them into the house and serve them tea or plain water. Letting visitors say "Hi" before the hosts will be considered impolite. Third, if the visitors or guests are likely to stay long (one hour or more), the host must invite them to stay longer and prepare to have a meal together; fourth, once the guests have finished their meal, the host must invite them to take a nap in the house; fifth, if the guests are travelling to a distant destination, the host must invite them to stay overnight and provide them with dinner and a takeaway breakfast. As for the guests, if they know in advance that they are going to eat with the host, they may bring some food or fruit to the house, however if they have nothing to share with the host family, it does not matter. According to all this, many *White Tai* villagers maintain that *White Tai* hospitality is run by the 'heart' – that is to say, hospitality is part of the traditional culture of the *White Tai*. This is unlike other ethnic groups living in the same district who do not welcome strangers: only relatives, friends, and people introduced by relatives and friends are welcomed.

The Morality of Money

Generally, *White Tai* vendors usually say "I beg you" and "thank you" when receiving the money from customers. When they ask customers to buy their goods, they usually say in pidgin English "helping buy for me". I have tried to use these *White Tai* idioms when dealing with the *Kinh* selling food in the *Mai Chau* market: they sneered at me and they felt it was strange because they understood I was trying to 'help' a vendor sell their bread. *Kinh* vendors do not usually say "I beg you" and "Thank you" after taking the customer's money, unless they are much younger than their customer. From these ("I beg you" and "helping buy for me") I assume that money is not just a symbol of wealth for the *White Tai*, but can be the basis of a relationship that expands beyond mere business.

Talking about this, an old and educated man explained to me that the *White Tai* perceive that their goods should actually be sold at a cheaper price, or even given for free to guests whom they appreciate. When they sell goods at market price, they feel

obliged to thank the buyers for the extra money. If the buyer does not bargain, the seller should return some money to them. For instance, knowing that I did not have much money, after buying two traditional pillows, the seller returned some of the money to me (the *White Tai* usually give pillows as presents to guests they appreciate). The old man previously mentioned also noted that the *White Tai* have a saying concerning the handing over of money: "(I) do (sell goods) similar to the *Muong* and *Kinh* (sell at the market price) in this way; (I) beg you," in order to make clear to the buyer that the transaction is an economic and not a social one and thus takes place at the correct market price and not at a lower price.

In addition, according to my long-stay observation in the village, compared with other merchants, *White Tai* merchants are quite honest. They are much less shrewd at selling, and they usually do not inflate prices. Some of them even protect tourists from being cheated by *Kinh* tour guides. Many tour guides think that villagers cannot understand English or French; then they normally translate the prices asked by villagers to their customers increased two or three times. Some villagers understand what the tour guides say, but pretend that they cannot. Then, there are also many ways in which a host may respond to this misbehaviour on the part of the tour guides. On one occasion, the host wrote the correct prices on paper to inform the tourists when the tour guide was absent. As a result, the tour guide got involved in a quarrel with the tourists; then came back to argue with the host, who simply pretended she cannot understand English, so she had no way to tell the truth to the tourists. However, as proved by the research, the morality of trading is very complex; depending on the relationships between the host and the tour guide, as well as on the character of the guests, and many other conditions which I will refer to in the following section.

Production and Consumption Practices of Hospitality

Unlike other tourist spaces such as shopping, sightseeing, cycling, and so forth, hospitality is a good setting for close interaction between host and guest. This section draws out the social implications involved in these interactions in a particular homestay which provides accommodation, food, and drink. As pointed out, these relationships are not just seen as a temporary exchange for consuming goods and services; rather, at the sites under study the tourist market has been built on long-term and

close interactions. Five instances will be used to illustrate different types of social relationships that may take place within the *Mai Chau* tourist market. Two of these examples include Vietnamese tourists, who normally visit the villages in groups of between 10 and 20 people. The other three illustrations are concerned with foreign tourists: firstly, those who travel with tourist companies; then, those who are long-term residents in Vietnam; and finally, backpackers.

Vietnamese Tourists

Vietnamese tourists normally arrive at the villages in groups of about 10 to 20 people. They usually travel during the weekend. The activities they participate in *Mai Chau*; such as playing cards, enjoying cultural shows, partying, sightseeing, or shopping, are related to leisure. It seems that they also engage in the consumption of 'ethnic authenticity' by gazing at the locals, even if Vietnamese tourists rarely put any effort in trying to discover something authentically '*Tai*' by trekking out of the villages, as many foreign tourists do. Generally speaking, Vietnamese tourists are very noisy, drink alcohol, and often drop litter on the ground. *White Tai* villagers do not appreciate their behaviour at all, and feel annoyed about it. A common saying by homestay hosts is that "the *Kinh* likes to talk much and loudly; the *Kinh* is dirty." However, villagers show patience towards this behaviour or simply stay away from the tourists; they consider themselves more quiet, gentle, and clean; and, in short, more civilised than the *Kinh*.

Additionally, Vietnamese student tourists like to enjoy night parties, dancing to the sound of amplifiers, and campfires. They are often organised in large groups of around 50, and up to 160 people. Regularly arriving at the villages every weekend, these tourists may cause the villagers and other tourists some trouble; and so the villagers have arranged that any party and noise-making must stop by 10 p.m. in winter and 11 p.m. in summer. As villagers respect each other, they themselves force their visitors to stop, and consequently this rule works efficiently.

Apart from the tour guides and the drivers, Vietnamese tourist groups do not share any meal with their hosts, except in the case of small groups of tourists requesting to do so. For tour guides and drivers, only at the *White Tai* villages it is possible to get accommodation and meals (plus beers) free of charge, so they can spend

their travel money at other tourist sites. As reported by some homestay owners, none of them appreciates what they get for free from their *White Tai* hosts. According to the interpretation of the latter, these tour guides and drivers think that the *White Tai* provide them with free accommodation and meals because of the benefits they will get from the guides when they bring the tourists to the villages. Based on his own belonging to Vietnamese culture, one of my Vietnamese friends interpreted the attitude of tour guides and drivers in the sense that "they think that they can exploit the backward culture; in other words, they think it is not wise to give things free of charge" (Vietnamese scholar, personal communication, March 2010). Nevertheless, *White Tai* homestay owners act in the same way, regardless the number of tourists, which is sometimes as few as only two. In terms of economic rationality, accommodating and giving meals for free to both tour guide and driver bringing only two visitors cannot bring any benefit to the hosts. Moreover, the food they serve the tour guides is as good as the food they give to tourists, and even better than the food they consume themselves. When I asked them about loss, a 67-year-old woman, mother of a homestay host, justified this behaviour: "Don't think about the loss, we are always hospitable to anyone visiting our place." Therefore, the tour guide with such kind of negative thinking cannot act as a cultural broker for a relationship that moves beyond market rationality. Apart from this, another channel for the close interaction between villagers and tourists is the cultural show. Apparently, most tourists enjoy the cultural show, some of them even join the dancing once the show team invite them to do so. Yet, this space functions as a simple cultural product which hardly holds any potential to create a quality relationship, but may actually lead to a hostile interaction, as some *Kinh* tourists occasionally make advances towards young dancers, or show their contempt towards them as 'ethnic minority' members.

While gazing at the locals, Vietnamese tourists also try to show their political and economic power. For many of them, being served by the *White Tai* reinforces their view of the villagers as uneducated and backward people. Such point of view is determined by biased discourses of 'otherness'. In general, Vietnamese tourists' actions show their belief in the possibility of purchasing hospitality. For instance, many of them behave inappropriately in the villages: shooting fish in the host's pond, using a washing machine without the owner's permission, gambling, trampling on the house's floor, and shouting at the host for any request. *White Tai* hosts may respond

to this behaviour simply enduring it, or calling the attention of visitors towards some cultural taboo. Villagers expect visitors to stay merely a few days, while they may still use them as a way to expand their own networks: villagers may pretend to admire such visitors in the hope of attracting other wealthy customers. In any case, and without doubt, those visitors holding negative stereotypes about the *White Tai* will hardly be able to break free from traditional discourses of otherness and understand the 'other'. At the same time, they are often unwittingly utilised by the villagers, who contest these discourses of economic rationality and otherness giving in turn their visitors a name card and asking them to bring other tourists to their homestays.

Ordinarily, *White Tai* hosts are patient and gentle when dealing with tourists. Unlike people in other tourist villages, they do not put too much effort in convincing visitors to have a meal at their homestay, buy their souvenirs or their local liquor, or hire their trekking tours, or their motorbike taxi service. They give free pots of hot tea to their visitors; something which always costs a price in Vietnamese society. Moreover, making guests and visitors feel entertained is considered an important part for sustaining their homestay business. *White Tai* hosts will do anything for visitors to feel comfortable at their place. This is why homestay owners would ask their guests if they want to enjoy a cultural show at their home, without being paid any fee by the local show team. Those who do not know how to entertain visitors and guests well will gradually lose them, and those *Kinh* who rent *White Tai* houses to carry on a homestay business themselves will also see these businesses fail, as what they offer is not a 'real', run-by-heart *Tai* hospitality. The buzzing among tourists afterwards recommends visitors to bypass these homestays. Besides, making acquaintances is a common experience in *White Tai* villages: As a custom, *White Tai* villagers show their welcome whenever Vietnamese tourists pass by their houses, or stop at their souvenir shops. If the villagers like the visitors, they will invite them into their house, then serve them tea, and keep on chatting with them. This makes an impression on some Vietnamese tourists, since in *Kinh* tourist communities everything will be given at a price. Besides, some tourists, especially the adults, will talk to the hosts in order to learn more about their living.

However, once the tourists see the villages and their inhabitants are civilised and modern (as previously stated in the section concerning the 'commodification of *Mai Chau*'), they may react in two ways. They may react negatively, complaining that

the *White Tai* are becoming *Kinh*, which means they are becoming 'modern'. Some interviewed tourists explained this as follows: All roads in the village are made of concrete, villagers use modern electronic appliances and satellite dishes, they do not wear *White Tai* traditional costume in their everyday activities. According to this perception, rather than becoming modern, *White Tai* culture must remain traditional and primitive. In relation to this, the accepted image of the *White Tai* as cleaner, quieter, and gentler than the *Kinh* majority is publicised in Vietnamese-written articles on many tourist websites and newspapers, together with the interviews. Last but not least, Vietnamese tourists are surprised by the business abilities of *White Tai* villagers. Such reaction in turn brings a feeling of ethnic dignity to the villagers: On the one hand, it makes *White Tai* villagers proud of themselves, on the other, the view of the *White Tai* as backward and uneducated people and other stereotypes constructed by outsiders are shaken off.

There are also positive reactions on the part of Vietnamese tourists: Visitors recognise the falseness of their images of *White Tai* villagers as backward and primitive. They are surprised by the fact that *White Tai* villagers can cook delicious food, weave beautiful textiles, are educated and clean, and possess a nice personality. Some tourists even ask their hosts about the school where they study how to cook, only to learn that the hosts were self-trained. As a result of this, some tourists tell each other to avoid looking down on the villagers. Since *White Tai* businesses work very well, some of the Vietnamese tourists come to suspect locals receive subsidies from the government or non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to help them establish their businesses – as it happens in many other tourist sites. Once these suspicions are proved wrong, the tourists respect the *White Tai* even more.

Through these interactions, hosts and visitors can not only become business partners, but also come to respect each other. As a result, visitors are more willing to learn about *White Tai* culture. For instance, there are articles on many tourist websites admiring *White Tai* villagers for their friendly and hospitable manners, or their skill at constructing and managing a community-based tourist market. Even though some of those articles still represent the *White Tai* as 'primitive', they at least reflect their ability to manage both traditional and modern values smartly.

Foreign Tourists

I differentiate between three types of foreign tourists visiting the *White Tai* villages. The first category are mostly Westerners between 40 and 60 years of age. They often come in small groups of between 6 and 15 people. In this case villagers engage in a 'vertical relationship' in relation to their visitors, to the tourist agencies in Ha Noi, and to the tour guides acting as cultural brokers. In such relationships, tourists are not treated as guests, but rather as clients or visitors, while house owners adopt the role of servants. There are no opportunities for hosts and visitors to share a meal, or just a chat. Most house owners opt for staying away from these tourists, except during the time they must serve them food and drinks. Obviously, this distant interaction, together with the role tour guides play as intermediaries, does not allow for a direct contact. Even though some tourists in this category will join the dance of the cultural show team, the relationship cannot move further beyond: *White Tai* culture remains a cultural product or simply an object for the tourists' gaze.

The relationship between hosts and the second type of foreign visitors is based more on expectations sprung from traditional forms of relationship. Most visitors in this category are working or studying in Vietnam; they can speak some Vietnamese and are therefore more familiar with Vietnamese culture. House owners therefore treat these visitors as guests who bring them not only money but also friendship. If these tourists visit the villages alone or as a couple rather than a group, the host will sit down and talk with them. Sometimes, for instance on a special day, they will all share meals or drink beers together; furthermore, the hosts often come to talk to these guests, take special care of them, lend them their bicycles, and show other signs of hospitality.

Consequently, a long-term relationship often emerges. Some tourists are known for returning to the villages every year, for example an American family and a Spanish man who came back frequently for 4 or 5 years. One German man, married to a Vietnamese woman and owner of an alcohol export company, stayed one month at the village in order to learn how to produce local liquor. In another case, three American tourists and a group of western students joined the villagers cultivating rice. These guests are very familiar with many of the households in the village. For instance, an American tourist could identify the names of many of the villagers after conversing

about their health and living situation with a host. This guest is friendly to everyone in the villages: smiling, greeting, or even teasing others who just know him as a tourist. A German man keeps regularly in touch with his former host; when that host went to Ha Noi, where the German man has his own house, the host also received accommodation without charge. Lastly, a Spanish man came back to the village to say goodbye to his old host before returning to his home country.

The market space, perceived by many people as a space for temporary transactions (for instance, bargaining, swindling, and so forth), can be re-created as a space that produces and experiences a quality relationship in terms of both business and social understanding. A Spanish guest, who is the director of an under-construction *Muong* ethnic tourist village in the same province of *Hoa Binh*, used to visit the *White Tai* villages; after learning about the management abilities of *White Tai* homestay hosts, he brought a group of 30 *Muong* ethnic people with him to be trained in catering with the *White Tai* homestay hosts. He still keeps in touch with the villagers and returns regularly to the same homestay with his family. While sightseeing, a villager who is not a homestay owner, spots him and his family. Even if they had never talked to each other before; the villager recognised him and invited the whole family into his house, served them tea, and talked. All members of the household joined in to welcome the guests. This made an impression to the Spanish man's wife. The interaction between host and guest can become determined by generosity, with no expectations of material return. This is also the circumstance of an Australian man who came to *Ban Pom Cong* every year for five years and paid the labour costs for the house of a family living in a mountainous area next to the villages. Some tourists also asked their tour guide to come back to the village and donate things to children on their behalf. If hosts and guests come to appreciate each other, they often exchange gifts regardless the value of the objects exchanged.

One incident in which it was the host who was impressed is that of Grandfather *Nham* – the pioneer of the homestay business in the villages. A group of 20 American tourists who were war veterans stayed overnight at his homestay. One of them told him he regretted having dropped bombs over Vietnam during the war, and showed his surprise at the fact that no villager seemed to hold any hostile feeling towards them. "Now you come here for vacation, there is no reason to hit you; but if you hit Vietnam again, I would fight you again," replied Grandfather *Nham*. The American

man then apologised to him. Also, some French tourists said sorry to him for the same reason.

Backpackers differ significantly from the second type of foreign guests. The second type of foreign guests know how to relate to the villagers; the backpackers, on the contrary, since they are unable to interpret the behaviour of locals, do not know how to deal with them. A Dutch woman said she would like to convey her feelings of gratitude to the villagers, but was afraid of acting inappropriately and offend the villagers. Eventually, she decided to keep silent, and did nothing other than stick to the usual economic exchange. She did not understand villagers' actions; for example, because only a few people had said "hello" to her, she felt she had received a generally cold welcome from the villagers.

Due to the temporary character of their stay and the fact that they usually do not return to the villages, in the eyes of the villagers, the backpackers or *Tay ba lo* are not guests, but merely visitors; it is therefore not useful to try to establish any long-term relationship with them. Importantly, many backpackers bargain with villagers; trying to take much and paying little in return, sometimes cheating locals. It is possible to hear a few stories about villagers cheated by *Tay ba lo*, which shows their mistrust of this group of visitors. Homestay hosts often say in Vietnamese things like: "*ho rat kho tinh*," which means "they are very difficult [to deal with]." For example, two Japanese backpackers who had just met their host tried to bargain with him. For the *White Tai*, visitors who have just arrived at the house must sit down, be greeted by the hosts, drink tea; only after that it will be possible to talk business. However, in general, hosts give their hospitality to whoever stays in their houses; this host, therefore, did not listen to the bargaining, but concentrated to prepare a mat for those tourists to sit down, and took a hot pot of tea to serve them; even though in his mind they were not really his guests. Because of this, the *Tay ba lo* were ultimately satisfied with the way the host catered for them.

Obviously, and especially compared to the second type of foreign tourists, hosts tend to keep distant from the backpackers. Apart from money transactions, hosts will rarely become concerned about backpackers. A negative example of this deals with one host who built a homestay business with a motorbike taxi service and usually receives backpackers. He knows about backpackers' stereotyped behaviour, so he tries to take control of the situation by holding their passports – something other

homestays will not normally do. He also usually convinces them to buy his trekking tour, and to use his motorbike taxi service. In addition, he is very skilled in dealing with backpackers, even cheating them in order to get more money. On another occasion, a homestay owner cheated a Singaporean backpacker by getting him to pay almost twice the usual price for the service.

Analysis and Conclusions

First, the interaction between host and visitor can be creative or hostile. According to Erb (2004), there are varieties of culture-based anticipation and interpretation that tourists often inherit, and that lead to the divergence of interaction between the two different worlds of the host and the visitor (pp. 5, 86). In her words, the tourist encounter may be a space of redefining and shaping such interpersonal relations. Interpersonal relations, as shown by Erb's study (2000), can unexpectedly become hostile, despite initial hospitality. Nonetheless, they can also be friendly, or something even beyond; as it happens in *Mai Chau*. The second point is that the hospitality of the *White Tai* tourist villages in *Mai Chau* is not generally involved in 'power relations', in the sense of the host controlling tourists' behaviour; as some researchers have argued (Tucker, 2003, p. 126). It seems to be an equal relationship, which allows for the transformation of temporary relationships into long-term or quality ones.

Within host-visitor interactions there are many kinds of relationship being manipulated and transformed (McIntosh & Johnson, 2005). According to the understanding of the *White Tai*, the relationships between host and visitor can be divided into several types: (a) host-guest, (b) host-normal visitor, (c) host-strange visitor. The first type is represented by those Vietnamese tourists responding positively to the interaction (the second type of Vietnamese tourist) and those foreign tourists staying in Vietnam (the second type of foreign tourist). The Vietnamese tourists responding negatively to the interaction (the first type of Vietnamese tourist), and the foreign tourists travelling with tour agencies (the first type of foreign tourist) represent the host-normal visitor category; while the host-strange visitor is represented by the backpackers.

The first factor differentiating these types is not ethnicity (foreigner or Vietnamese); but the setting, so to say, the homestay and its hospitality, including how close host-visitor interactions are, and how long they last. The setting where tourists de-

pend on the tour guides does not lead to the production of new relations. Moreover, images and stereotypes concerning visitors like the backpackers hardly facilitate hosts to open their minds. In addition, ethnic stereotypes of backwardness and primitiveness constrain some Vietnamese tourists and lock them in the iron cage of ethnic bias. These factors are seen as obstacles to constructing a new, transformed relationship.

In the context of ethnic tourism market formation in *Mai Chau*, the differentiation of relationships is important for the purpose of economic rationality. Unwittingly or not, the first relationships are formed over the long term, since tourist business partnerships can expand their market networks, whereas the latter category is seen only as a framework for making profit. Besides this, villagers take the opportunity brought by the tourist market to construct new identities while claiming ethnic dignity and power to control and manage cultural resources. This can be seen as a kind of 'ethnic minority politics' which actually works to transform power relations.

Furthermore, because the second type of both Vietnamese and foreign tourists are not influenced by discourses of otherness and ethnic stereotypes, since they experience something new in relation to one another, they can be liberated from the world of cheating and exploitation, and engage in a transformed relationship which may go beyond economic and political relationships, to become something I call a relationship of mutual respect. Surely, this can become a space of understanding the other; which can help tourists transcend the notion of consuming ethnicity, and can help locals transcend the notion of a minority politics. For this reason, the culture of hospitality is not perceived as an object for consumption, but rather as a kind of setting for a close host-tourist interaction. It can be manipulated and transformed into a space which emancipates tourists from the usual consumption of commodified cultural products.

The 'object' of consumption can be defined and constructed in different ways: as the direct core of the consumption process in postmodernist discourse, or as a focal point for interpersonal actions, according to either the interpretative (that is, consuming as experience) or the constructive approach (that is, consuming as integration and classification) (Sharpley, 2002, pp. 313-315). Accordingly, I have attempted to elaborate here on the impasse implied by these interpretations of social relations in ethnic tourism. The 'impasse' comes from the presently prevailing emphasis on

the social life of things, which forgets almost completely the 'interpersonal relation' itself. Of course, things have meanings, and can express social relations and power struggles. However, we can consume experience through interpersonal actions, without depending on things. Interpersonal actions, with regard to both consuming as play and consuming as classification, must stay at the heart of the research on consumption, rather than the 'object' alone. Tourists may interact with villagers by utilising objects as a resource or as a base for an interaction which expands beyond that object's experiential characteristics. By taking the object of consumption in their hands, villagers have a chance for a broader achievement. Equally, the tourist encounter may be a means to share experiences. Tourists, by holding communal interaction with the object of consumption, will be able to communicate or experience communitas, which is often the result of sharing collective experiences. In both ways of dealing with the consumption process, however, the communally social nature of the consumption experience, rather than the object of consumption at the final stage, is emphasised. Through highly valued experiences, those kinds of interaction are detached from the dependency on things (Sharpley, 2002, p. 315).

Postmodernism is often blind to all such notions. Slater (2002) has pointed out the postmodernist introduction of the cultural sign value in the form of 'symbolic product/interaction' in place of 'market features/actions' (that is, production and consumption processes) (p. 60). This is similar to the way in which postmodernists argue against modernists and realists' notions of commodification, reducing such notion to the form of a simple material relation. This dichotomy inspired me to look at ideas of existential authenticity in ethnic tourism (Wang, 1999; 2004, pp. 210-234). Wang draws the idea of existential authenticity adopting the existential philosophy of Heidegger. Heidegger's philosophy, in contrast to postmodernism, is never concerned with the representation of 'things' (Mulhall, 1996; 2005, p. 484). Rather, it is concerned with how humans understand themselves in relation to things, and therefore with how the decision to be authentic or not is taken in the very existential moment; that is, in a moment of fundamental self-understanding, tourists do not construct the meaning of the object (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006, p. 72 & p. 79; Steiner & Reisinger, 2006, p. 304). Meanings, therefore, do not lie in experience. Yet, Burch (2002) suggests a meaningful process of reflective comprehension of experiences. In this sense, Reisinger and Steiner (2006) believe that the more tourists can embrace all

experiences (that is, good or bad, authentic or fake, as the gifts of tourism), and do not travel with a head full of expectations, the more pleasant the experiences they may enjoy. Otherwise, they will certainly be disappointed somewhere along the line. 'Existential authenticity' is about the achievement of lived experiences that results originally and integrally from the process of experiencing different existential moments. And the experiencing of self towards itself, and to one another, will help tourist and host to relate (Burch, 2002). Steiner and Reisinger (2006), therefore, defend the notion of an existential authenticity providing free choices at every step and not simply concerned with the preservation of traditions or the recognition of identity politics (p. 309). Obviously, this notion goes beyond the usual notions of identity politics and of economic rationality.

Within the context of this existential authenticity, consumption makes a clear distinction between 'object action' and 'interpersonal action'. Lastly, the production and consumption processes are not in 'mutual interaction', as postmodern supporters see in negotiating authenticity. Rather, the key to these processes lie in experiencing new relations, where production is absorbed into consumption (or, more radically, production doesn't even exist) by the experience of consumption in every existential moment. Eventually, we do not know what product we consume, but just apprehend what highly valued experiences emerged from the worlds of both hosts and guests, no matter whether good or bad.

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Schattenwirtschaft unter Palmen: Der touristisch informelle Sektor im Urlaubsparadies Patong, Thailand

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Seit den 1960er-Jahren spielt der Tourismussektor innerhalb der thailändischen Wirtschaft eine wichtige Rolle und ist durch ein stetiges Wachstum gekennzeichnet. Für über 50 Prozent der Personen, die in Thailand ihren Lebensunterhalt durch informelle Beschäftigung (Schattenwirtschaft) sichern, stellt dieser boomende Sektor eine bedeutende Verdienstquelle dar. Unter Verwendung qualitativer Methoden (Interviews und teilnehmende Beobachtung) untersucht dieser Artikel den touristisch informellen Sektor des Ortes Patong auf der Insel Phuket und stellt sowohl die Entstehung und den Verlauf als auch die Akteurs- und Angebotsstruktur dieses Sektors dar. Die aktuelle Entwicklung wird dabei verglichen mit dem Modell Vorlaufers, das die Entwicklung einer staatlich geförderten Tourismusdestination beschreibt. Entgegen der Annahme dieses Modells, mit einem Wachstum des Tourismussektors würde der Anteil an formeller gegenüber der informellen Beschäftigung steigen, zeigt sich, dass kein Rückgang des touristisch informellen Sektors zu erkennen ist, dieser weiterhin ein integraler Bestandteil der Tourismuswirtschaft Patongs geblieben ist und eine wichtige Verdienstquelle für MigrantInnen und die lokale Bevölkerung darstellt.

Schlagworte: *Phuket, Tourismus, informeller Sektor, Netzwerke, Thailand*

Since the 1960s, tourism has become a vital part of the Thai economy and has been characterised by a steady growth. For more than 50 percent of all Thais working in the informal sector (shadow economy), the booming tourism industry represents an important source of income. In this article Patong on Phuket serves as a case study for examining the network of actors, the touristic supply structure as well as its evolution and developments over the years by using qualitative methods (interviews and participant observation). The empirical data will then be compared to Vorlaufer's scheme on the development of a state-sponsored tourist destination. In contrast to the scheme's assumption of a decline of the informal and a rise of the formal sector, the empirical results show that the level of informal activity remains on a high level and can be described as an integral part of Patong's tourism industry. In addition, revenues from the informal sector serve as an important source of income for migrants and locals.

Keywords: *Phuket, Tourism, Informal Sector, Networks, Thailand*

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Einleitung

Der internationale Tourismus nach Thailand hatte seinen Durchbruch in den 1960er-Jahren, als mit den „Rest and Recreation"-Programmen kostengünstige Erholungsangebote für die US-amerikanischen Soldaten des Indochinakriegs geschaffen wurden. Seitdem wuchs dieser Sektor rapide und stellt einen wichtigen Teil der thailändischen Wirtschaft dar. Zu Beginn des neuen Jahrtausends entfielen auf den Tourismus etwa elf Prozent aller Arbeitsplätze, und er machte einen Anteil von rund elf Prozent am Bruttoinlandsprodukt aus. Mit dem Bedeutungszuwachs des Sektors stieg die Zahl jener, die an seinem wirtschaftlichen Potenzial partizipieren wollten und darin eine Beschäftigung suchten. Heute findet sich ein großer Teil der im Tourismussektor bestehenden Beschäftigung im informellen Bereich. Das deckt sich mit Befunden zur Gesamtstruktur der thailändischen Wirtschaft. Über 50 Prozent der Beschäftigten sind dem informellen Sektor, der Schattenwirtschaft, zuzurechnen. Am Beispiel einer der meist besuchten touristischen Destinationen Thailands – dem Ort Patong auf der Insel Phuket – soll gezeigt werden, welche Personengruppen in diesem informellen, also staatlich ungeregelten und meist unterbezahlten Sektor, beschäftigt oder tätig[2] sind und welche Tätigkeiten durch sie vollbracht werden. Zudem sollen Netzwerke der in diesem Sektor agierenden und mit diesem Sektor verbundenen Personen dargestellt werden sowie eine Untersuchung in Hinblick auf das Vorhandensein spezifischer Zyklen in der Entwicklung des *touristisch informellen Sektors* im Untersuchungsgebiet durchgeführt werden.

Informeller Sektor und Informalität

In den Sozialwissenschaften entwickelte sich die Unterscheidung zwischen *formellen* und *informellen* Wirtschaftssektoren in den 1950er-Jahren in Zusammenhang mit der Diskussion über die „Unvollständigkeit" von Modernisierungsprozessen in der sogenannten „Dritten Welt". Steigende akademische Aufmerksamkeit fand das Thema der informellen Beschäftigung zum ersten Mal in der Zeit nach den Weltwirtschaftskrisen der Jahre 1929 beziehungsweise 1933 sowie in den Jahren nach dem Zweiten Welt-

2 In der Regel gilt „beschäftigt" als Sammelbegriff für Angestellte und ArbeiterInnen, während Selbstständige oftmals als selbstständig Tätige bezeichnet werden. Um eine leichtere Lesbarkeit des Artikels zu ermöglichen, werden in weiterer Folge die Begriffe „Beschäftigte" und „Tätige" synonym verwendet.

krieg. Der Begriff „informeller Sektor“ wurde erstmals zu Beginn der 1970er-Jahre in Studien der International Labour Organisation (ILO) zu wirtschaftlichen Aktivitäten in den städtischen Zentren Kenias und Ghanas erwähnt (vgl. Komlosy, Parnreiter, Stacher, & Zimmermann, 1997). Sowohl in Bezug auf seine wirtschaftlichen als auch sozialen Auswirkungen gewann das Thema seit den 1980er-Jahren an Bedeutung. Der Fokus lag insbesondere auf den urbanen Zonen. Gleichzeitig wurde klar, dass sich vor allem in Bezug auf Messung und Abgrenzung des Phänomens des informellen Sektors Schwierigkeiten auftaten. Viele Begriffe, wie etwa „Wirtschaft der Armen“, „Überlebensökonomie“, „secteur non-structuré“, „second economy“, „graue Ökonomie“ oder „Schattenwirtschaft“ (vgl. Stacher, 1997), wurden und werden nach wie vor in der Literatur synonym mit dem Begriff „informeller Sektor“ verwendet. Diese Breite und Offenheit der Definition spiegelt sich auch in der Definition der ILO aus dem Jahr 1998 wieder:

> The informal sector consists of small-scale, self-employed activities (with or without hired workers), typically at a low level of organization and technology, with the primary objective of generating employment and incomes. The activities are usually conducted without proper recognition from the authorities, and escape the attention of the administrative machinery responsible for enforcing laws and regulations. (ILO, 1998, S. 658)

Ähnlich wie die ILO definieren auch Castells und Portes (1989) den Aspekt der Informalität vor allem in Bezug auf dessen (oft mangelnde oder ungenügende) Legalität. Demnach handelt es sich bei informellen wirtschaftlichen Tätigkeiten um Prozesse der Einkommensgenerierung, die sich von formeller wirtschaftlicher Aktivität vor allem durch die nicht-regulierte Aufnahme und Durchführung der wirtschaftlichen Aktivität – und damit ihrer Legalität – unterscheiden. Die Leistung oder Produkte, die sowohl informeller als auch formeller wirtschaftlicher Tätigkeit entspringen, können in beiden Fällen dieselben sein und als legal bezeichnet werden. Die informelle Tätigkeit (Produktion und Verbreitung der Leistung) an sich gilt jedoch als illegal, da sie sich staatlicher Regulierung entzieht. Der weitere Unterschied zu krimineller wirtschaftlicher Aktivität findet sich im Aspekt, dass bei Letzterer auch das Endprodukt als illegal zu bezeichnen ist (vgl. Castells & Portes, 1989). Festgehalten werden muss jedoch, dass die Grenzen zwischen formell, informell und illegal/kriminell oft fließend sind. Das so entstehende Abgrenzungsproblem erschwert wie schon oben beschrieben die empirische Messung des informellen Sektors.

Theorien der Informalität

In weiterer Folge werden Theorien zur Informalität kurz vorgestellt. Hingewiesen werden soll damit auf die unterschiedlichen Erklärungsansätze für Entstehung und Fortbestand dieses Sektors (vgl. Komlosy et al., 1997, S. 14-20; WIEGO, o.D.).

- Theorie des ***Dualismus***: Sogenannte DualistInnen gehen davon aus, dass der informelle Sektor ein Zeichen von „Rückständigkeit" sei. Abgegrenzt wird dieser „rückständige" Sektor gegenüber „modernen", rationalen und formalisierten Wirtschaftsformen. Dieser „traditionelle" oder „rückständige Sektor" bietet denjenigen Arbeit, die im „modernen", formellen Sektor keine Beschäftigung finden. Beschäftigungsfelder des informellen Sektors entstammen meist der Dienstleistungsbranche, da diese durch eine geringe Notwendigkeit an Betriebs- und Geldmitteln gekennzeichnet ist. Durch diese geringen Voraussetzungen ermöglicht der informelle Sektor ein rasches Entstehen und stabiles Fortbestehen von Arbeitsplätzen bzw. informeller Beschäftigung. Oft vorhandene Rahmenbedingungen wie langsames Wirtschaftswachstum und/oder hohes Bevölkerungswachstum führen meist dazu, dass „moderne" oder „formelle" Arbeitsplätze nur unzureichend vorhanden sind und begünstigen wiederum Entstehung und Fortbestand von Beschäftigung im informellen Sektor.
- Theorie des ***Strukturalismus***: Im Gegensatz zu den DualistInnen, die vor allem geringes Wirtschaftswachstum als den informellen Sektor begünstigend darstellen, argumentieren StrukturalistInnen, dass auch starkes Wirtschaftswachstum das Wachstum des informellen Sektors vorantreiben würde. Großunternehmen des formellen Sektors würden nämlich durch die Auslagerung von Arbeiten an informelle Betriebe Aufwand und Arbeitskosten sparen und damit ihre Wettbewerbsfähigkeit steigern. Beide Sektoren bedingen sich also wachstumsbedingt positiv.
- Theorie des ***Legalismus/Il-Legalismus***: LegalistInnen erweitern die wirtschaftliche um eine rechtliche Perspektive. Sie sehen die Entstehung des informellen Sektors als zwangsläufige, quasi-ökonomische Reaktion auf ein bestehendes Rechtssystem, in welchem sich die Formalisierung für Kleinbetriebe oder Einzelunternehmen als zu zeitaufwendig und teuer darstellt. Während VertreterInnen des Legalismus damit der Aufnahme informeller Tätigkeit mehr Ver-

ständnis beibringen, sind VertreterInnen des Il-Legalismus, wie de Soto (1989), der Ansicht, dass die Entscheidung, informell und damit illegal zu agieren, opportunistisch getroffen wird, um Regulierungen, Steuern und Betriebskosten zu vermeiden und höhere Gewinne zu erzielen. Demnach wäre im Falle niedrigerer Steuern und schnellerer administrativer Prozeduren die Variante eines rein formellen Wirtschaftssystems denkbar.

- ***Anthropologische Ansätze***: Über wirtschaftliche und rechtliche Aspekte hinausgehend rückt dieser Analyseansatz die sozialen Netzwerke des informellen Sektors, also vor allem Verwandtschafts- oder Freundschaftsverhältnisse, ins Zentrum der Analyse. Untersucht wird, wie in diesen sozialen Netzwerken Informationen weitergegeben werden, die Außenstehenden verwehrt bleiben (z.B. Auskunft über billige Unterkunft, günstige Verpflegungsmöglichkeit oder gute Verkaufsstände). Diese Beziehungsgeflechte ermöglichen beispielsweise den Zugang zum informellen Arbeits- und Wohnungsmarkt und stellen eine wichtige Ressource für jene Personen dar, die ihren Lebensunterhalt weder durch formelle Beschäftigung noch durch staatliche Sozialleistungen (z.B. Arbeitslosengeld) sichern können.
- ***Integrierter Ansatz***: Die Beschränktheit einzelner Theorien hinter sich lassend, setzte in den vergangenen Jahren in Bezug auf die Theorieschulen zur Informalität ein gewisses Umdenken ein, und Forderungen zugunsten eines integrierten Ansatzes wurden laut. Dessen VertreterInnen plädieren demnach dafür, die Verwendung einzelner Theorien für umfassende Erklärungen von Entstehung und Auswirkungen (wirtschaftlicher und gesellschaftlicher Art) des informellen Sektors in einem bestimmten Wirtschaftssegment oder einer Region fallen zu lassen und stattdessen mehrere Theorien und Perspektiven in einer jeweiligen Analyse zuzulassen.

Die Dimension des informellen Sektors in Thailand

Von der Theorie zur Empirie: Die offizielle Erfassung und Unterscheidung der formellen und informellen Tätigkeit erfolgt im Fall von Thailand durch das das *National Statistical Office* (*NSO*). Das *NSO* zählt im Zuge einer relativ unpräzisen Definition alle Betriebe mit mindestens zehn Beschäftigten zum formellen Sektor. Eine zusätzliche

Voraussetzung, um gemäß dieser Definition formell als Unternehmen anerkannt zu werden, ist das Vorhandensein sowohl einer geschäftsführenden Person als auch „administrativer Systeme". In Abgrenzung zu formellen Unternehmen werden Betriebe des informellen Sektors laut Definition als solche beschrieben, die einen „niedrigen Organisationsgrad" aufweisen, als Kleinunternehmen operieren, kein oder nur ungesicherte Einkommen für ihre MitarbeiterInnen erzielen und diese nicht durch ein staatliches Sicherungssystem erfassen lassen (vgl. NSO zit. nach Allal, 1999, S. 37). Der wirkliche Umfang des informellen Sektors in Thailand, also die Zahl der informellen Unternehmen und damit auch deren MitarbeiterInnen, kann auf Grund dieser relativ unpräzisen Definition des NSO sowie der fehlenden behördlichen Registrierung der informellen Betriebe nur ungefähr beziffert werden. Die meisten unabhängigen Schätzungen, darunter eine von der ILO publizierte, gehen davon aus, dass mehr als 50 Prozent aller Erwerbstätigen in Thailand ihren Lebensunterhalt im informellen Sektor verdienen (vgl. Amin, 2002, S. 13-17; ILO, 2002, S. 19).

Spezifika des touristisch informellen Sektors

Der *touristisch informelle Sektor* (*TIS*) als eine Untergruppe des informellen Sektors im Allgemeinen findet weder in der bestehenden wirtschaftswissenschaftlichen Literatur noch in der bestehenden Literatur zur Tourismusforschung große oder spezifische Beachtung. Im Falle der Tourismusliteratur mag das auch daran liegen, dass kleinen und mittleren touristischen Unternehmen generell wenig Aufmerksamkeit in Bezug auf deren wirtschaftliches Potenzial geschenkt wird. So meint Dahles dazu:

> *Within the body of literature on tourism's economic potential, little attention has been paid to the role of entrepreneurial activity . . . Apart from general discussions of the impact of transnational organizations, the literature is remarkably uninformative about the role and position of small and medium-sized businesses in the tourism industry. (Dahles, 1999, S. 2)*

Auf Grund der Größe und Bedeutung des allgemeinen informellen Sektors für die thailändische Wirtschaft gibt es eine Vielzahl an Forschungsarbeiten und Publikationen, die sich mit der Erfassung des Phänomens informeller Sektor (vgl. Boonperm, 2000; NESDB & NSO, 2004) oder mit den Möglichkeiten zur Einbindung der im informellen Sektor Beschäftigten in formelle Wirtschaftsstrukturen beschäftigen (vgl. Allal, 1999;

Tajgman, 2006). Die wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen beziehen sich jedoch zum großen Teil auf den *urbanen informellen Sektor*, (meist auf jenen der Hauptstadt Bangkok) (vgl. ILO, 1996; Kusakabe, 2006; Nirathron, 2006) und lassen den *touristisch informellen Sektor* als eigenständiges Phänomen oft außen vor. Nur wenige AutorInnen stellen hier Ausnahmen dar. Vorlaufer (1999) stellt den *touristisch informellen Sektor* dem *touristisch formellen Sektor* gegenüber und beleuchtet Konflikte, Interdependenzen und Standortdynamik der beiden Sektoren. Die erste Untersuchung, die den informellen Sektor in einem touristischen Gebiet zum Inhalt hatte, wurde von Wahnschafft (1981) zu Beginn der 1980er-Jahre durchgeführt, um die Eigenschaften und Manifestationen sowohl des informellen als auch des formellen Sektors in Pattaya, Thailand zu analysieren. Zur Jahrtausendwende beschäftigte sich die *World Tourism Organization* mit nachhaltiger Tourismusentwicklung in Thailand und dem Beitrag, den kleine und mittlere Unternehmen dazu leisten können (vgl. UNWTO, 2001). Smith und Henderson (2008) untersuchten den *touristisch informellen Sektor* auf Phuket in Bezug auf die Auswirkungen des Tsunami 2004 auf das Laguna Beach Resort, einer exklusiven touristischen Enklave an der Westküste der Insel. Über den *touristisch informellen Sektor* schreiben sie:

> *With specific reference to tourism, informal commerce covers occupations such as motorised and non-motorised driving, guiding . . . street food hawking, beach massage, low-budget lodging proprietorship and prostitution . . . . Some of these may be practised formally with a licence, but traders without proper permits or who ignore or abuse restrictions are part of the informal sector. (Smith & Henderson, 2008, S. 272)*

Während Smith und Henderson damit auch Prostitution dem *touristisch informellen Sektor* zurechnen, wird im vorliegenden Artikel Prostitution nicht als Teil des *TIS* behandelt, da es sich im Fall von Thailand um eine rechtswidrige Aktivität handelt, die gemäß vorab aufgeführten Taxonomie der kriminellen wirtschaftlichen Aktivität zuzuordnen ist. Zum *touristisch informellen Sektor* sind alle jene wirtschaftlich Tätigen und KMUs des informellen Sektors zu zählen, welche ihre Produkte und/oder Dienstleistungen TouristInnen anbieten.

Wie schon Vorlaufer (1999, S. 686-688) in seiner Untersuchung zu Beginn der 1990er-Jahre zeigte, weist der *touristisch informelle Sektor* erwartungsgemäß zahlreiche Ähnlichkeiten zum informellen Sektor auf. Darunter findet sich, dass Kleinbetriebe die vorherrschenden wirtschaftlichen Einheiten darstellen und innerhalb dieser

Klasse wiederum Einpersonenbetriebe (*own account workers*) den höchsten Anteil ausmachen. Da für die Ausübung informeller Tätigkeiten weder eine spezifische formale Ausbildung, noch eine formelle Arbeitserlaubnis benötigt wird, bietet der *TIS* gesellschaftlichen Gruppen, die am formellen Arbeitsmarkt benachteiligt werden (z.B. Frauen, Menschen mit Behinderung, Flüchtlinge[3]), die Möglichkeit, ihren Lebensunterhalt zu verdienen. Die Zusammensetzung des *TIS* betreffend, stellte Vorlaufer fest, dass der Anteil von Arbeitskräften mit geringer oder fehlender Schulbildung im *TIS* (in den untersuchten Ländern Thailand und den Philippinen) niedriger ist als im nicht-touristischen, also restlichen informellen Sektor (*nicht-touristisch informeller Sektor, NIS*).[4] Als weiteres Ergebnis seiner Untersuchung zeigte sich die unterschiedliche Altersstruktur der Beschäftigten, wobei sich der *TIS* durch die im Schnitt jüngeren Beschäftigten auszeichnete. Zudem erwies sich, dass innerhalb des *TIS* häufiger Jobwechsel stattfinden als innerhalb des *NIS*.[5] Im Gegensatz zu mancher Vermutung weist der *TIS* in Thailand nur geringe Einkommensdisparitäten im Vergleich zum *touristisch formellen Sektor (TFS*) auf. Jedoch sind Betriebe des *TIS* zumeist mit nur geringem Kapital (Ersparnisse, Kredite bei Verwandten/Bekannten) ausgestattet, und die Investitionstätigkeit ist dementsprechend gering. Händler kaufen ihre Ware oftmals nur auf Kommission. Darüber hinaus bietet der *TIS* den vollberuflich Tätigen (z.B. LehrerInnen, Bauern, Studierende) die Chance auf ein Nebeneinkommen[6] und schwächt die saisonale Arbeitslosigkeit in landwirtschaftlich geprägten Regionen ab (vgl. Vorlaufer, 1999, S. 686-688).

3 Für die Benachteiligung der erwähnten Gruppen gibt es verschiedene Gründe. Die Doppelbelastung resultierend aus Familien- und Erwerbsleben erschwert in Thailand beispielsweise vielen Frauen die Aufnahme eines formellen Arbeitsverhältnisses. Menschen mit Behinderung erfahren Benachteiligung am Arbeitsmarkt aufgrund geringerer Ausbildungschancen und folglich der niedrigeren formalen Qualifikation. Arbeitsplätze sind zudem meist nicht auf die mitunter bestehenden speziellen Bedürfnisse von Menschen mit Behinderung ausgerichtet. Flüchtlingen ist es in Thailand üblicherweise gesetzlich untersagt, im Zuge ihres Asylverfahrens einer Arbeit nachzugehen.

4 In Thailand besuchten 1992 etwa 28 Prozent der im *TIS* Beschäftigten nur die Grundschule (Dauer ein bis fünf Jahre), während es im *NIS* 51 Prozent waren. Im Vergleich dazu waren es im *TFS* 16 Prozent gegenüber 29 Prozent im *nicht-touristisch formellen Sektor* (*NFS*) (vgl. Vorlaufer 1999, S. 686).

5 So gingen in Thailand zu Beginn der 1990er-Jahre nur zwei Drittel der im *TIS* Beschäftigten länger als zwei Jahre einer jeweiligen Tätigkeit nach (vgl. Vorlaufer, 1999, S. 686).

6 Das Nebeneinkommen wird meist über Tätigkeiten als ReiseführerInnen oder TaxifahrerInnen lukriert. Eine weitere Möglichkeit ist die Vermietung von Privatzimmern oder Fahrzeugen an TouristInnen

Modell der Entwicklung und des zyklischen Verlaufes des touristisch informellen Sektors

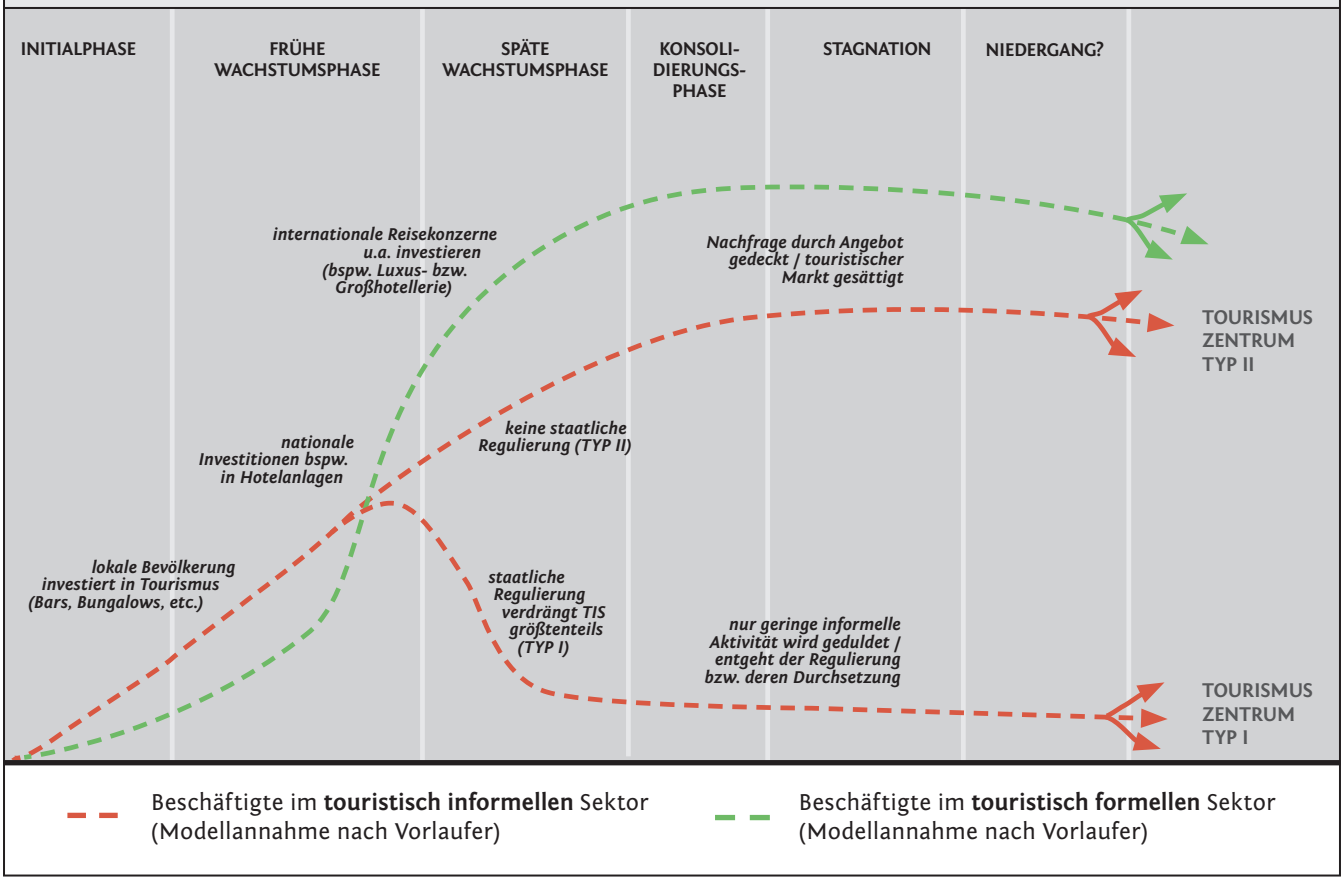
Nachdem auf die Spezifika des *touristisch informellen Sektors* eingegangen wurde, soll nun der Frage nachgegangen werden, inwieweit sich Entwicklung und Verlauf des *touristisch informellen Sektors* in einer beliebigen Destination zyklisch erklären lässt. Vorlaufer hat hierfür ein Modell entworfen, das sich an Butlers (1980) Modell des Lebenszyklus von Tourismuszentren[7] anlehnt. Die Entstehung des *TIS* in einer touristischen Destination ist mit dem Eintreffen der ersten TouristInnen zu erwarten. Der *TIS* ist in dieser *Initialphase* der hauptsächliche Träger des touristischen Angebots. Einige wenige TouristInnen passen sich jedoch an das zu dem Zeitpunkt bestehende touristische Angebot an, indem sie in einfachen Unterkünften wie Bungalows schlafen sowie günstige lokale Restaurants besuchen. Das Preisniveau des touristischen Angebots ist aufgrund des in dieser Zeit vorherrschenden niedrigen Lohnniveaus der örtlichen Bevölkerung niedrig. Einheimische werden für kurze Exkursionen (z.B. FischerInnen, die im Nebenerwerb ihr Boot für Ausflüge vermieten) bezahlt und einfach erzeugte, traditionelle Produkte als Souvenirs erstanden (vgl. Vorlaufer, 1999, S. 681-682).

In einer *frühen Wachstumsphase*, in der die Tourismusankünfte steigen, erhöht sich die Zahl der Beschäftigten und Betriebe sowohl im *TIS* als auch im *TFS*, wobei der *TIS* zu Beginn der rasanten Entwicklung mehr Angestellte und Unternehmen vorzuweisen hat. Dennoch ändert sich die Struktur des touristischen Wirtschafts- bzw. Beschäftigungssystems: Haben viele Einheimische in der *Initialphase* den Tourismus lediglich als Nebenerwerbsquelle genutzt, wird dieser bei weiterem Anstieg der Anzahl der TouristInnen zur wichtigsten Einnahmequelle. Bevölkerungsschichten, die über mehr Kapital, Einfluss oder Bildung verfügen (z.B. HändlerInnen, lokale PolitikerInnen, LehrerInnen etc.), investieren in das touristische Wirtschaftsystem und eröffnen beispielsweise kleine Beherbergungsbetriebe. Auch FischerInnen nutzen ihre Boote nun hauptsächlich für Sightseeing-Touren, und die Zahl der SouvenirhändlerInnen nimmt zu. Der Tourismus wird zudem von den nationalen EntscheidungsträgerInnen

7 Das *Tourism-Area-Life-Cycle-Modell* von Butler (1980) beschreibt die zyklische Entwicklung von Tourismuszentren in Anlehnung an den Produktlebenszyklus von Konsumgütern (von ihrer Markteinführung bis hin zur Bedeutungsabnahme). Auf touristische Destinationen übertragen nennt Butler diese Phasen nach Entwicklung der TouristInnenankünfte gegliedert E*xploration, Involvement, Development, Consolidation, Stagnation* und *Post-Stagnation* (vgl. Schulz et al., 2010, S. 616-617). Vorlaufer integrierte in Butlers Modell der touristischen Phasen die quantitative Entwicklung der informellen und formellen Tourismuswirtschaft. Sein Modell beruht auf Ergebnissen empirischer Untersuchungen in Kenia, Thailand und Indonesien.

als Verdienstquelle erkannt, und es wird, beispielsweise durch Straßenbaumaßnahmen, in die Infrastruktur der Destination investiert, oder es werden Anreize für nationale InvestorInnen in Hotelprojekte gesetzt (z.B. Fördergelder, Steuererleichterungen). Mit der guten Entwicklung der Tourismuszahlen und den damit geschaffenen Arbeitsplätzen wird der Tourismusort auch für in- und ausländische MigrantInnen aus wirtschaftsschwachen Regionen attraktiv. Diese finden aufgrund ihrer geringen formalen Bildung oder – im Fall von illegal eingereisten MigrantInnen – fehlenden Visa und Arbeitsbewilligungen jedoch meist im *touristisch formellen Sektor* keinen Arbeitsplatz und verdienen ihren Lebensunterhalt in weiterer Folge im *TIS*. Gemäß Vorlaufers Modell wird das weitere Wachstum der Tourismusdestination in der *späten Wachstumsphase* beziehungsweise *Konsolidierungsphase* dann jedoch vom *touristisch formellen Sektor* getragen. Dies ist dadurch bedingt, dass das Gebiet aufgrund

Abbildung 1: Vereinfachstes Phasenmodell des TIS und TFS nach Vorlaufer



Quelle: Autorin nach Vorlaufer (1999)

eines steigenden Aufkommens kaufkräftiger TouristInnen zunehmend für (inter)nationale InvestorInnen interessant wird. Die nun vertretene Gruppe von TouristInnen[8] stellt dem Modell nach höhere Ansprüche in Bezug auf die Qualität der touristischen Produkte, welche aufgrund des hohen Kapitaleinsatzes (zum Beispiel hochwertige Restaurants oder Hotels) durch den *TIS* nicht gänzlich befriedigt werden können. Es entstehen im Zuge der nun massentouristischen Entwicklung transnationale Luxus- und Großhotels, befestigte Straßen oder Einkaufszentren. Der *touristisch informelle Sektor* wird gleichzeitig durch Maßnahmen wie Lizenzierungen und der strengeren Überprüfung von Gesetzen und daraus resultierenden Strafen eingedämmt. In vielen Destinationen kommt es daher zu einer Abnahme der Anzahl der Beschäftigten und Betriebe im *TIS*. Diese Entwicklung stellt Vorlaufer in seinem *Tourismuszentrum Typ I*[9] dar, während in einem *Tourismuszentrum Typ II*[10] der *TIS* keinen Behinderungen (wie etwa die angesprochenen strengen Überprüfungen) unterliegt (vgl. Vorlaufer, 1999, S. 681-682). Welchem Tourismuszentrumstyp Patong entspricht, wird in weiterer Folge herausgearbeitet werden.

Das Untersuchungsgebiet: Patong

Nachdem eingangs die Theorien, Dimensionen, Spezifika sowie die zeitliche Entwicklung des *touristisch informellen Sektors* dargestellt wurden, folgt nun eine Analyse des *TIS* in einem spezifischen Untersuchungsgebiet. Für diese Studie wurde der Ort Patong auf der thailändischen Insel Phuket gewählt. Die Region um die Insel Phuket war Mittelpunkt einer erstaunlichen touristischen Entwicklung. Von etwa 200.000 zu Beginn der 1980er-Jahre stieg (vgl. TAT, 1983) die Zahl der TouristInnen bis zum Jahr 2004 rasant auf einen Rekordwert von 4,2 Millionen an (vgl. TAT, 2005).

Die empirischen Erhebungen dieser Studie fanden von Anfang Jänner bis Anfang

8 Smiths (1977) TouristInnentypologie unterteilt Reisende nach dem Grad deren Anpassung an lokale Gegebenheiten. Darunter finden sich Typen wie *explorer-, elite-, mass-* oder *charter*-TouristInnen (vgl. Freyer, 2008, S. 93).

9 Der *Tourismuszentrum Typ I* zeichnet sich durch eine Verdrängung des informellen durch den formellen Sektor aus, oft bedingt durch u.a. behördliche Raumordnungsmaßnahmen bzw. striktere polizeiliche Durchsetzung der geltenden Regulierungen (vgl. Vorlaufer, 1999, S. 681)

10 Der *Tourismuszentrum Typ II* steht für eine gewachsene dualistische Struktur im Tourismusgewerbe (vgl. Vorlaufer, 1999, S. 681). Aus dem Begriff „dual" sollte hier jedoch nicht geschlossen werden, Vorlaufer wäre den VertreterInnen der dualistischen Theorie zuzuordnen. Vorlaufer bezeichnet den *Typ II* als „dualistisch", um zu unterstreichen, dass beide Sektoren, sowohl *TIS* als auch *TFS*, im Verlauf der Entwicklung des Ortes weiterbestehen und kein Verfall des TIS einsetzt. Im Gegensatz zu den „DualistInnen" geht er jedoch nicht davon aus, dass *TIS* und *TFS* strikt voneinander zu trennen seien, sondern untersucht im Zuge seiner Studien Netzwerke zwischen beiden Sektoren (*strukturalistisches Argument*).

März 2009 statt. Die ersten beiden Wochen in Bangkok dienten dem Aufsuchen von Archiven und Bibliotheken und der ExpertInnenbefragung, die restlichen sechs Wochen verbrachte ich direkt in Patong. Diese Zeit wurde für Gespräche mit regionalen TourismusexpertInnen über Phuket sowie für Interviews mit den verschiedenen AkteurInnen des *TIS* genutzt. So wurden 40 Interviews mit Angestellten informeller touristischer Geschäfte, elf Interviews mit Massagedamen, Jet-Ski und LiegestuhlvermieterInnen sowie 15 Interviews mit StrandverkäuferInnen durchgeführt. Es wurden Fragen zum sozioökonomischen Status der GesprächspartnerInnen (z.B. Bildungsstand, Familienstand, Kinderzahl, Einkommen) und dem Verlauf ihres Arbeitslebens auf Phuket (Migrationserfahrungen, Arbeitsorte auf Phuket bzw. in Patong, Problemfelder beim Ausüben der Arbeit, Umsatz, Verlauf der aktuellen Saison, Kundenschichten) gestellt.[11] Um zusätzliche, tiefer gehende Informationen zu erhalten, wurden informelle Gespräche geführt. Weiters wurde die Methode der teilnehmenden, verdeckten Beobachtung angewandt, um die Handlungsmuster des *TIS* erkennen zu können (vgl. Reuber & Pfaffenbach, 2006, S. 123-127). Um einen Überblick über die Dimensionen und räumliche Verortung des *TIS* in Patong zu erhalten, wurde eine quantitative Erfassung sowie eine Kartierung der touristischen Kernzone[12] vorgenommen.

Im Zuge des vorliegenden Artikels soll ergründet werden, wann der *TIS* in Patong entstand und inwieweit dessen zeitliche Entwicklung dem Zyklusmodell von Vorlaufer entspricht. Weiters wird gezeigt, welche Personengruppen in Patong im *TIS* arbeiten und ob deren Eigenschaften mit den von Vorlaufer genannten übereinstimmen. Darüber hinaus erfolgt eine Analyse, welche Tätigkeiten durch den *TIS* abgedeckt werden und ob es für gewisse Untergruppen des *TIS* bevorzugte Verkaufsareale gibt. Außerdem wird ein Beispiel vorgestellt, anhand dessen Netzwerke zwischen den im *TIS* beschäftigten Personen und Unternehmen, jenen des *TFS* und den Behörden, illustriert werden.

11 Die Auswahl der InterviewpartnerInnen erfolgte per Schneeballmethode, wobei darauf geachtet wurde, dass eine möglichst gleichmäßige Verteilung der Befragten über die touristische Kernzone Patongs erreicht wurde, um in weiterer Folge die räumliche Analyse auf eine möglichst repräsentative Grundlage zu stellen.

12 Die empirische Untersuchung wurde auf eine Kernzone Patongs eingegrenzt. In diesem Gebiet zwischen Beach Road und der parallel dazu verlaufenden „Second Road", das nördlich durch die Had Patong Road und südlich durch die „Holiday Inn" Road begrenzt wird, findet die touristische Hauptgeschäftstätigkeit statt und sind kaum Wohneinheiten vorhanden.

Die Entwicklung des Tourismus in Patong

Bis in die 1970er-Jahre war Zinnabbau der bedeutendste Wirtschaftsfaktor Phukets, gefolgt von Kautschuk- und Kokosnussplantagen sowie Fischerei. Tourismus rangierte zu diesem Zeitpunkt in Bezug auf das BIP nur an fünfter Stelle (vgl. Cohen, 1982, S. 196). Angesichts der baldigen Erschöpfung des Zinnvorkommens und der Begrenztheit der landwirtschaftlichen Ressourcen erstellte die *Tourism Organization of Thailand* (*TOT*)[13] im Jahr 1979 ein Gesamtkonzept für die touristische Entwicklung Phukets. Das Potenzial der Insel für eine touristische Entwicklung wurde mit deren großer Fläche und guter Erreichbarkeit, der exzellenten Qualität und Lage seiner Strände und dem Vorhandensein vieler natürlicher (zum Beispiel Bucht von Phang Nga, Similian Islands), kultureller und historischer Attraktionen (zum Beispiel sino-portugiesisches Erbe von Phuket Town, ethnische Minderheit der „Sea Gypsies", Tempel Wat Chalong) begründet. Dadurch war eine Bandbreite für die verschiedensten Tourismusformen (zum Beispiel Badetourismus, Familientourismus, Kulturtourismus) gegeben (vgl. TOT, 1979, S. 3-18). Mit der Eröffnung des internationalen Flughafens auf der Insel sowie einer aktiven Bewerbung stieg die Zahl an TouristInnen rasant an, und Phuket wurde in nur wenigen Jahren vom Geheimtipp für Rucksackreisende zu einem Hotspot des Massentourismus. Im Zuge des *Fifth National Social Development Plan* (1982-1986)[14] wurde in Phuket die finale Phase des Ausbaus als touristische Destination verfolgt (vgl. Richter, 1989, S. 88). Vor allem Patong stand im Zentrum dieser rasanten Entwicklung. Als die TOT Ende der 1970er-Jahre die Strategie für die touristische Erschließung der Insel Phuket erstellte, war in Patong die Entwicklung des touristischen Wirtschaftssystem und der touristischen Infrastruktur am weitesten fortgeschritten. Zudem war im Hinterland ausreichend räumliche Kapazität für eine weitere Entwicklung gegeben, und die Qualität des Meerwassers und des Strandes wurde als sehr gut bewertet. Entsprechend wurde beschlossen, diese Destination zum touristischen Zentrum der Region auszubauen (vgl. TOT, 1979, S. 3-27). Noch Anfang der 1980er-Jahre galt Patong als ein sehr beschaulicher Ort. In Hinblick auf die touristische Infrastruktur zählte Cohen im Jahr 1982 15 Hotels und Bungalows,

13 Die *TOT* war die Vorgängerorganisation der *Tourism Authority of Thailand* (*TAT*), die 1979 gegründet wurde (vgl. Richter, 1989, S. 91).

14 Verantwortlich für die Erstellung dieser jeweils fünfjährigen Entwicklungspläne in Thailand zeichnet sich das *National Economic Development Board* (*NEDB*).

etwa 30 Restaurants, einige Bars, Tourismusshops sowie eine Disco (vgl. Cohen 1982, S. 198). In einer späteren Beschreibung im Jahr 1995 stellt er fest, dass Patong inzwischen ein Zentrum des internationalen Tourismus geworden sei mit einer Vielzahl an Bars, Hotels, Restaurants, Shoppingzentren, Nachtclubs, die unsystematisch angeordnet waren, und der Ort nun eher einer Stadt statt einem friedlichen Paradies glich (vgl. Cohen, 1995, S. 229). Die TouristInnenzahlen Patongs stiegen stetig an, bis im Jahr 2003 zum ersten Mal über eine Million Gästenankünfte verzeichnet wurden. Der Höchststand wurde im darauffolgenden Jahr mit 1,18 Millionen erreicht (TAT, 2005). Die Tsunami-Katastrophe, die sich am 26. Dezember 2004 ereignete, wirkte sich sehr stark auf die Tourismuswirtschaft Phukets des Jahres 2005 aus, und die Gästeankünfte sanken um etwa 55 Prozent auf 557.305 (TAT, 2006). Das Ausbleiben der Gäste bezeichnete das Gros der auf der Insel Erwerbstätigen als einen „second tsunami", schließlich war der Tourismus inzwischen eindeutig zur Haupteinnahmequelle geworden, wie das *Gross Provincial Product* (*GPP*) der Provinz Phuket zeigt. So machten im Jahr 2006 die Einnahmen im Hotel- und Restaurantwesen 38,5 Prozent des *GPP* aus, gefolgt von jenen aus Transport, Lagerhaltung und Kommunikation mit 13,8 Prozent (vgl. Alpha Research, 2009, S. 911). Letztere ist zudem ein Wirtschaftzweig, der auch eng mit der touristischen Wirtschaft verbunden ist. In diese offiziellen Statistiken nicht mit einbezogen sind jegliche Formen des informellen Sektors. Zudem erfasst die Statistik nicht die große Zahl der nicht registrierten BewohnerInnen. Im Fall von Patong lag die Zahl der registrierten EinwohnerInnen 2009 bei 17.800 (Patong Municipality, 2009) . Addiert man dazu die Unregistrierten sowie UrlauberInnen, kommt man in der Hochsaison auf einen inoffiziellen Wert von über 100.000 EinwohnerInnen, so Patongs Vize-Bürgermeister Chairat Sukban (persönliches Gespräch, 24. Februar 2009). Die bestehende reale Abhängigkeit der Wirtschaft Patongs vom Tourismus dürfte sich damit als um ein Vielfaches höher erweisen.

Die Entwicklung des TIS in Patong

Nach der Beschreibung der Entwicklung des Tourismus im Untersuchungsgebiet soll nun jene des *TIS* skizziert und erörtert werden, inwieweit diese dem zyklischen Phasen-Modell von Vorlaufer folgt. Wie von Vorlaufer (1999) beschrieben, wurde auch in Patong das touristische Angebot in der *Initialphase* des Tourismus durch Einhei-

mische gestellt, wobei die meisten davon dem *TIS* zuzurechnen waren (Abb. 2). In Bezug auf Unterbringung zeigte sich, dass kleine Bungalow-Anlagen ohne Hotellizenz durch die BesitzerInnen selbst beziehungsweise durch deren enge Familienmitglieder geführt wurden. Fallweise wurden Personen aus Familie oder aus dem Freundeskreis beschäftigt und mit geringem Lohn oder nur mit Kost und Logis entschädigt. Cohen zählte 1979 in Patong etwa 50 im Tourismus Beschäftigte, wovon 36 aus der lokalen Bevölkerung stammten und der Rest aus anderen Orten der Insel Phuket (vgl. Cohen, 1982, S. 217). Die Tourismusbetriebe waren kleine Bungalows oder einfache Strandrestaurants. Die Straßen, auf denen bereits FahrerInnen von Motorradrikschas (*Tuk-Tuks*) informell den TouristInnen ihre Transportleistungen anboten, waren unasphaltiert. Mit fortschreitendem Wachstum (*frühe Wachstumsphase*) der touristischen Aktivität erkannten auch AkteurInnen von außerhalb Patongs das mit dem Tourismus verknüpfte wirtschaftliche Potenzial. In weiterer Folge war es nun schließlich nicht die lokale Bevölkerung, die den größten Profit aus der touristischen Entwicklung schlug, sondern Personen von außerhalb Patongs, unter anderem chinesischstämmige UnternehmerInnen aus der Hauptstadt Phukets, Phuket Town, in deren Besitz die größeren touristischen Beherbergungsbetriebe waren. Diese wiederum setzten meist in der Leitung ihrer Betriebe die eigenen Vertrauensleute aus der Stadt und nicht Ortsansässige ein. Diese Geschäftsleute ebneten in weiterer Folge den Weg für lukrative Investitionen, da sie durch ihre unternehmerischen Tätigkeiten Kontakte nach Bangkok und ins Ausland unterhielten. Einheimische, die noch Grund in Strandnähe besaßen, verkauften diesen nun zu hohen Preisen. Und auch in weiterer Folge, als sich immer mehr internationale InvestorInnen für Phuket zu interessieren begannen, stiegen die Grundpreise noch erheblich an (vgl. Cohen, 1982, S. 215). Anita Pleumarom, die Koordinatorin der NGO *t.i.m.-team* (*tourism investigation & monitoring team*), welche touristische Entwicklungen und Konzepte in Thailand und der Mekong-Region hinsichtlich ihrer Nachhaltigkeit sowie Umwelt- und sozialer Verträglichkeit prüft, meint zu dieser Entwicklung:

> *Also die lokale Bevölkerung wurde immer weiter hinaus gedrängt. Die meisten haben ihr Land verkauft, weil die Preise wurden einfach zu teuer [Anm. Preise für die Ausgaben des täglichen Bedarfs]. Für die meisten wurde es attraktiver, ihr Land für gutes Geld zu verkaufen und in die Stadt zu gehen . . . Patong, Kata, Karon und Rawai – das ist die internationale Zone, wo auch keine lokalen Leute in der Tourismusbranche arbeiten wollen. Hier sind es hauptsächlich Migranten [sic] aus Nordost-Thailand oder Burma (Anita Pleumarom, persönliches Gespräch, 15. Jänner, 2007).*

An der Versorgung der TouristInnen konnte die Dorfgemeinschaft bereits beginnend mit der *frühen Wachstumsphase* des Tourismus kaum mehr verdienen, denn Restaurants oder Hotels tätigten ihre Einkäufe in den urbanen Märkten Phuket Towns (vgl. Cohen, 1982, S. 218). Nachdem – wie von Pleumarom erwähnt – große Teile der ursprünglich lokalen Bevölkerung Patong verlassen haben, waren in der *späten Wachstumsphase* sogenannte „Locals" meistens nur noch unter den StrandverkäuferInnen und LiegestuhlvermieterInnen zu finden.

Folgt man Vorlaufers Modell des *Tourismuszentrum Typ I*, so wäre nun auch im Falle Patongs durch das Auswandern der lokalen Bevölkerung und dem durch den touristischen Boom animierten raschen Anstieg von Betriebsgründungen im formellen Sektor sowie steigender ausländischen Investitionen ab den 1990er-Jahren eine Schrumpfung des *TIS* zu erwarten gewesen. Dementgegen ging die Zahl der Betriebe des *TIS* im Untersuchungsgebiet jedoch nicht zurück. Stattdessen wies die Entwicklung Patongs eher Charakteristika des von ihm beschriebenen *Tourismuszentrum Typ II* auf, welches eine Stabilisierung der dualistischen Struktur des Tourismusgewerbes erwarten ließ. Im Jahr 1996 beobachtete Vorlaufer 680 Läden und Verkaufsstände, die großteils ohne behördliche Lizenz agierten (vgl. Vorlaufer, 2006, S. 38). Einen Beitrag zum Fortbestehen des *TIS* leisteten (und leisten auch heute noch) die von Pleumarom angesprochenen MigrantInnen[15], die meist durch fehlende formale Bildung oder Arbeitserlaubnis nur informell ihren Lebensunterhalt verdienen können. Entsprechen würde diese Beobachtung der Theorie der Legalisten: die Informalität scheint eine erzwungene Reaktion auf das bestehende restriktive Rechtssystem darzustellen.

Als Zäsur sowohl für den *TIS* als auch für den *TFS* in Patong genauso wie im Rest des südlichen Thailands, gilt die Tsunami-Katastrophe des 26. Dezember 2004, durch welche beide Sektoren mit rapide sinkenden Gästezahlen und weiteren Problemen konfrontiert waren (*Niedergang*). Im Jahr nach der Katastrophe, in der weiterhin massive Einnahmeverluste entstanden, mussten die Kleinbetriebe des *TIS* sowie die Unternehmen des *TFS* Geldmittel für den Wiederaufbau oder die Wiederinbetriebnahmen auf-

15 Vereinfachte Migrationsmodelle wie *Push-Pull-Modelle* gehen von der Existenz sogenannter *Push*-Faktoren, die Personen dazu veranlassen, ihre Herkunftsregion zu verlassen, als auch *Pull*-Faktoren, welche einen Anreiz bieten, in ein jeweiliges Zielgebiet zu migrieren, aus (vgl. IOM, 2004, S. 49). Als *Push*-Faktoren gelten zum Beispiel: Krieg, Verfolgung, Hunger, Armut oder Umweltkatastrophen, während als *Pull*-Faktoren politische Freiheit, Sicherheit, höhere Einkommen im Zielland oder Gründe wie Familienzusammenführungen genannt werden können (vgl. Migration Satellite, o.D.).

bringen und wurden durch Auflagen von Behörden teilweise stark behindert.[16] Zwei Jahre nach dem Tsunami erholte sich die Tourismuswirtschaft allerdings wieder und Patong war von jenem vor der Katastrophe kaum zu unterscheiden. Sowohl touristisch informeller als auch formeller Sektor nahmen ihr Wachstum wieder auf (*neue Wachstumsphase*). Nach dem Tsunami eröffnete in Patong eine Reihe neuer Hotels wie etwa 2006 das *La Flora* oder 2009 das *Courtyard by Marriott Phuket*. Gleichzeitig wurde neue Infrastruktur[17] für informelle Shops geschaffen, wie beispielsweise das *OTOP Shopping Paradise* 2005 oder *DJ Plaza* Ende des Jahres 2009.

Neben den MigrantInnen, welche den Hauptteil der informellen Beschäftigten stellen, muss das Fortbestehen des *TIS* jedoch auch durch entsprechende Käuferschichten bzw. eine Nachfragestruktur gesichert werden. Für den *TIS* ist es vorteilhaft, dass nicht ausschließlich Luxusressorts in Patong vorhanden sind[18], da diese touristische Enklaven bilden, aus denen sich TouristInnen nur selten hinaus bewegen und somit kaum auf die Leistungen der außerhalb dieser Anlagen präsenten informell Tätigen zurückgreifen können. Sind nur *Low-Budget*-TouristInnen zugegen, sind die Voraussetzungen für einen wirtschaftlichen Erfolg der informell Beschäftigten ebenso begrenzt, denn diese schränken ihren persönlichen Konsum von Dienstleistungen wie Massagen oder den Kauf von Mitbringseln wie Souvenirs oder Markenkopien, welche vom *TIS* intensiv vertrieben werden, üblicherweise stark ein.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich über den zyklischen Verlauf des *TIS* und *TFS* in Patong feststellen, dass die Entwicklung vor allem in der *Initialphase* und *ersten Wachstumsphase* Vorlaufers Modell des *Tourismuszentrum Typ I* folgt: Die Betriebs- und Beschäftigtenzahl des *TIS* pendelt sich aber mit fortschreitendem Wachstum auf einem hohen Niveau ein, und die Variante eines nachhaltigen *Niederganges*, die als eine Möglichkeit in Vorlaufers Schema dargestellt wird (Abb. 1), kann im Fall von Patong nicht bestätigt werden. Die beobachtete Entwicklung einer dualistischen Struktur entspricht daher eher dem *Tourismuszentrum Typ II*. Doch auch diese Variante lässt sich nicht eins zu

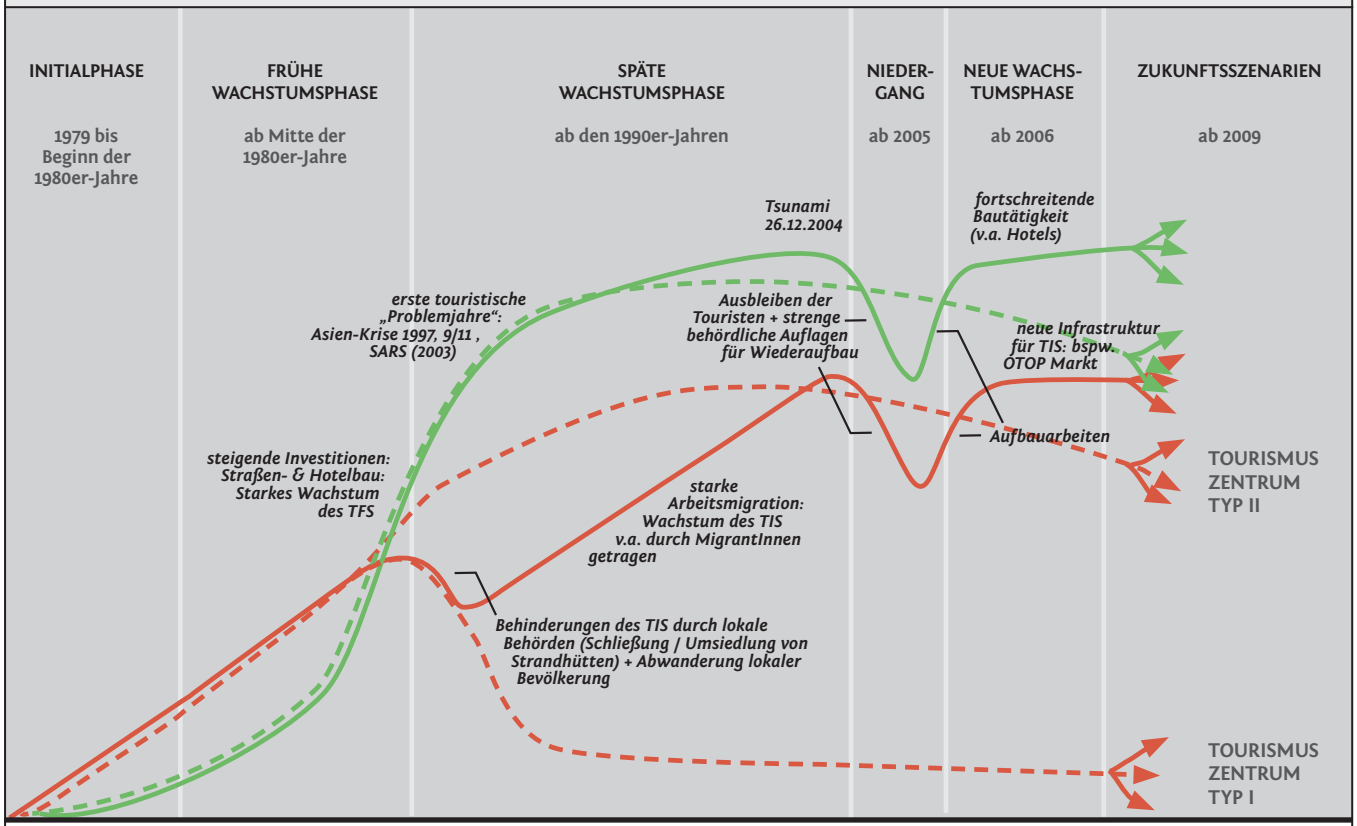
16 So waren für einige Zeit nach dem Tsunami keine Liegestühle auf dem Strand gestattet, oder es musste für Bauwerke ein Abstand von 30 Metern zum Strand gewahrt werden (vgl. Gantner, 2007, S. 104-107).

17 Es handelt sich um einen raumordnenden, regulativen Eingriff der Stadtverwaltung Patongs mit dem Ziel, ein strukturierteres Erscheinungsbild der Destination zu schaffen. Durch die Bereitstellung von entsprechender Infrastruktur soll die Zahl von *mobilen* StraßenverkäuferInnen und *semi-mobilen* Verkaufsständen am Straßenrand abnehmen.

18 Ein Viertel der Gästeankünfte entfallen auf Betriebe mit Einzelzimmer-Rate von unter 500 Baht (entspricht im Mai 2011 ca. 23 Euro). Weitere 35 Prozent der Gäste wählen Unterkünfte, die pro Nacht im Einzelzimmer weniger als 2.500 Baht (entspricht im Mai 2011 ca. 58 Euro) kosten. Weniger als ein Drittel der Gäste wählt teure Hotels, deren Übernachtungskosten diesen Wert übersteigen (vgl. TAT, 2006).

eins auf Patong übertragen, denn hier findet zum Teil eine Behinderung des *TIS* durch Behörden statt, die wiederum ein Charakteristikum wäre, das eher Vorlaufers *Typ I* entsprechen würde. Quantitativ hat der *TIS* in Patong eine relativ hohe Bedeutung. Die im Zuge der empirischen Erhebung in der touristischen Kernzone gezählten 580 Shops des *immobilen TIS* prägen das Ortsbild, ebenso werden die Dienstleistungen des *semi-mobilen* beziehungsweise *mobilen TIS* von den TouristInnen nach wie vor nachgefragt. Das Ergebnis einer selbst durchgeführten Erhebung unterstreicht diesen Sachverhalt. Im Untersuchungsgebiet fanden sich dabei rund 125 Massagedamen, 100 Angestellten im Bereich der Jet-Ski-Vermietung und 200 im Liegestuhl-Business Beschäftigten sowie 150 Strandverkäufern.

Abbildung 2: Entwicklung des TIS und TFS in Patong im Vergleich zu Vorlaufers Phasenmodell



Quelle: Autorin / Vorlaufer (1999)

Angebot und Klassifizierung des touristisch informellen Sektors

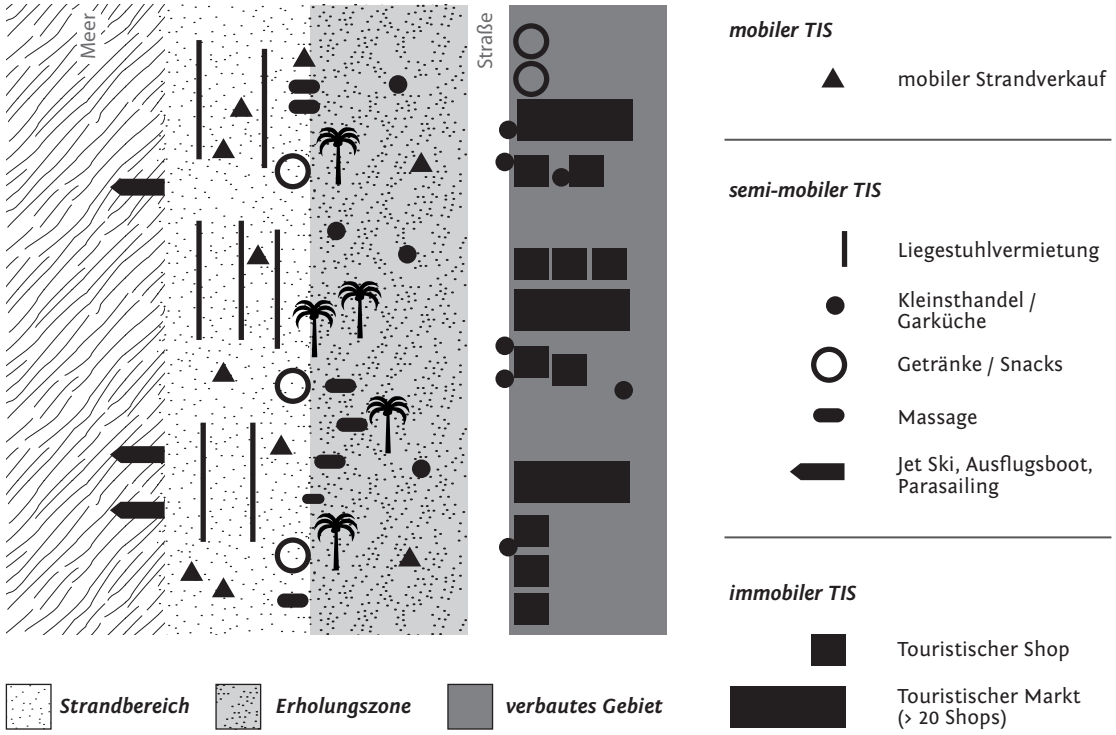
Neben einem Vergleich der Entwicklung des *TIS* in Patong mit dem zyklischen Phasen-Modell Vorlaufers wurde im Zuge der empirischen Untersuchung eine räumliche Analyse des Sektors vorgenommen. Um einen besseren Überblick über die verschiedenen AkteurInnen des *TIS* und deren Angebot an Produkten und Dienstleistungen zu erlangen, wurde eine Klassifizierung vorgenommen, welche die AkteurInnen in Bezug auf ihre Mobilität hin unterscheidet (vgl. Smith & Henderson, 2006, S. 275-276):

- ***Mobiler TIS***: Unter *mobilem TIS* werden AkteurInnen des *touristisch informellen Sektors* beschrieben, die ständig in Bewegung sind, ihre Waren mit sich tragen und keinen fixen Verkaufsstandort haben. In diese Kategorie fallen die StrandverkäuferInnen, die von Kleidung, über Essen, Getränke, Obst, Sonnenbrillen, Uhren und Souvenirs sowie saisonale Produkte uvm. verkaufen und im gesamten *Strandbereich* aktiv sind. Weiters sind FremdenführerInnen, TänzerInnen oder MusikantInnen (jeweils ohne Lizenz) hinzuzuzählen.
- ***Semi-mobiler TIS***: Jene AkteurInnen, die zum *semi-mobilen TIS* gezählt werden, gehen ihrer Arbeit an ausgewählten/festen Standorten jedoch mit mobilen Verkaufseinheiten (z.B. Verkaufsständer, Karren) nach. Hierunter fallen StrandliegenvermieterInnen, Jet-Ski-VermieterInnen, GarküchenbetreiberInnen, FischerInnen, die ihr Boot für Ausflüge vermieten, TaxibetreiberInnen, Massagedamen oder VerkäuferInnen im touristischen Einzelhandel. Diese Verkaufsstände werden täglich auf- und abgebaut.
- ***Immobiler TIS***: Die Gruppe des *immobilen TIS* inkludiert alle Gewerbetreibenden des *TIS*, die ihre Waren an Standorten anbieten, bei denen es sich um fest installierte Verkaufsstände oder Shops mit unterschiedlicher Bauweise und –substanz handelt. Außerdem werden informelle Beherbergungsbetriebe und Restaurants als Teil dieser Gruppe gezählt.

Ein Ergebnis dieser Untersuchungen war, dass sich den verschiedenen Gruppen des *TIS* spezifische Verkaufsgebiete zuordnen ließen. Die folgende schematische Darstellung (siehe Abb. 3) zeigt, die räumliche Aufteilung der Zonen, in denen *mobiler, semimobiler* und *immobiler TIS* bevorzugt aufzufinden sind. [19]

19 Die Darstellung in Abb. 3 ist eine schematische. Das veranschaulichte Muster erstreckt sich von Nord nach Süd in ähnlicher Form über das touristische Kerngebiet Patongs

Abbildung 3: Räumliche Verteilung des *TIS* im Untersuchungsgebiet



Quelle: Autorin

Die räumliche Analyse stellt ein Aktivitätsfeld des touristischen Sektors dar, das sich in *Strandbereich, Erholungszone*[20] und *verbautes Gebiet* untergliedern lässt. Der *mobile TIS* lässt sich vor allem im *Strandbereich* und der *Erholungszone* verorten. Die vom *semi-mobilen TIS* bevorzugte Zone liegt ebenfalls im *Strandbereich* beziehungsweise in der parkähnlichen *Erholungszone* hinter dem *Strandbereich*, wo Palmen und Pinien Schatten spenden, in dem sich die Massagedamen mit ihren Liegen niederlassen. Auch die LiegestuhlvermieterInnen finden sich an der Grenze zwischen *Strandbereich* und *Erholungszone*. Der Großteil der LiegestuhlvermieterInnen betreibt, um die TouristInnen, die in ihrem Bereich Liegen mieten, entsprechend versorgen zu können, einen Getränke- oder Snackstand, der erwartungsgemäß im Schatten positioniert wird. Die Jet-Ski-VermieterInnen agieren nicht ausschließlich im *Strandbereich*, sondern begeben sich auch in die *Erholungszone,* um KundInnen zu werben. Der *immobile TIS* befindet sich im verbauten Gebiet. Das beruht darauf, dass nach dem Tsunami

20 Als *Erholungszone* wird das Parkgebiet zwischen *Strandbereich* und *verbautem Gebiet* bezeichnet, das mit Palmen und Laubbäumen bepflanzt ist und Spazierwege, Fitnessgeräte sowie Spielmöglichkeiten für Kinder beherbergt.

laut Vize-Bürgermeister Chairat der gesetzlich festgelegte Abstand von 30 Metern, den Gebäude – und somit die Shops des touristischen Einzelhandels – zum Strand einhalten müssen, stärker forciert wird als vor der Katastrophe (persönliches Gespräch, 24. Februar 2009). Die Shops des *immobilen TIS* sind teilweise sehr klein mit einer etwa 15 Meter langen und zwei Meter hohen Verkaufswand in einem 30m² großen Verkaufsraum, den sich oftmals mehrere BesitzerInnen teilen. Die bevorzugten Standorte des *immobilen TIS*, also diejenigen mit der höchsten KundInnenfrequenz, sind im *verbauten Gebiet* in der Nähe zur *Erholungszone* zu finden. Dass es sich in diesen Zonen um begehrte Verkaufslagen handelt, findet seinen Niederschlag u.a. in der Höhe der Mietpreise. In speziell für KleinunternehmerInnen geschaffenen Märkten (Bsp. *OTOP Shopping Paradise*, *Sainumyen Plaza*) sind die Mieten zudem jeweils in Eingangsnähe am höchsten.

Akteursstruktur des TIS

Um Aussagen über die AkteurInnenstruktur des *TIS* von Patong zu erhalten, wurden während der Feldarbeit Interviews mit AkteurInnen aller Sparten des *TIS* durchgeführt, in denen u.a. der sozioökonomische Status der Befragten erhoben wurde. Die daraus abgeleiteten Ergebnisse werden in weiterer Folge präsentiert und ein Vergleich mit der eingangs beschriebenen früheren Untersuchung Vorlaufers gezogen (siehe Kap. Spezifika des *touristisch informellen Sektors*).

Im Zuge der empirischen Untersuchung stellte sich heraus, dass in den Geschäften des *immobilen TIS* nicht die ShopbesitzerInnen selbst, sondern meist Angestellte (zum großen Teil MigrantInnen ohne Arbeitsgenehmigung) arbeiten. Von den 40 Interviewten, die im *immobilen TIS* tätig sind, gaben nahezu zwei Drittel an, Angestellte zu sein, während die restlichen interviewten Personen LadenbesitzerInnen oder deren Verwandte waren. Mehr als die Hälfte der Befragten aus der Gruppe des *immobilen TIS* stammte aus Myanmar, wobei innerhalb dieser Gruppe charakteristisch erschien, dass das Gros ursprünglich nepalesische Wurzeln aufweist. Etwa zehn Prozent der Befragten migrierten aus Vietnam nach Phuket. MigrantInnen aus Myanmar werden bevorzugt angestellt, da diese bereit sind, für einen geringen Lohn zu arbeiten, oftmals über bessere Englischkenntnisse verfügen, von LadenbesitzerInnen generell als arbeitsamer betrachtet werden und sie zudem als gute VerkäuferInnen gelten.

Vorlaufer erwähnte, dass die von ihm untersuchte Gruppe der im *TIS* Arbeitenden zudem durchwegs jung war. Auch in der von mir durchgeführte Erhebung lässt sich das bestätigen: die 40 Befragten wiesen ein Durchschnittsalter von 27 Jahren auf. Ein häufiger Wechsel der Arbeitsstelle ist ein weiteres Charakteristikum der AkteurInnen des *TIS* in Patong und entspricht ebenfalls den Ergebnissen Vorlaufers. Der Großteil der Interviewten gab zwar Patong als einzigen Arbeitsort auf Phuket an, innerhalb dieses touristischen Zentrums fanden jedoch zahlreiche Jobwechsel statt. Es scheint gängige Praxis, dass thailändische ShopbesitzerInnen Angestellte, welche sie als gute VerkäuferInnen einschätzen, von anderen Läden abwerben. Die jeweiligen VerkäuferInnen wiederum versuchen eine Anstellung an Verkaufsstandorten zu finden, die stark von TouristInnen frequentiert werden, da sie zumeist zwei Prozent Kommission am Verkaufswert der Artikel erhalten und so ihr Gehalt aufbessern können. Der durchschnittliche Monatslohn der Angestellten im *immobilen TIS* in der Hochsaison beträgt exklusive Umsatzbeteiligung zwischen 5.000 Baht und 12.000 Baht[21]. Das im Zuge der Interviews höchste genannte Monatsgehalt von 12.000 Baht liegt deutlich über dem Mindestlohn der Provinz Phuket, der im September 2010 bei 6.400 Baht[22] pro Monat lag (vgl. Sidasathian, 2010). Auch diese Ergebnisse korrespondieren mit jenen von Vorlaufer. Grundlegend bleibt festzustellen, dass nur eine geringe Einkommensdisparität zu Beschäftigten im formellen Sektor besteht. Dies bestätigt beispielsweise eine Umfrage der Prince of Songkla University (Phuket Campus), die zu dem Ergebnis kam, dass im Jahr 2002 das Gehalt von AbsolventInnen des „Hotel Management Programs", also Beschäftigten im *TFS*, zwischen zirka 5.000 und 14.000 Baht[23] lag (vgl. Chaisawat, 2006, S. 113) und damit nur geringfügig höher als die Lohnspanne wie sie von Sidasathian angeben wird.

Die anderen beiden Gruppen des *TIS*, der *semi-mobile* und *mobile TIS*, unterscheiden sich in einigen wesentlichen Punkten vom *immobilen TIS*. Im *mobilen TIS* sind durchwegs Thais beschäftigt, wobei hier zwischen den VerkäuferInnen mit Lizenz[24] der

21 Entspricht im Mai 2011 ca. 112 bzw. 268 Euro.

22 Entspricht im Mai 2011 ca. 143 Euro.

23 Entspricht im Mai 2011 ca. 116 bzw. 325 Euro.

24 Die VerkäuferInnen sind trotz Lizenz nicht als formelle UnternehmerInnen zu bezeichnen, da sie weder Steuern entrichten noch, da sie Ein-Personen-Betriebe darstellen, die erforderliche Anzahl an Angestellten aufweisen, um vom *NSO* Thailand als formell wahrgenommen zu werden. Die administrative Verwaltung der Tourismusdestination hat durch den Prozess der Lizenzvergabe ein Ordnungsinstrument geschaffen, um die Zahl der Gewerbetreibenden im *Strandbereich* zu limitieren. Hier zeigen sich die fließenden Übergänge zwischen als informell und formell geltenden Beschäftigten.

Stadt Patong (nur rund 70 Personen) und jenen ohne Lizenz zu unterscheiden ist. Jene mit Genehmigung sind laut Angaben des Vize-Bürgermeisters Chairat durchwegs Personen der lokalen Bevölkerung (persönliches Gespräch, 24. Februar 2009). Die Gruppe der ohne Lizenz Agierenden, die sich also aus illegal tätigen StrandverkäuferInnen zusammensetzt, ist allerdings deutlich größer als die derer mit Lizenz und besteht nicht aus ortsansässigen Thais, sondern Personen, die zum Großteil aus dem Nordosten Thailands oder Bangkok stammen. Wie sich im Zuge der Untersuchung zeigte, sind diese einer hohen Wahrscheinlichkeit ausgesetzt, durch die Polizei kontrolliert und sanktioniert zu werden, da sie ohne Genehmigung im *Strandbereich* verkaufen. Auch die zur *semi-mobile* Gruppe zählenden Massagedamen sind thailändische BinnenmigrantInnen, vornehmlich aus dem Süden und Nordosten Thailands sowie aus dem Großraum Bangkok. Angestellte der großen LiegestuhlvermieterInnen sind überwiegend MigrantInnen aus Myanmar.

Diese AkteurInnenanalyse zeigt, dass die lokale Bevölkerung nur in einigen Segmenten des *TIS* selbst aktiv ist. Ihr bleibt vor allem der lizenzierte Strandverkauf und die Liegestuhlvermietung vorbehalten. Die meisten Angestellten des *immobilen TIS* sind ausländische ArbeitsmigrantInnen. Auch viele Angestellte des *semi-mobilen TIS* sind dieser Gruppe zuzuordnen. MigrantInnen aus anderen Provinzen Thailands verdienen ihren Lebensunterhalt meist durch Massage-Dienstleistungen im *Strandbereich* oder als StrandverkäuferInnen ohne Lizenz.

Netzwerke zwischen TIS und TFS und Behörden: Beispiel Schneidereien

Entgegen Vorlaufers Modell des *Tourismuszentrum Typ I* ist kein Niedergang des *TIS* in Patong eingetreten. Ein Grund für dieses Weiterbestehen des *TIS* scheint die wechselseitige Abhängigkeit von *TIS* und *TFS* zu sein, die sich in Netzwerken unterschiedlicher Art aus unterschiedlichen Beteiligten manifestiert. Im Sinne der strukturalistischen Theorie wies schon Wahnschafft zu Beginn der 1980er-Jahre auf solche Verlinkungen der touristisch informellen und formellen Sektoren in Form hin, die er als *downward* und *upward vertical exchanges* bezeichnete. Unter Erstem ist der Verkauf von Gütern und Dienstleistungen des *TFS* an den *TIS* zu verstehen, unter Zweitem der Verkauf von Gütern und Diensten des *TIS* an den *TFS* (vgl. Wahnschafft, 1981, S. 17-22). Als Beispiel für ein solches Netzwerk zwischen *TIS* und *TFS* sollen hier die Maßschneidereien

(*Tailor Shops*) von Patong kurz beleuchtet werden. Diese lizenzierten und Steuer entrichtenden Unternehmen des *TFS* stellen ein gutes Exempel für die Vernetzung der beiden Sektoren dar, da sie als Unternehmen des *TFS* eng mit dem *TIS* kooperieren, sich bezüglich dieses informellen Vorgehens aber selbst mit den Behörden arrangieren, wie in weiterer Folge gezeigt wird. Die Maßschneiderei genießt unter den internationalen TouristInnen, die Thailand bereisen, nicht zuletzt aufgrund des guten Preis-Leistungs-Verhältnisses einen guten Ruf. In der touristischen Kernzone Patongs zeigt sich die Bedeutung der Branche an der Zahl der Betriebe: 2009 existierten eigenen Erhebungen zufolge rund 100 sogenannte *Tailor Shops*.

Im Folgenden werden die Verbindungen zwischen *TIS* und *TFS* kurz beschrieben: Im Geschäftslokal einer Maßschneiderei werden von den VerkäuferInnen die Maße der KundInnen genommen und der Schnitt angefertigt. Das Nähen erfolgt in kleinen Fabriken mit 20 bis 80 thailändischen Näherinnen. Eine Fabrik erledigt die Arbeit für bis zu zehn Maßschneidereien. Bereits bei den Angestellten der *Tailor Shops*, die an sich lizenzierte Betriebe darstellen, ist keine klare Abgrenzung mehr zum *TIS* gegeben, denn diese sind meist illegal Eingereiste aus Myanmar ohne Arbeitserlaubnis. Der *TFS* bedient sich somit DienstleisterInnen des *TIS* (*upward vertical exchange*). Dieser Prozess läuft allerdings selten ohne Wissen der Behörden ab. Die regionale Polizei ist meist in dieses lokale Netzwerk involviert, indem sie Schmiergeldzahlungen für die illegal Beschäftigten einhebt. Im Zuge der Interviews mit ShopbesitzerInnen wurde ein hierfür gängiger Betrag von 3.000 Baht pro Monat und angestellter Person genannt. Ein weiteres Netzwerk besteht zwischen *Tailor Shops* und DVD-Verkaufsläden des *TIS*. Hinter den Stoffen der Maßschneiderei werden des Öfteren kleine versteckte Räume als Lager oder Büroflächen an DVD-VerkäuferInnen vermietet – ein *downward vertical exchange*. Auch in diesem Fall ist die Polizei involviert, indem sie für den Verkauf von raubkopierten DVDs eine monatliche Schmiergeldzahlung von etwa 20.000 Baht einhebt. In weiterer Folge geht die regionale/lokale Polizei diesem Gesetzesverstoß nicht weiter nach.[25] Gelegentlich muss jedoch trotzdem mit Razzien von auf Produktpiraterie spezialisierte Sondereinheiten aus Bangkok gerechnet werden. Diese sind als externe AkteurInnen nicht in die bestehenden lokalen Netzwerke involviert.

25 Die zuvor diskutierten mobilen StrandverkäuferInnen ohne Lizenz müssen daher mit polizeilichen Übergriffen rechnen, weil sie meist über zu wenig Kapital verfügen, um Schmiergelder an die Polizei zu entrichten.

Modellerweiterung und Ausblick

Der *touristisch informelle Sektor* kann zum Zeitpunkt der empirischen Untersuchung als integraler Bestandteil der Tourismuswirtschaft Patongs gesehen werden. In weiterer Folge sollen in der Untersuchung festgestellte Faktoren beschrieben werden, welche diese Entwicklung gefährden könnten und weitere Ergebnisse festgehalten werden, um welche die vorgestellten Modelle erweitert werden könnten.

Risiken für ein weiteres Wachstum des TIS und TFS – Erweiterung des Modells um externe Faktoren

Ein Niedergang des *TIS* und des *TFS* könnte in der Zukunft durch Naturkatastrophen oder wirtschaftliche und politische Krisen verursacht werden. Diese beiden Einwirkungen sind gesondert von Vorlaufers Entwicklungsmodell als mögliche Weiterentwicklung des Modells zu betrachten. Die Verwundbarkeit der Tourismusbranche wurde im Fall Phukets sowohl nach dem Tsunami 2004 als auch in den Saisonen 2008/09 und 2009/10 augenscheinlich, als das Reise- und Konsumverhalten von TouristInnen durch wirtschaftliche und politische Ereignisse nachhaltig beeinflusst wurde. Diese Aussage zog sich als roter Faden durch die Interviews mit den AkteurInnen des *TIS*. Mit Beginn der weltweiten Wirtschaftskrise Mitte des Jahres 2008 und politischen Unruhen innerhalb des Landes, die in Besetzungen des internationalen Flughafens von Phuket (August 2008) und des *Suvarnabhumi*-Flughafens in Bangkok (November 2008) durch die sogenannten „Gelbhemden“ mündeten, wurden anschließend an Wachstumsjahre nach dem Tsunami wieder schwierigere Zeiten eingeläutet. Eine weitere Verschärfung der Krise zeigte sich im April 2009, als der *East Asian Summit* der *ASEAN* in *Pattaya* von den „Rothemden“ gestürmt wurde. 2009 wurden Thailandweit mit 14,15 Millionen Gästenankünften zwar nur leicht weniger als 2008 (14,58 Millionen) verzeichnet (vgl. MOTS Department of Tourism, o.D.), doch jene TouristInnen, die kamen, wurden durch billige Pauschalangebote gelockt, damit die Hotels und Tourismusbetriebe eine erträgliche Auslastung aufweisen konnten. Negativ kam hinzu, dass die Gäste auf Grund der Wirtschaftskrise weniger Geld ausgaben. Dies bekamen auch die Betriebe des informellen Sektors stark zu spüren. Im Zuge der Interviews mit den im *TIS* Tätigen Anfang des Jahres 2009 wurde von allen Beteiligten

erwähnt, dass die größte Sorge die geringe Kauffreudigkeit der TouristInnen sei. Auch die Redaktion der Zeitung *Phuketwan* stellte diesen Trend fest, als sie zum Zeitpunkt der Krise die Gewerbetreibenden am Strand Patongs befragte:

> *The conclusion from our survey: business is down on last high season. Regular guests return because they love the place. But they are spending much, much less. Newcomers are harder to find. People who once were prepared to stretch out on the beach and buy drinking water from the nearest vendor now go without a lounger or an umbrella, and bring their own drinking water, purchased more cheaply at a convenience store. (Phuketwan Reporting Team, 2009)*

Für eine zusätzliche Erweiterung des Modells von Vorlaufer kann die Rolle der KäuferInnenschichten des *TIS* und *TFS* herangezogen werden. Bleiben die TouristInnen (KäuferInnen) aus bzw. haben sie ein geringeres Reisebudget, so werden in der Destination weniger touristische Dienstleistungen und Waren konsumiert. Die Einnahmeverluste führen wiederum zu einer Abnahme der Anzahl der in der Tourismuswirtschaft Beschäftigten und/oder Betriebe.

Behördliche Deckung zur Sicherung des TIS – Erweiterung des Netzwerkmodells um weitere AkteurInnen

Auch das Modell Wahnschaffts der *downward/upward vertical exchanges* kann aufbauend auf die Ergebnisse der empirischen Studie eine Erweiterung erfahren. Es zeigte sich, dass neben den Netzwerken zwischen *TFS* und *TIS* Beziehungsgeflechte zwischen *TFS*/*TIS* und den Behörden unterhalten werden, um informelle Tätigkeiten weiterführen zu können und die Gesetze ungestraft umgehen zu können. Das Ausgangsmodell, das der strukturalistischen Theorie folgt, wird somit um eine illegale Komponente erweitert (bewusstes Umgehen von Steuern, Gesetzen etc.).

Zwei Zukunftsszenarien für den TIS in Patong

Die weiter oben als Risiken beschriebe Faktoren zeigen, dass es im Fall einer nachhaltigen Krise der Tourismuswirtschaft (sinkende TouristInnenzahlen und Einnahmen) schnell dazu kommen kann, dass ein Niedergang der informellen Beschäftigung einsetzt und sich die im *TIS* Tätigen neue Wege zur Sicherung des Lebensunterhalts suchen müssen. Die einseitige Ausrichtung der Wirtschaft auf den Tourismus (touristi-

sche „Monokultur“) Patongs verstärkt die Auswirkungen einer solchen Entwicklung. Auf Grund der vielen ArbeitsmigrantInnen im *TIS* würde dies zu einer Abwanderungswelle aus Patong führen. Ein großer Teil der interviewten MigrantInnen des *TIS* spielte zum Zeitpunkt der Befragung mit dem Gedanken einer mittelfristigen Rückkehr in das Heimatland, falls die TouristInnenzahlen und Einnahmen weiterhin auf einem niedrigen Niveau bleiben würden. Die daraus resultierenden niedrigeren Einkommen verbunden mit den hohen Lebenserhaltungskosten in der Tourismusdestination würden dazu führen, dass nicht mehr genügen Geldsendungen in die Heimat getätigt werden könnten.

Falls die Tourismuswirtschaft jedoch einen neuerlichen Boom erleben sollte, wie sich aus den Buchungszahlen für die aktuelle Saison erwarten lässt,[26] stellt sich auch die Frage, inwieweit der *TIS* in Patong durch die Behörden vor Ort unreguliert bleiben wird. Erste Zeichen für Bemühungen einer stärkeren Regulierung sind die Vergabe von Lizenzen für den *mobilen* und *semi-mobilen TIS* im *Strandbereich*, die Schaffung von Infrastruktur für den *immobilen TIS* (zum Beispiel. der Bau des *OTOP*-Marktareals nach dem Tsunami) sowie das verstärkte Einschreiten der auf Markenraubkopien spezialisierten Sondereinheit aus Bangkok. Eine vollständige Regulierung des *TIS* ist jedoch nicht zu erwarten, da er für viele Personen die Lebensgrundlage darstellt, denen andernfalls andere Arbeitsstellen oder soziale Absicherung geboten werden müssten, um den sozialen Frieden aufrechtzuerhalten. Zudem stellen die historisch gewachsene Strukturen und Netzwerke ein starkes Bollwerk gegen eine solche Änderung dar. So ist es für den *TFS* auf Grund bestehender *upward* und *downward vertical exchanges*, wie am Fallbeispiel der *Tailor Shops* gezeigt wurde, nicht von Interesse, den *TIS* zu formalisieren, da er durch die mit ihm unterhaltenen Netzwerke profitiert (*strukturalistisches Argument*). Er kann durch Auslagerung von Arbeit an den *TIS* oder die Anstellung von billigen informellen Arbeitskräften seine Betriebskosten und somit auch die Verkaufspreise niedrig halten Der *TIS* kann durch das Vermeiden von Steuern und Lohnnebenkosten seine Waren und Dienstleistungen weitaus günstiger als formelle Betriebe anbieten. Letztlich trägt nicht zuletzt das günstige Angebot des *TIS* zu dem Image Thailands als Destination mit ausgezeichnetem Preis-Leistungs-Verhältnis bei – wie es auch von der TAT intensiv beworben wird. Und: diese Strategie zeigte Erfolg.

26 Der General Manager des Phuket International Airport erwartet einen 25-prozentigen Anstieg des Passagieraufkommens gegenüber dem letztjährigen Zeitraum in der Hochsaison zwischen November und April (vgl. Morison & Sidasathian, 2010).

So belegte Thailand im Country Brand Index 2008 in der Sparte „Value for Money" vor Indien und Mexiko den ersten Platz und wurde als eine der erschwinglichsten Destinationen der Welt gewürdigt. Die Marketing-Kampagne der TAT für 2009 stand daraufhin unter dem Motto ‚*Amazing Thailand – Amazing Value*' (vgl. TAT, 2009).

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Blessings for All? Community-Based Ecotourism in Bali Between Global, National, and Local Interests – A Case Study

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As a major island destination in South-East Asia, Bali has won a global reputation as one of the last paradises on earth. As one of the largest industries in the world, global tourism is utilised by the governments of many developing countries as an agent for development and national integration. However, local communities level the criticism that mass tourism has not only brought economic growth but also caused ecological and social costs. In reaction to the excessive developments of the past decades, local Balinese have started to actively implement community-based tourism. The ecotourism village-network Jaringan Ekowisata Desa *seeks a more sustainable approach to tourism through stronger ownership and the minimisation of negative ecological impacts. The case study presented is based on fieldwork which took place in 2010. It aims to find answers to the questions of whether and to what extent community-based ecotourism initiatives may constitute a sustainable alternative to the negative effects associated with mass tourism.*

Keywords: Bali, Ecotourism, Community, Sustainability, Agriculture

Bali gilt innerhalb der Tourismusindustrie als Inbegriff von Exotik und als eines der letzen Paradiese auf Erden. Seit jeher werden die vielfältigen Auswirkungen des Tourismus auf der Insel kontrovers diskutiert. Während vornehmlich Eliten an der in nationalem Interesse forcierten Tourismusentwicklung der südostasiatischen Top-Destination profitieren, kritisiert die einheimische Bevölkerung unzureichende Mitspracherechte und die Vernachlässigung von Nachhaltigkeitskriterien. In Reaktion wurden seitens der Balinesen Projekte des gemeindebasierten Tourismus ins Leben gerufen. Das Ökotourismus-Dorf-Netzwerk Jaringan Ekowisata Desa *ist eine solche Initiative, die sich der lokalen Eigentümerschaft und der Minimierung negativer ökologischer Folgen verschreibt. Anhand der hier präsentierten Fallstudie zu dem zivilgesellschaftlichen Projekt soll beantwortet werden, inwiefern gemeindebasierter Ökotourismus eine Alternative zu den in Zusammenhang mit Massentourismus in Verbindung gebrachten Übeln darstellt.*

Schlagworte: *Bali, Ökotourismus, Gemeinde, Nachhaltigkeit, Landwirtschaft*

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1. Bali and the Making of an Indonesian Tourism Destination

The tropical island of Bali is considered one of the last paradises on earth. The images associated with it combine traits of ancient Indian civilisations with the erotic mystery of the South Seas (Vickers, 1989, p. 1). Blessed with spectacular landscapes, smooth beaches, limestone cliffs, deep forests, and lush rice terraces on the volcanic slopes of majestic and still active Mount Agung, the island is located in the midst of the mega-diverse archipelago of Indonesia (Dalem, 2002, p. 85). Bali has not only earned its fame through its superb setting but also with its unique culture and people, well-known for their artistic talents and great virtuosity in flamboyant dances and ceremonies. For almost a century tourists have been attracted to the island, making the province today better known than the Republic of Indonesia it belongs to (Picard, 1996, p. 11). Since the early explorers, anthropologists, artists, and officials of the Dutch colonial regime had settled here, there have been apprehensions about the future of the island. In 1928 Genin feared that the name of Bali would "remain the reminiscence of a lost paradise when the green of the gentle hills disappears, giving way to factories and chimneys" (Genin, 1928, pp. 216-217, author's translation).

With affordable long haul travel in the developed countries after World War II, Bali has throughout the past decades evolved as one of South-East Asia's most frequented island destinations. Since the birth of the Republic of Indonesia in the 1950s, the government has built on the exotic images of the 1920s to promote tourism with the aim of national and economic development (Dowling, 2000, p. 3). At the end of the 1960s the official strategy for Bali was 'cultural tourism' in combination with a large-scale enclave resort concept at Nusa Dua on the southernmost Bukit peninsula. Through the use of predefined excursion routes the Balinese were supposed to be protected from the direct impact of tourism. The donor-funded master plan and the Nusa Dua project were intended as countermeasures against anticipated 'ills' of uncontrolled development, which however, still occurred at many other places on the island (Wong, 2004, p. 423). The extensive Kuta-Legian strip along the south-western coast with thousands of hospitality facilities is just one such example. Despite its intentions, both the concept of 'cultural tourism' and the concentration strategy became heavily criticised and finally abandoned in 1988 (Hobart, Ramseyer, & Leemann, 2001, p. 216; Picard, 1996, pp. 46-47, p. 49 & p. 75; Shepperd, 2001, p. 75; Waldner, 1998,

p. 122). Despite a moratorium and lower than predicted arrival figures, a construction boom in the 1990s led to several controversial mega-projects, such as the Bali Nirwana Resort and the Garuda Wisnu Kencana project [2]. These projects were even more heavily criticised than their predecessor model, the Nusa Dua venture.

2. Mass Tourism Versus Alternative Tourism in Bali

A new generation of public intellectuals, activists, environmentalists, artists, and religious and community leaders had began opposing the capitalist lobbies, investors, and elites from Jakarta that were backed by the local and national governments. The elites were criticised for benefiting from the projects while the local population bore the ecological and social costs (Howe, 2005, p. 17; Picard, 2003, p. 109; Telfer & Sharpley, 2008, p. 205). Throughout the 1990s an increase from one to two million international direct arrivals occurred. The two-and-a-half million arrivals of today stand against the backdrop of the unresolved question of the carrying capacity of the island which is with three-and-a-half million inhabitants densely populated (Picard, 2009, p. 101). By the 1990s tourism was perceived as an industry that marginalised the people (Picard, 2003, p. 112). Some of the abovementioned civil society actors among the Balinese were calling for the preservation of their 'Balineseness' (*Kebalian*) – a term that had for example taken new turns under the name *Ajeg Bali* (Bali Erect), a movement that can be traced back to the early beginnings of tourism under the 'gaze' of the Dutch in colonial times (Hitchcock & Putra 2007, p. 114; Koch, 2007, p. 90; Picard, 2003, p. 111 & p. 195). It addresses the issue of an outsider arriving on the shores and gaining control: a common theme also among Pacific island societies such as those in Tahiti and Hawaii (Reuter, 1999, p. 163). As the proto-destination of Indonesia, Bali developed under technocrats and conglomerates in the 'national interest', and decisions were made by the national government in the capital city. Critics had often caricatured the island as having become "Jakarta's colony" (Suasta & Connor, 1999, p. 101; Aditjondro, 1995). A major concern among local people who had raised their voice was that control had been taken over by the global tourism industry, and that the development and the future of Bali is no longer controlled by the Balinese themselves,

2 The former is a luxury golf resort perched above the important sea temple of Tanah Lot. The latter is a huge statue in the form of a national symbol with adjacent cultural centre (uncompleted to this day).

who have been subjected to mass-touristic exploitation and national integration.

There have not only been protests and debates, but also a number of alternative tourism concepts have been actively established in response to the developments outlined above (Rieländer, 2000, pp. 41-43; Waldner, 1998, p. 122 & pp. 126-128). Among them, community-based tourism (CBT), ecotourism, and agritourism became the most prominent forms in Bali. Such are usually labelled as responsible, controlled, small-scale, people-to-people, or green (Backes & Goethe, 2003, p. 17; Beyer, 2006, p. 128; Fennel, 2008, p. 5; Telfer & Sharpley, 2008, pp. 11-13 & p. 27). In 2002 the community-based ecotourism (CBET) village network *Jaringan Ekowisata Desa* (JED) was established by four village communities on the islands of Bali and Nusa Ceningan. In opposition to conventional mass tourism, the grassroots initiative aims at creating tourism "by and for the people" (JED, 2007). Its major goal is to establish tourism development which is planned and managed by the local community. Minimal negative social and environmental impact is sought in combination with generation of incomes and funds for community-development. Further, the initiative aims at fostering cross-cultural understanding through discussions between hosts and guests.

The present article and case study is based on fieldwork that took place in Bali for six weeks from January to February 2010. It looks at the development of community-based ecotourism from the perspective of social sciences and South-East Asian studies. Thereby it examines the research question of whether and to what extent CBET initiatives such as JED constitute a sustainable alternative to the predominant mass tourism developments for a tropical island such as Bali. With the 'Brundtland Report' in 1987 and the birth of the concept of Sustainable Development as a new paradigm, various existing forms of alternative tourism in the 1990s converged in the term 'Sustainable Tourism' (cf. Shaw & Williams, 2002, p. 302).

Sustainable development is defined by the WCED as a development that "meets the goals of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987, p. 48). In accord with this definition, the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) and the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) define sustainable tourism as "tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and the communities" (UNWTO & UNEP, 2005, p. 12). It should make optimal use of environmental resources, respect

the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities, provide socio-economic benefits to all its stakeholders and guarantee their participation through strong political leadership. However, tourism has so far played a very controversial role in development with manifold effects upon host destinations. Thus, before the research question is addressed, an overview of the effects of tourism in Bali and respective challenges for the sustainable development of the island shall be outlined in its economic, social and ecological dimensions. Within this, differing global, national, and local interests shall be taken into consideration.

3. Tourism's Effects on the Island - Sustainability Issues Between Global, National, and Local Interests

3.1. The Effects of Tourism in the Dimensions of Sustainability

3.1.1. Economic Dimension

The tourism industry is one of the largest industries in the world. Employment, foreign exchange, and multiplier effects are major reasons for developing country governments to utilise it as a development agent (Radetzki-Stenner, 1989, pp. 24-26; Waldner, 1998, pp. 25-26). In Indonesia, it is the country's second largest foreign exchange earner; the island of Bali has the major share of that (United Nations Development Programme & World Bank (UNDP & WB), 2003, p. i). The 'invisible export' industry has a relatively long supply-chain with several corporate intermediaries; but a high leakage rate caused by the import of goods for tourist consumption is one among the undesired effects (Forbes, 2007, p. 153; Strasdas, 2001, pp. 79-80). Yet, there is no doubt that the tourism industry has induced a significant rise in living standards and incomes through entrepreneurial action and employment generation on the island (Ostrom, 2000, p. 113; Rieländer, 1998, pp. 55-57; Vickers, 1989, pp. 199-200). Before the downturn in tourist arrivals caused by the 2002 and 2005 terrorist attacks, Bali's poverty rate was at only 4 percent compared to 16 percent for Indonesia as a whole (UNDP & WB, 2003, p. i). On the other hand, the economic development causes pressures, for example on farmers because of a competition for resources such as land and water. The decrease in agricultural land and the shift from the primary to the tertiary sector also had serious consequences with regards to the self-sufficiency of

agricultural products on the island (cf. Latimer, 1985, p. 32 & p. 41; Utama, 2007, p. 6). Another disadvantageous structural aspect of tourism as a developing agent is that economic mono-structures are being established, with a strong dependency on the success of the tourism industry. This consequently increases the vulnerability in the case of economic or political crises that lead to a downturn in tourist arrivals, as observed in Bali twice after 2002 and 2005 (Beyer, Häusler, & Strasdas, 2007, pp. 20-21). A matter of heavy debate is the question whether generally larger, internationally operated resorts or smaller, local-run hospitality enterprises contribute to a more equitable distribution of wealth among the broader society (cf. Fuchs & Lengefeld, 2005).

3.1.2. Ecological Dimension

The development of tourism and related activities also has manifold impacts on ecosystems including man-made ones such as agriculture. Also in Bali, economic benefits have come with environmental costs (Cukier-Snow & Wall, 1993, p. 197). Stress to the natural environment is caused through dedicated infrastructures, changes in land-use, the consumption of resources, and the generation of waste (Fennel, 2008, p. 52). With insufficient waste management schemes on the island, pollution is rampant. Waste can be found while walking along river gorges or while swimming in the ocean. Low awareness further adds to the problem. Additional 'imported' waste for the tourism industry in combination with the unresolved question of its processing is a major environmental problem (Fennel, 2008, p. 52; Larenz, 2005; Waldner, 1998, pp. 379-380). Traffic, poor air quality, and noise in urban areas add to this. Also coastal degradation and coral reef destruction are well recorded (Wong, 2001, pp. 218-219). These latter problems have resulted from the mining of the reefs for building material during the construction boom (Hitchcock & Putra, 2007, p. 24). Freshwater is among the most pressing issues, with golf courses and hotel swimming pools evaporating immense amounts of it and holiday makers using several times the daily amount of water they would use at home (TIES, 2006, p. 1; Wong, 2004, pp. 427-429). In Bali this poses not only serious threats to crop and rice cultivation, but has led to subsiding groundwater levels and salt-water intrusion which continues to threaten mangrove forests (Cukier-Snow & Wall, 1993, p. 197; Forbes, 2007, p. 153; Waldner, 1998, p. 31 & 361 & 367). Experience has shown that sprawling tourism development

goes along with the destruction of biotopes, deforestation, a loss in biodiversity and wildlife habitats, erosion, reductions in the resource base, and environmental pollution (Shaw & Williams, 2002, p. 305). The ecological consequences of mass tourism in Bali are strikingly threatening the sustainable development of the island destination.

3.1.3. Socio-Cultural Dimension

Tourism also affects social dimensions. Changing consumption patterns, the creation of new inequalities, the destruction of traditional values and social stability, the profanisation and the commodification of cultural customs, and even prostitution and crime are often mentioned as being, at least partially, caused through it (Neudorfer, 2006, pp. 63-64; Radetzki-Stenner, 1989, p. 55; Strasdas, 2001, pp. 82-84; Wall & Matieson, 2006, pp. 242-244 & p. 259). In Bali, there are also tensions caused by the rising influx of immigrants from other regions in Indonesia.

A prominent discourse on tourism and society has evolved in Bali since tourism's early beginnings and turn until today on concerns over cultural commodification and the question of whether the Balinese culture is able to survive the vigorous changes associated with tourism (cf. Picard, 1996, p. 22 & p. 91). It has been feared, for example, that through shortened dance performances for tourists the line between sacred and profane may be lost and that the Balinese would lose their 'Balineseness' (*Kebalian*) (Picard, 1996, pp. 134-163; Shepperd, 2001, p. 71). In opposition, scholars such as Wood claim that tourism has immense potential to let traditions prosper through the attribution of economic value to it (Wood, 1980, p. 567). A stronger solidarity among *banjar*[3] and more extensive ceremonies and offerings have indeed been observed since tourism has flourished (McTaggart, 1980, p. 464; Williams & Putra, 1997, p. 6).

Already in the 1990s, when the debates addressed the outcomes of the master plan and the Nusa Dua venture, Picard disclaimed the static view of culture and society, that tourism is a purely external force that impacts a community. Instead, the Balinese played an active role in the process of "touristification" (Picard, 1996; also Rubinstein & Connor, 1999, p. 2). Many scholars conclude that tourism has neither

3 *Banjar* are social organisations on the neighbourhood-level. Yet they are not necessarily territorial structures. Usually it is married men who become members, and are presided over by a *banjar* head. A *banjar* is regarded as the most important reference group in the life of the Balinese. Members have legal, fiscal, and ritual responsibilities towards the customary institution.

destroyed nor revived the Balinese traditional culture, but that it has created consciousness among the Balinese with regards to their identity and to tourism development (Hitchcock, King, & Parnwell, 2009, pp. 13-19; King, 2009, p. 46). Generally, reactions to tourism development among host societies may cover the full range from euphoria to apathy and antagonism (Fennel, 2008, p. 47). Even the occurrence of social conflicts at host destinations is observed. Yet, their roots also need to be considered in connection with other dimensions, such as the ecological or economic aspects, when they occur around natural resources or land-use issues for instance (Wong, 2004, pp. 427-129).

3.2. Diverging Interests on the Global, National, and Local Level

In all three dimensions – the economic, the social, and the ecological – there are both positive and negative effects. Those that remain unclear are subject to heavy debate or have brought about blatant contradistinctive empirical evidence (Stradas, 2001, p. 77 & 79). While the economic effects of tourism development could be considered, if not necessarily leading to equitable benefits, at least predominantly positive, the social effects are heavily discussed, while the ecological effects tend to be primarily negative, apart from existing potential for environmental protection and conservation. However, there are diverging and conflicting interests on the global, national and local levels.

During the ‚Modernisation Paradigm' developing country governments together with the global tourism industry were eager to utilise tourism as a means for economic development and national integration. In the first development decades after World War II, tourism was understood as a 'smokeless' industry that would cause a trickle-down effect distributing wealth among the broader society. However, economic growth turned out not to be tantamount to a rising real income of local people, and ecological and social impacts were higher than expected (Sahli & Nowak, 2007, p. 426). Supporters of the dependency theories saw reasons for the 'underdevelopment' of the respective countries in structural aspects not only within but also between the developing and the developed countries. They described a situation of exploitation of weaker countries by stronger ones in a neo-colonial sense. Finally, both paradigms were ousted by economic neo-liberalism. Usually it is governments

that are in charge of setting the legal framework, and thus directing the development process and the planning of respective strategies for the tourism sector. Especially in many developing nations, legal frameworks and enforcement are still weak. Global or transnational corporations in the tourism business experience a power-gain through their cross-border operation. Thus, it is often civil society organisations and NGOs that not only fulfil a watchdog and advocacy function, but also become actively involved in promoting sustainable forms of tourism and building initiatives and respective projects (Scheyvens, 2002, pp. 210-223).

4. The Community-Based Ecotourism Village-Network Jaringan Ekowisata Desa

Martha Honey defines ecotourism as comprising

> *travel to fragile, pristine, and usually protected areas that strives to be low impact and (often) small scale. It helps educate the traveller, provides funds for conservation, directly benefits the economic development and political empowerment of local communities, and fosters respect for different cultures and for human rights. (Honey, 2008, pp. 32-33)*

Reasons why communities want to become involved are for example tourism development related growth, awareness of the values of natural assets at the locale, empathy for conservation, or a perceived need for sustainable tourism practices at the destination (Wearing & Neil, 2009, p. 119). The focus of community-based tourism (CBT) lies on ownership and decision making power within the sphere of the community (Scheyvens, 1999, p. 245; Telfer & Sharpley, 2008, p. 117). Suansri defines it as

> *tourism that takes environmental, social and cultural sustainability into account. It is managed and owned by the community, for the community, with the purpose of enabling visitors to increase their awareness and learn about the community and local ways of life. (Suansri, 2003, p. 15)*

It aims at the economic self-reliance of communities, their ecological sustainability, self-determination, and local control, meeting individual needs and fostering the respective culture (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008, p. 123).

The community-based ecotourism (CBET) village network *Jaringan Ekowisata Desa* (JED) is one of the initiatives that emerged in response to mass tourism developments

in Bali. The communities were cooperating with the NGOs Wisnu Foundation[4] and Kehati Foundation[5] on environmental protection and biodiversity issues when they became affected by conflicts with private interests over local resources in connection with the development of tourism facilities (Atmaja, 2002, p. 41 & p. 81; Warren, 2005, p. 33). In response to that, and following the idea of developing a community-based form of tourism, local interests were becoming promoted instead of being ignored. The grassroots project was officially founded in 2002 under the legal form of a cooperative consisting of farmers from the villages and the local NGO Wisnu Foundation. The project is rooted in the customary organisations of four Balinese village communities, among them social and religious organisations such as the various *banjar*, *subak*[6], and temple congregations. It aims to be "a strong statement from four communities who want to decide for themselves the future of their people, their culture and their environment" (JED, 2007). The products are marketed through a JED sales office in Seminyak. Visitor figures can thus be controlled. Cooperation with the private sector is being considered, but has not yet been decided on. The sale of tours generates individual income as well as collective funds for community development and environmental conservation. Those are understood as a supplement rather than an entirely new source of income. Also networking, education, and cross-cultural understanding between hosts and guests are facilitated. An important principle is the transparent and democratic decision making process on the local level. The minimisation of negative environmental impacts is sought through the use of existing facilities and by keeping the project "by and for the people", that is to say small-scale and in accordance with visitors' and communities' needs (JED, 2007). From 2002 to 2009 JED has received 449 visitors (Jaya, 2010).

The network comprises Kiadan Pelaga in Central Bali, Dukuh Sibetan and Tenganan Pegringsingan in East Bali, and Nusa Ceningan, a small islet 12 kilometres off the southeast coast. Those remote areas within about two to three hours of driving from the tourist centres in the island's south are often referred as 'the traditional Bali'. The mainstay of the local economy here is agriculture, and living standards are low. In

4 http://www.wisnu.or.id/

5 http://www.kehati.or.id/

6 A *subak* is a socio-religious association of land owners, mortgagees, tenant farmers, and share-croppers. A *subak*'s main function is usually the irrigation of wet-rice land belonging the respective water-temples. Also the elaboration of regulations regarding general agricultural land-use and conflict resolution are important functions. Lansing has extensively researched and published on the *subak* system (e.g. Lansing, 1991).

Kiadan Pelaga there is not even running water for each household, but only communal water spigots. All villages offer trekking tours, demonstrations of local farming practices, arts and crafts production, insights into and involvement in everyday life, local food, and, with the exception of Tenganan, accommodation at home-stays to their guests. In Kiadan Pelaga guests visit plantations and learn how organic coffee is produced. In Dukuh Sibetan the cultivation of snake-fruit is demonstrated. Tenganan is famous for its cloth production and for its palm leaf writing technique *lontar*. Guests to the ancient village learn about its history and its unique cultural practices. On Nusa Ceningan tourists join farmers in their boats on the coral reef to see the farming practices for seaweed. A strong focus in the visitor experience is its educational component. During a visit of the village environs, gardens, plantations, and forest trails, guests receive explanations on agricultural production, resource management, and environmental issues. Agriculture is performed in accordance with the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy. This Balinese concept aims at bringing about human well-being through regulating the spheres of relationships between humans and gods, among humans, and between humans and their natural environment and other creatures (Hauser-Schäublin, 2000, p. 145). This comprises the sustainable use of natural resources. One of the respondents during a field survey said, "We do not take too much; people know that if we destroy our environment, there will be no land to let us make our offerings" (farmer and stakeholder from Kiadan Pelaga, personal communication, 22 January 2010). Also organic farming practices, for example the shade-growing of coffee in mixed-crop gardens with reduced fertiliser and pesticide use, are understood as a more sustainable approach to agriculture.

5. Fieldwork and Methodology

In order to evaluate how far JED constitutes a sustainable alternative to the predominant mass-tourism developments on Bali, an intensive literature review has been combined with three empirical instruments applied during the field phase: participant observation, a community survey, and a client survey. At the beginning of each field trip the author participated as a tourist, experienced the product, and observed whether it matched with the descriptions found in information material and literature.

While the participant observation was intended to be merely a first approach in order to get a better understanding of the field, the community survey aimed at analysing whether community needs and environmental requirements as basic prerequisites for sustainable tourism development are met. For this purpose, the performance was measured against the principles identified by Honey (1999) for ecotourism and by Suansri (2003) for CBT. This comprised aspects of environmental protection and impact minimisation, economic aspects of the initiative as well as social aspects, cultural issues, ownership, decision making, participation, and institutional aspects. The community survey in the four villages was conducted within a time frame of two weeks. As baseline data was not available and a quantitative survey would have neglected social and cultural dimensions, a qualitative survey was done in the form of guided interviews with stakeholders involved with JED. Most of them were farmers; some had other occupations such as teacher or nurse. Some acted purely in their role as an individual, others also held official roles as *banjar* head, village priest, or leader of an agricultural cooperative. With regards to JED they were engaged as guides, cooks, or home-stay owners. Access was established with the help of the Wisnu Foundation. As not all persons in the respective communities had sufficient knowledge, a theoretical sampling process with reliability of data as relevant criterion for the selection of respondents was chosen (cf. Flick, 2002, p. 102-105). A total of 16 interviews (n=16) was generated across all villages of the network: 16 percent of the about 100 people who are involved directly with JED. The interviews with respondents were performed in the national language Bahasa Indonesia with the help of an interpreter.

In order to evaluate the overall fulfilment of tourists' needs a qualitative client survey was performed. As the field period did not allow for an independent survey with an amount of questionnaires that would allow for significant results, existing evaluation questionnaires provided by JED were analysed. They are part of JED's quality control and serve marketing activities. They provide a visitor typology and assess client satisfaction. The former is generated through general demographic and personal information such as age, sex, nationality, number of visits to Bali, and the length of stay. The latter is achieved through ratings of different aspects of the product quality, such as satisfaction with guides, gained knowledge, interaction, food, trekking experience, and value for money. The questionnaires also comprised section with opportunity to provide suggestions and open answers. The 165 analysed

questionnaires had been collected by JED from December 2007 to December 2009. The sample size accounts for 37 percent of JED' total visitors as at the end of 2009 (Byczek, 2011, p. 96).

6. Outcomes of the Case Study

6.1. The Participant Observation

The participant observation showed that descriptions existing in information material and the literature broadly correspond with the reality of the tourism product. Insights into local life were plenty and compared to many other ecotourism products the knowledge and awareness gained on environmental and social issues at the visited villages were inspiring.

6.2. The Community Survey

The community survey revealed remarkable achievements, especially when taking into consideration the limited funds and the basal presuppositions (Byczek, 2011, p. 102). Often the criticism is made that small-scale and grassroots initiatives lack knowledge on the workings of the tourism industry and marketing skills or are unable to control tourism development (Scheyvens, 2002, p. 124; Schmitz, 2005, p. 193; Strasdas, 2001, p. 244). For JED, such a lack cannot be attested. On the contrary, there is much awareness among the stakeholders about tourism and its consequences. One respondent mentioned that "the most important thing is awareness and knowledge of the people about tourism and ecotourism; before, they did not even understand what tourism is" (stakeholder from Dukuh Sibetan, personal communication, 31 January 2010). Economic gains through ecotourism activities are generated in all of the four villages. A share of the profits is divided among community institutions, such as the *banjar*, agricultural co-operatives, or temple congregations. They are used for the renovation of facilities, collective work, meetings or ceremonies. Depending on the community, 10 to 21 individuals get recurring employment through JED. These comprise local guides, cooks, farmers, home-stay owners, or community members receiving incentives for the use of their property or for demonstrations. The incomes

account for USD 3-15 per assignment, which is irregular due to a rotation system. The fact that local guides are employed is indicative for empowerment. One of the respondents mentioned that everything is "owned and managed locally and for the local people" (stakeholder from Nusa Ceningan, personal communication, 15 February 2010). Also the example of Nusa Ceningan exemplifies such processes. The respondents explained that they have fought off an investor that was intending to privatise the island and resettle the population. A local resident comments on the – at least temporary – discontinuation of the plans: "Would the company have bought it [the island] the local people would have lost their land and culture" (farmer and stakeholder from Nusa Ceningan, personal communication, 16 February 2010). Also he mentions that, instead, "with a locally owned tourism model the farmers do not need to ask the investor for beach access" (farmer and stakeholder from Nusa Ceningan, personal communication, 16 February 2010). The issue of empowerment in many communities in Bali turns on the conflict and debates on the path of large-scale tourism development. It is actually a conflict over entitlements to natural and cultural resources decided through the form of control over them.

With regards to the environmental dimension, JED's outcomes are still somewhat limited. Asked for active measures of environmental protection at the project sites many respondents did not name concrete measures. Still, negative impacts are minimised in line with what the criteria for ecotourism demand. Only existing facilities are used and the activities are kept small-scale. A respondent said in this connection, "We do not want to change the environment, we want to remain farmers; we do not want to change all to tourism" (farmer and stakeholder from Kiadan Pelaga, personal communication, 21 January 2010). A positive mechanism that Hampton notes also for other places in Indonesia is that CBET encourages the cleaning of village environs and establishment of local waste management schemes (Hampton, 2003, p. 93). As a major topic, a strong connection to their 'land', or rather to land-use and sustainable agricultural practices, was established by the respondents, for example by saying, "according to some people tourism means money – they sell their land; we still need to improve local awareness, for our heritage, which is a sustainable way of life" (farmer and stakeholder from Kiadan Pelaga, personal communication, 21 January 2010). With the culture and the human-ecology system in Bali based on agriculture, the religious practices, ecological concerns, and debates have to be understood in

connection with cultural practices, concerns, and debates (Picard, 1990, pp. 1-2). This fact helps to explain why these issues in Bali cannot be considered separately and why quantitative indicator frameworks for the analysis of such topics would not made much sense. Despite certain constraints with regards to active protection, the minimisation of those negative environmental impacts through tourism development is well fulfilled by JED.

CBT needs to raise the quality of life, promote community pride, and divide roles fairly between men and women and young and old (Sunasri, 2003, p. 22). According to Honey, ecotourism needs to respect local culture (Honey, 2008, pp. 29-31). Suansri differentiates this into the encouragement of respect for different cultures, the fostering of cultural exchange, and the embedding of development into the local culture (Suansri, 2003, p. 22). Especially the softer notions in many comments of respondents revealed that such aspects needed to be understood in a holistic sense. Many respondents reported that the most important gain is that of awareness and knowledge and that through the pioneering approach their community is considered as the "leading . . . of all the *banjars* in the village" (farmer and stakeholder from Dukuh Sibetan, personal communication, 30 January 2010). This concerns also the attention of the local governments and their planning activities. Even though it is hard to always demonstrate concrete and measurable results, many positive outcomes have been and are being achieved. The length of stay with JED is usually quite short, with daytrips and two-day trips being offered. The criticism can be made that there is not enough time for exchange and a deeper understanding between the cultures (cf. Suansri, 2003, pp. 19-20 & p. 71). In this regard the interviews brought mixed results. Generally, the culture of the guests and their behaviour are described as positive. As the clientele has higher educational levels, interaction and mutual exchange is well fostered. Grounded in the United Nations Millennium Development Goals, gender equality is an important indicator for sustainable development. In Balinese society, women and men are regarded as equal but different counterparts, as reflected in the expressions made by the respondents (cf. Ariani & Kindon, 1995, p. 513). Such statements are often criticised, as in practice the genders take over different responsibilities and, as *banjar* and *subak* members, only men take part in the decision-making process (Ariani & Kindon, 1995, pp. 511-512; Cukier-Snow & Wall, 1993, p. 201). In contrast to *banjar* meetings, the regular stakeholder meetings of JED invite females

to join, express their opinion, and actively take part in decision-making. Even though to a lesser extent than men, women also take part in tourism activities. A female respondent confidentially commented, "I myself do cooking and home-stay; I could not become a guide, because of my job as nurse, but I would be interested; unfortunately I speak little English, but I can offer accommodation" (stakeholder from Nusa Ceningan, personal communication, 16 February 2010).

Participation is a general prerequisite for the expression of human needs and thus a key element of any CBT initiative (Beyer et al., 2007, p. 47). In the context of Bali, the decision-making process is based upon consensus. Final choices are usually made by the heads of the respective organisations, e.g. the *banjar* after hearing the opinions of all members. Examined with the eyes of Palm (2000), who has been doing research on participation issues in CBT, such an approach would have to be graded among the higher levels of participation considered when analysing different approaches in tourism. There are no foreign advisors implementing the activities, but it is the community members themselves consulting each other and taking proactive measures. With the mentioned constraints with regards to gender equality in mind, the initiative could thus be considered as a democratic movement in itself, as stipulated by Honey (2008, pp. 29-31).

6.3. The Client Survey

The client typology of JED revealed the typical age structure, interests and duration of stay of what can be considered an 'ecotourist'. Usually this is a tourist of middle to senior age, from a developed nation, with likely a tertiary education, a higher than average income, an intrinsic rather than extrinsic motivation to travel, and a longer duration of stay. The clientele does frequently consist of opinion leaders that function as multipliers (Stradas, 2001, p. 135; TIES, 2006, p. 3; Wearing & Neil, 2009, p. 196-198; Weaver, 2001, p. 40). The countries of origin correspond with the major ecotourism markets. However, ecotourism is a broad phenomenon with many nuances. Guests of JED are usually picked up at 'starred' resorts. And of course, the fact also needs to be acknowledged that the carbon footprints of their flights have a negative contribution to the overall eco-balance and that their stay in Bali further puts pressure on the carrying capacity of the island as a whole (cf. Johnson & Cottingham,

2008, pp. 1-6). Visitor satisfaction is positive throughout (Byczek, 2011, pp. 119-125). With 77 percent the great majority of guests rate the quality of the services as either very good or good. Local guides, food and drink, as well as trekking were appreciated most. Agriculture and religious ceremonies also attracted among the highest levels of positive response. Suggestions and open answers indicated that JED should "keep up the good work". Also some weaknesses, such as remaining garbage in some areas of the villages were mentioned as well as possible improvements to product and service quality.

In conclusion, a great job has been done by the stakeholders of JED in establishing a superb tourism product that fulfils the needs of the communities as well of those of the tourists to a high degree without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. The economic gain is still small. But in any case it is meant to be a supplement and diversification of the community income rather than an entirely new source creating also new dependencies. Active environmental protection is constrained but impact minimisation in the development of tourism has been considered. The use of only existing facilities in combination with sustainable land-use and resource management fulfils this criterion well. Further, the number of visitors is under the control of the initiative's own sales office. Negative social impact is also largely avoided in this way. Through being based on customary social organisations, the decision making process offers a high degree of empowerment on the local level. Local Balinese institutions have proven suitable in fulfilling the criteria of sustainable tourism.

7. Community-Based Ecotourism for Bali - Blessings for All?

Fieldwork in Bali has shown that alternative tourism is perceived in stark contrast to mass tourism. Yet in fact, mass tourism and sustainable tourism are not strictly opposites, but overlapping and interrelated (Fennel, 2008, p. 4 & pp. 15-16). Besides that, unsustainable practices can be found in ecotourism and sustainable practices can be found in mass tourism. Tourism is first and foremost an industry, and like any other industry it is dependent on the exploitation of resources. In the case of JED, the initiative even lives on mass tourism. Cases have been observed where CBT has served as 'launch pad' for mass tourism (Pleumarom, 2002, p. 7). This happens when people

cannot oversee or control the consequences of tourism development (Strasdas, 2001, p. 244). The history of JED in Bali has shown that the opposite can also be the case. The network has been established in response to already existing mass tourism.

The link between tourism development and environmental protection in the case presented has been rather weak and of an indirect nature (Byczek, 2011, p. 106). However, the maintenance of sustainable farming practices and the retention of land among stakeholders are strong factors preventing negative effects usually associated with uncontrolled development. With their CBET initiative as alternative to the mega-projects of the conglomerates, the farmers have gained much awareness among their communities and contributed to the creation of an 'agency' for sustainability in Bali, as described in similar ways by King (2009, p. 53). A farmer says in this regard, "Some of us have become a pioneer on the island in this field" (stakeholder from Nusa Ceningan, personal communication, 15 February 2010).

Often it is discerned that less negative impacts also mean less positive impacts – a connection commonly identified as the "tourism development dilemma" (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008, p. 28). Alternative tourism has been criticised as being no more than "just that: an alternative, rather than a solution, to the 'problem' of mass tourism" (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008, p. 41). Aside from the fact that a separation between 'good' and 'bad' forms of tourism is already controversial, JED also cannot be a solution to the problems associated with mass tourism in Bali. However, it is still an alternative that fosters sustainable development and bears potential to serve broader social interests.

As an alternative to mass tourism, CBET development can and should only be a supplement for local communities to achieve development. First, it cannot be expected that farmers or fishermen can quickly advance into typical tourism occupations, such as guiding or hospitality operations (Wearing & Neil, 2009, p. 127). Second, it would be immoderate to expect that small-scale tourism operations can solve the structural problems of a whole industry. And third, the goal behind the initiative is a diversification of income rather than the creation of new dependencies through mono-structural and crisis-prone industries.

Sustainable development also requires other institutional and structural conditions to be favourable (Fariborz, Sarjit, & Farshid, 2010, p. 158). Adept legal frameworks and feasible master plans are important instruments (Strasdas, 2001, p. 61 &

pp. 65-69; Apostolopoulus & Gayle, 2002, p. 115). Unfortunately, in the course of the recent Indonesian decentralisation and democratisation tendencies of the *Reformasi* era, authority was not given to the provincial governments, but to the authorities on the regency level (*kabupaten*). This resulted in a competition between the regencies for tax income through the attraction of new tourism developments and again in a strong increase in the development of tourism facilities in Bali throughout the past decade (Connor & Vickers, 2003, p. 173; Picard, 2003, p. 115). Regional autonomy in this connection has missed its goal for sustainable tourism development in Bali as it hinders the understanding of tourism as a provincial asset (Koch, 2007, pp. 92-92; Picard, 2003, p. 115; UNDP, 2003, p. 60). The planned privatisation of Nusa Cenignan was one such example for investments that had been backed by the local government until a long conflict between the island community and the property developers led to a reassessment. Similar conflicts had existed in all of the four JED villages. The people of Nusa Ceningan were able to – at least for the time being – avert the acquisition of plots of public land by private investors and the construction of a mega-resort. By implementing small-scale and low-impact CBET activities they have gained additional income that stays entirely in the community instead of losing their access to the seaweed-farms and their livelihoods to the benefits of cash-rich non-Balinese investors and 'big men from Jakarta'.

In tourist areas, there are often "fundamental conflicts between land as a symbol and cultural resource on the one hand and its pivotal role as a commodity in neo-liberal economic development agendas on the other" (Warren, 2005, p. 31). Agriculture, once the mainstay of the Balinese economy, has become neglected during tourism-driven development. This process has separated many Balinese from their cultural and spiritual roots (McRae, 2005, pp. 209-211 & p. 227; Tambunan, 2007, p. 22). By implementing CBET the people of Bali and Nusa Ceningan have created a lobby against external interests that are conflicting with community needs and local livelihoods. The rather philosophical question raised by Vorlaufer of whether projects like JED are a form of cultural renaissance or are instead a struggle for survival of the 'traditional sector' is hard to answer (Vorlaufer, 1999, p. 42). For sure, JED needs to be understood also in connection with what Warren describes as '*adat*[7] revival', aiming at an

7 *Adat* is mostly translated as customary traditions or customary law. In the Indonesian use of language, the meaning of *adat* is very comprehensive, further including customs, practices, and habits.

increase of local control over resources and the restoration of local *adat* authority after a long phase of "Indonesianization" (Warren, 2005, p. 29 & 32).

Tourism is "one of the dimensions of globalization par excellence", as Hitchcock, King, and Parnwell (2009, p. 28) put it, and Bali has thereby become a real 'global' island. Thus, the debates about outside agents of change are also closely linked to what is criticised in Indonesia as *globalisasi*, referring to forces that remain largely out of the control of the people (Apostolopoulos & Gayle, 2002, p. 156 & 181; Ostrom, 2000; Rubinstein & Connor, 1999, p. 5). Thus, JED can be understood not only as an opposition to urges for tourism development by the local and national governments and the international "tour operator hegemony" (Apostolopoulos & Gayle, 2002, p. 156 & 181) but also to globalising forces in connection with TNC's, the WB, IMF, and the WTO, as Atmaja notes (Atmaja, 2002, p. 148). It is also an attempt to redraw the "imaginary map of colonial and neo-colonial relations", as Allon refers to tourism development on Bali generally (Allon, 2004, p. 38).

Linking the connections between tourism, the environment, and globalisation, Wong cites Pleumarom by saying, with reference to South-East Asia, that

> *authority over resources for tourism and any kind of development is to be maintained by governments vis-à-vis the powerful interests of the global tourism industry, and, equally important, needs to be handed down to local communities, before sustainable tourism alternatives can be delivered. (Wong, 2001, p. 217)*

JED has successfully fostered voice and decision-making at the local level. Social capital lacking in many other initiatives has in Bali resulted from the project being rooted in customary social organisations such as the *banjar* and proven very successful (Jones, 2005, p. 305 & pp. 319-320; Suansri, 2003, p. 24). To this extent it is a big step in the right direction with regards to sustainable tourism development in Bali (Atmaja, 2002, p. 145). The Wisnu Foundation is currently preparing a plan for additional communities to create an island-wide CBET network under the name Bali Dwe (Bali Dwe, 2010).

The benefit of an initiative such as JED goes beyond direct and easily measurable economic, social, and environmental impacts. The results of the field research have shown that it is necessary to link the initiative theoretically to the broader discourse and debates on tourism development in Bali. As tourism is a ubiquitous phenomenon

on the island, it always needs to be seen in the wider context. The gain in consciousness among the broader population constitutes a presupposition for future political agendas and empowerment.

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An Alternative Policy Proposal for the Provinces Populated by the Malay Ethnonationality in the South of Thailand

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Citation von Feigenblatt, O. F. (2011). An Alternative Policy Proposal for the Provinces Populated by the Malay Ethnonationality in the South of Thailand. *ASEAS - Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies, 4*(1), 107-128.

This article provides a public policy analysis of governance in the provinces populated by the Malay ethnonationality in the South of Thailand. Important stakeholders are identified as well as important sociopolitical environmental factors. The final sections of the paper present a proposal for a new governance structure for the Muslim South of Thailand taking into consideration the social, cultural, and economic context as well as the wellbeing and right to self-determination of the local population. This study concludes that considerable economic, political, and social opportunities for development are being lost in the South of Thailand due to misguided governance policies.

Keywords: *Malays, South of Thailand, Autonomy, Governance, Devolution of Power*

Dieser Artikel stellt eine politische Analyse von Governance in den von der nationalen Minderheit der Malaien bewohnten Provinzen in Südthailand vor. Zunächst werden zentrale InteressensvertreterInnen und soziopolitische Faktoren identifiziert. Anschließend diskutiert der Autor einen Vorschlag für eine neue Governancestruktur, die soziale, kulturelle und wirtschaftliche Kontexte ebenso beachtet wie die Bedürfnisse und das Recht zur Selbstbestimmung der lokalen Bevölkerung. Der Beitrag konkludiert, dass beträchtliche Möglichkeiten zur wirtschaftlichen, politischen und sozialen Entwicklung aufgrund von fehlgeleiteten Politiken ausgelassen wurden.

Schlagworte: *Malaien, Südthailand, Autonomie, Governance, Machtdezentralisierung*

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Introduction

The Deep South of Thailand has been plagued by violence and underdevelopment for decades. Bordering the Federation of Malaysia, the three southernmost provinces are mostly populated by ethnic Muslim Malays who speak a dialect of Malay called *Melayu Patani* (Liow, 2006a, p. 27, 2006b; McCargo, 2008, p. 4). Historically the region was part of the independent Sultanate of Patani[2] and was later annexed by Thailand in the early twentieth century (Kershaw, 2001; McCargo, 2008, p. 61; Perkasa, 2008, p. 41). Separatist movements have existed in the region since Siam started to exercise greater influence over the region in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but the highest point of the insurgency came during the 1970s and 1980s when several separatist groups joined forces with the Communist Party of Thailand to fight the Central government (Perkasa, 2008; Ungpakorn, 2007). Nevertheless, the insurgency was thought to have been exhausted by the 1990s due to effective counterinsurgency tactics by the military and strong American support for the armed forces (Jitpiromrisi & McCargo, 2008). In 2004 an important army armoury was raided and several bombs detonated in the Southern provinces ("Child Recruitment and Use in Southern Thailand", 2008, p. 6; Perkasa, 2008). Since that year more than 3,000 people have died due to the violence in the South. Owing to instability of the central government, the army was given almost absolute control over the Southern provinces and martial law was imposed (Perkasa, 2008; Ungpakorn, 2007). The result has been a policy of dealing with the insurgency through military methods which closely resemble the ones used to fight the once powerful Communist Party of Thailand through raid and sweep operations in villages and internment of suspects in concentration camps for prolonged periods of time (Liow, 2006b, p. 43; Perkasa, 2008; Ungpakorn, 2007).

The result of the current policy has been an exponential increase in the defence budget, increased unemployment in the South, and a rise in local support for the insurgency (Gunaratna & Acharya, 2006, p. 149; Perkasa, 2008; Yegar, 2002). Finally, paramilitary militias have been formed in Buddhist villages in the South with the support of the Palace and the security establishment (Ungpakorn, 2007; von Feigenblatt,

2 To avoid confusion concerning the use of the terms 'Pattani' and 'Patani': After the Malay-speaking regions in Southern Thailand were integrated into Siam in the early twentieth century, Malay-sounding names have been converted to names that are phonetically in tune with Thai rhythm. Hence, 'Pattani' is the official romanisation of the Thai spelling. 'Patani', on the other hand, is the Malay version, often used in historical contexts or when referring to historical claims over the territory.

2009a; 2009b, p. 5). These paramilitary militias have attacked Muslim villages with impunity.

Importance of the Southern Unrest for Thailand and the Region

The insurgency and unrest in the Southern provinces of Thailand have caused more than 3,000 deaths since 2004. In addition to that, the problem has weakened successive civilian governments with the result of strengthening the hand of the security forces and the Palace (ALRC, 2009, p. 1; Chang, Chu, & Park, 2007, p. 76; Hamlin, 2009; Neher, 2002; Ungpakorn, 2007). Furthermore, the unrest has been used as an excuse to increase the military budget by more than 300 percent in five years and thus diverting needed funds away from development projects (Askew, 2010, p. 130; von Feigenblatt, 2010). The violence in the region has negatively affected the important tourism industry not only in the Southern provinces but also in the entire country with the net effect of damaging the already precarious state of the economy, which was facing a 2.2 percent contraction in 2009 due to the global financial crisis (CIA, 2009). Moreover, the breakdown of the rule of law in the Southern provinces, and to a certain extent in the entire country, has led to a sharp increase in illegal business activities such as smuggling drugs and weapons through the porous Malaysian border, thus giving rise to violent crime (Askew, 2010, p. 57; von Feigenblatt, 2010). Finally, the Muslim identity of the insurgency has fueled speculation about possible infiltration by regional Islamic terrorist networks such as Jeemah Islamiyah and Al Qaeda (Gunaratna & Acharya, 2006; Liow, 2006a, p. 93). In addition, the region is considered to serve as a litmus test of separatist tendencies in other regions with historical experience of independence and semiautonomy (Means, 2009). In summary, dealing with the Southern unrest is important for economic, security, and humanitarian reasons.

Possible Beneficiaries of the Greater Pattani Autonomous Economic and Administrative Region

To establish a Greater Pattani Autonomous Economic and Administrative Region would be beneficial for the entire country – with the exception of the armed forces and the Palace. Possibly modelled after the Special Administrative regions of China,

Hong Kong and Macau, and the Basque region in Spain, the policy would combine greater self-government with a strong economic development component. Thus economic integration into the national and global economy, which while not easily achieved is possible, as demonstrated by the experience of Bali and Beppu as tourist destinations, would substitute for government centralisation in the administrative realm (Barber, 1996). Therefore the challenge would be to privatise governance and thus raise it to the international level while at the same time making it sensitive to local needs. By dealing with the core grievances of the Melayu Patani population and also with the problem of underdevelopment in the region, the new Greater Pattani Autonomous Economic and Administrative Region would lower the incidence of violent crime, assuage fears of religious and local leaders about the loss of distinct socio-cultural heritage of the area, and avoid a complete rupture of the region with Thailand. Furthermore, the economic benefits reaped from the development of the area and the increase in productivity of the rubber industry of the South would also benefit the rest of the country through greater tax revenues and a subsequent increase in tourism. Greater stability will also be of great benefit to the entire country and would free needed resources away from the defence budget and into infrastructure development in other underdeveloped regions such as the Northeast.

From a political perspective, the civilian central government would be strengthened vis-à-vis the military and thus increase stability in the country. Only the Palace and the armed forces would be weakened by the proposed policy due to their relative loss of influence. While the military and the Palace could attempt to claim some credit from the pacification of the South, the perceived loss in sovereignty would ultimately weaken the traditional security views of the military and Palace establishment.

Competing Policy Options for the Southern Unrest

Several policy options have been proposed for dealing with the Southern unrest. The policy that is currently in place can be labelled the "military counterinsurgency strategy" and combines overwhelming force with intelligence gathering (ALRC, 2009; Askew, 2010; Ungpakorn, 2007). A second option proposed by some academics and the insurgents in the South is the peaceful separation of the three southernmost

provinces to become either the Republic of Patani or the Sultanate of Patani (Perkasa, 2008; Ungpakorn, 2007; von Feigenblatt, 2009c, p. 606). This option is based on the norm of self-determination for ethnonational groups and on the historical claim over the territory (Perkasa, 2008; Syukri, 1985). Another variant of this policy is the option of the three provinces, Yala, Pattani, and Narathiwat, joining the Federation of Malaysia, however this option was only seriously considered during the 1940s (Askew, 2010; von Feigenblatt, 2009b, p. 4). Finally, a third category of policies involves some form of self-government combined with economic development. Several proposals in this category favour some devolution of authority to local governments in the South and greater development through increased trade with Malaysia and Singapore or an improvement in local industry (Jitpiromrisi & McCargo, 2008). Geographical proximity to Malaysia is an advantage that can be utilised by promoting the integration of the local economy into Malaysia's production chain. In other words, economic integration at the sub-regional level can take the place of political integration and thus allow the South to benefit from the positive externalities of joining a relatively advanced production chain in sectors as diverse as automobile manufacturing and electronics. While the military strategy has proven to be futile in dealing with the unrest, the second option which involved complete independence or annexation with the Federation of Malaysia is unrealistic due to lack of political capital and the relative weakness of the insurgency (von Feigenblatt, 2009d). However, the third category of policy options is more promising than the first in terms of effectiveness in dealing with the core grievances of the local population and at the same time it does not impinge on national sensitivities regarding the territorial integrity of the Thai nation-state. In terms of political capital and the relative power of interest groups, the first option clearly has the upper hand at this point, however, some positive signs can be identified showing that the third category would be feasible in the near future (Perkasa, 2008; Ungpakorn, 2007).

Analytical Framework

This study follows an elite theory model of public policy making (Anderson, 2006). While this model has many weaknesses, it is a good fit for the Thai political system and socio-cultural environment. The Thai political system is elitist and revolves

around the Palace. Governance depends on a network monarchy which includes the armed forces and a powerful bureaucratic elite. Thailand's government is strongly unitary in nature and the provinces are directly controlled by the capital. An elite model concentrates on the role of a small group of power brokers in the policy making process. The population is assumed to be a passive player under the control of the elite. Thailand has been characterised by anthropologists and area specialists as a highly hierarchical society with a very large power distance (Chang et al., 2007; Mulder, 1996; von Feigenblatt, Suttichujit, Shuib, Keling, & Ajis, 2010; Wyatt, 2003). Moreover, the undemocratic history of the country serves as evidence of the role of a small group of power holders in making the important decisions (Albritton & Bureekul, 2007; Ungpakorn, 2007). Nevertheless, some aspects of constructivist social theory will be used to describe the role of the militants in the South and of the Malay community in general. The reason for this is that the Southern unrest is partly a grassroots movement and thus its behaviour cannot be duly explained by elite theory and needs to be understood from the point of view of those involved in the struggle (Perkasa, 2008; Ungpakorn, 2007). It should be noted that while elite theory provides the best theoretical fit to explain the actions of the Thai side of the issue, it lacks the explanatory traction to explain the yearnings and grievances of the less centralised Muslim Malays. Identity needs are important and constructivist theory, with its emphasis on norms and ideas and how they shape social action, provides a useful lens to complement elite theory (Jackson & Nexon, 2009).

Stakeholders

The Southern unrest involves a vast array of stakeholders and thus any proposed policy to deal with it must include them in both, the decision making process and most importantly during its implementation. Stakeholders can be roughly classified as Thai and Malay. External stakeholders will also be discussed in terms of their relationship to the two sides.

Armed Forces (State and Non-State)

Arguably, the most important group of stakeholders in the Southern unrest involves

armed groups (Gunaratna & Acharya, 2006; Storey, 2008). Included in this category are both state and non-state armed groups. The most powerful stakeholder in the military realm is the Royal Thai Army (Gunaratna & Acharya, 2006; McCargo, 2008; Ungpakorn, 2007). More than just a subservient branch of the government, it is a semi-independent institution with its own power resources and interests (McCargo, 2008; Ungpakorn, 2007; von Feigenblatt, 2009c). Historically, the Thai Army has been used mostly for internal counterinsurgency operations (Yegar, 2002). The United States supported it during the 1970s and 1980s so that it could defeat the Communist Party of Thailand and serve as a bastion of capitalism in South-East Asia (Kershaw, 2001; Neher, 2002; Rolfe, 2008). In addition to that, it is not a professional army in the modern sense of the word. Officers consider their troops to be their source of power and are more than willing to use them for their own interests. More than ten military coups have taken place in Thailand in recent history (Ungpakorn, 2007, 2010; von Feigenblatt, 2009e, p. 4; Wyatt, 2003). In terms of ideology, the Thai Army is highly conservative and royalist. Nationalism is strong in the army and it considers itself to be constrained only by the needs of the nation and the Monarchy, not the civilian government (Handley, 2006; Ungpakorn, 2007, 2010).

The army has virtually complete control over the Southern provinces and has imposed martial law (Liow, 2006a, 2006b, p. 37). Abuses of human rights are widespread and the army favours a traditional counterinsurgency strategy to deal with the Southern unrest (Dingwerth, 2008; Jitpiromrisi & McCargo, 2008; McCargo, 2008, 2009; Perkasa, 2008). In terms of economic interest, the Army is corrupt and is involved in the smuggling of weapons across the Malay border, among other illicit activities (Askew, 2010; Perkasa, 2008). The violence in the South has also been used to justify exponential increases in the budget for the military (Ungpakorn, 2007, 2010).

The police are comparatively weaker than the army but are similarly characterised by virulent Thai nationalism and corruption (Askew, 2010). It has been involved in a turf war with the army over influence in the South (Ungpakorn, 2007, 2010). Furthermore it has also been known to commit abuses in the Southern Provinces but not of the same scale as the army. Politically, the police are identified with the former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra, who was deposed by the military coup in 2006 (Askew, 2010; Ungpakorn, 2007; von Feigenblatt, 2009e, pp. 3-5). Thus, it is viewed with suspicion by the armed forces. The civilian government has more influence over the police

than over the army.

Paramilitary groups are involved in the Southern unrest. Buddhist militias organised by the police and the army with the support of the Palace have increased in number since 2004 (McCargo, 2008, 2009). Buddhist militias are usually very nationalistic and carry out vigilante attacks on Muslim villagers. The lack of direct control over them by the central government means that there is very little accountability regarding their actions. In general, Buddhist militias have a vested interest in the continued presence of the armed forces in the South so as to defend their interests. On the Muslim side there are about ten different militias with a total of fewer than 2,000 fighters (Jitpiromrisi & McCargo, 2008; Perkasa, 2008). The fragmented nature of the militant groups makes it difficult to provide a clear picture of the relative strength of each group and their overall goals. However, one of the oldest and best known groups is the Patani United Liberation Organisation (PULO) which was founded by a descendant of the last Rajah of Patani in the mid-twentieth century (Perkasa, 2008; Syukri, 1985). This organisation has both a political and a military branch and its main goal is to coordinate the attacks of the separate militant groups. Its military force is thought to range from 300 to 500 armed fighters. Its leadership is composed of intellectuals trained in the Middle East and exiled Malay aristocrats in Malaysia (Liow, 2006a, 2006b; Perkasa, 2008). Its goal is the re-establishment of the Sultanate of Patani or at least the achievement of autonomy within the Thai state. The main interest of this group is the protection of the distinct Malay Muslim culture in the South of Thailand and guaranteeing enough leadership jobs for members of the Muslim Malay intelligentsia (Perkasa, 2008). While PULO is not a very large organisation, it has the tacit support of the majority of the Malay population, and also has links with Muslim countries and organisations all over the world (Askew, 2010; Gunaratna & Acharya, 2006). It should be noted that there are other insurgent groups operating in the South of Thailand which are considered by some scholars to be equally as important as or even more important than PULO such as BRN but there is very little information regarding its structure and membership in comparison to PULO (Liow, 2006b). The other groups tend to be more secretive and lack an overt political arm which makes it difficult to assess their true support and resources (Askew, 2010; Funston, 2010; Joll, 2010). Finally, there is a third kind of militia operating in the Deep South of Thailand without a clear political agenda. Transnational organised crime

(TOC) is omnipresent along the porous border with Malaysia and it has at its service armed bands of militants (Jones & Smith, 2007; Millard, 2004; Storey, 2008). Drugs, human trafficking, and smuggling rings all operate in the region and have links with powerful local politicians and officers. The Democrat Party is widely believed to be involved in criminal activities in the South along with certain elements in the armed forces and the police (Askew, 2010; Ungpakorn, 2007, 2010). TOC groups have a vested interest in the Southern unrest in that they want the conflict to continue so as to guarantee an uncertain environment for their illicit activities.

Civilian Government and Bureaucrats

The civilian government and the bureaucracy consider the unrest in the South a major problem. It weakens their authority relative to the armed forces and is detrimental to the overall economy of the country (Askew, 2010; Glassman, 2005; Ungpakorn, 2010). However, it should be noted that with the exception of former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra, most civilian governments do not have very strong national support and their power base is greatly limited by the Palace and the armed forces (Chang et al., 2007; Ungpakorn, 2007, 2010). This is evidenced by the recurrent *coups d'état*, constitutional changes, and interference by the Palace (Dressel, 2009; Ungpakorn, 2007, 2010; von Feigenblatt, 2009e; Wyatt, 2003). Most civilian governments function as mediators representing a vast array of interests including business, the military, and the Palace. Moreover, a majority of civilian governments have been forced to hand over the control of the South to the military and have had their arms tied in terms of negotiating with the insurgents (Lintner, 2009, pp. 112-115; Ungpakorn, 2007). Due to the influence of narrow interests on the weak civilian administrations, the government has to appear strong in terms of defending national sovereignty and Thai nationalism. One of the only differences between administrations is the preference of the Shinawatra faction for the involvement of the police in the South rather than the military and the support of the Democrat Party for greater involvement of the military (ALRC, 2009; Ungpakorn, 2007).

Bureaucrats in Thailand are generally very conservative and nationalist and tend to come from Bangkok and central Thailand. Civil service examinations are usually passed by members of the elite due to structural advantages such as better access to

education at the secondary and tertiary levels and are the preferred career of ethnic Thais (Askew, 2007). Due to Thailand's political instability, the bureaucracy is one of the only constants in the country. Most bureaucrats serve under many administrations and even constitutions. In general, the main interest of the bureaucracy is the continued influence of its members over the administration of the South of Thailand and the defence of national sovereignty.

As explained in a previous section of this paper, the Democrat Party is the strongest party in the South and there are allegations that several prominent members are involved in criminal activities along the Malaysian border. Nevertheless, the exact nature of their involvement is not known but several independent scholars have found evidence of their involvement in several illicit enterprises (Liow, 2006a; Ungpakorn, 2010). While the role of the Democrat Party in illicit activities remains in dispute, the political party is actively involved in the traditional patronage politics of the region and thus exerts considerable power at the local level (McCargo, 2008).

Traditional Leaders

This category includes Muslim religious leaders, Malay aristocrats, and the Thai Palace. Muslim religious leaders derive their authority from their role in the *pondok* network of Islamic schools, their control over mosques, and the high regard Muslims traditionally have for teachers (Askew, 2007; Means, 2009; Millard, 2004; Mulder, 1996; Ungpakorn, 2007). In addition, they are considered to be the protectors of Malay Muslim culture in the Deep South of Thailand. Their main interest is to protect the Muslim religion and the Malay language, and to have some influence over local governance. Most religious leaders have expressed a fear of government encroachment on Malay religious and cultural affairs (Liow, 2006a; Perkasa, 2008; von Feigenblatt, 2009c). They have also alleged that the government has tried to reduce their power by bringing *pondok* schools under the control of the Ministry of Education (Jitpiromsri & McCargo, 2008; Ungpakorn, 2007). Most religious leaders ask for religious freedom and some form of autonomy for the region. Identity needs are usually at the forefront of their demands (von Feigenblatt, 2009d, 2010). Most do not request complete independence. Closely related to this group are the traditional Malay nobility. The descendants of the former ruling Houses of the region are related to the Royal Houses

of several Sultanates in Malaysia (Kershaw, 2001; Ungpakorn, 2007; Yegar, 2002). This group was traditionally headed by the direct descendant of the last Rajah of Patani, who later on went into exile in the Sultanate of Kelantan (Wyatt, 2003; Yegar, 2002). They derive their legitimacy from hundreds of years of history in the region and their connection to the culture and traditions of Patani (Perkasa, 2008). Most of the *Tunkus*, Malay Princes, of Patani have been involved in the separatist movement in one way or another and most favour some form of autonomy for the region and the restoration of their Houses. The Princes enjoy the support of the majority of the religious leaders as well as of the population and they also have international legitimacy due to their historic relationship with the Sultanates of Malaysia and Great Britain (Millard, 2004).

The Palace, as it is known, encompasses the Royal Family and the Privy Council (Handley, 2006; Ishii, 1994, p. 458; Kershaw, 2001; Yegar, 2002). In Thailand, the Privy Council is composed of powerful retired generals who rule from behind the scenes (Kershaw, 2001; Ungpakorn, 2007, 2010; Wyatt, 2003). The present members of the Royal Family are not direct descendents of the previous few kings and the present King was actually born in the United States (Handley, 2006; Kershaw, 2001). Conservative generals revived the institution of the Monarchy in the post-war years and the present King was elected by the head of the previous ruling family. In order to give the King some semblance of legitimacy, the new Royal Family was included in the previous Chakri Dynasty even though this is in fact a new dynasty (Handley, 2006; Ungpakorn, 2007). Massive propaganda campaigns raised the profile of the monarch and his family. After years of a concerted propaganda campaign and indoctrination through the media and schools, the Monarchy gained a lot of influence over government affairs (Kershaw, 2001; Ungpakorn, 2007; von Feigenblatt et al., 2010; Wyatt, 2003). The King has given his blessing to several military coups and the Queen has encouraged the organisation of Buddhist militias in the South (McCargo, 2008; Pitiyanuwat & Sujiva, 2005). Through the use of the draconian *lèse majesté* laws, which make any insult or criticism of the King a criminal offence punishable by up to 15 years in prison, conservative politicians have tried to silence alternative centres of power, including the traditional Malay nobility and the Communist Party (Le-Coz, 2009; Neher, 2002; Ungpakorn, 2007, 2010; von Feigenblatt, 2009c). The Palace tends to be the most nationalist and conservative institution in the country and is usually

linked to the armed forces. Among the most important interests of the Palace is the protection of sovereignty over the South, the assimilation of the Malay Muslims in the South, and most importantly the silencing of alternative histories of the region showing the legitimacy of Malay Royal Houses (Perkasa, 2008; Ungpakorn, 2007). In terms of power, it is probably one of the most powerful institutions in the country due to its considerable wealth, informal influence, and connections with the armed forces (Kershaw, 2001).

Business Interests

Tin mining and rubber plantations, among others, are some of the important businesses in the region (Perkasa, 2008; Yegar, 2002). Most tin mines and rubber plantations are owned by Chinese and ethnic Thais. Business owners in the region tend to be non-ideological in that they support whoever gives them protection and allows them to do business (Askew, 2007). This means that some pay protection money to corrupt members of the armed forces and to the Muslim insurgents. Some even pay both sides (Liow, 2006a, 2006b). There is also an important link between business interests and Democrat politicians who have a stake in some enterprises (Perkasa, 2008; Ungpakorn, 2010). In general, business owners want peace in order to do business and they want the region to remain part of Thailand (Askew, 2007). They also have an interest in improving the infrastructure of the area and facilitating trade. In terms of power, business owners are relatively weak in that they control resources but they depend on others for their security. Moreover, since most of them are Chinese, they are usually not involved in the bureaucracy and suffer from some of the same discrimination as most other minority groups in Thailand (Askew, 2010; Ungpakorn, 2007, 2010; von Feigenblatt, 2009c, p. 598).

External Interest Groups

Due to the religious factors in the unrest in the Deep South of Thailand there are external groups with an interest in the conflict (Kiong & Bun, 2001; Means, 2009; Millard, 2004; Perkasa, 2008). Malaysia and other Muslim countries have been involved in the conflict in one way or another. Due to the ethnic ties between Malays across

the border, many insurgent leaders have moved to Malaysia in order to seek funds and support from fellow Muslim Malays (Liow, 2006a; Perkasa, 2008; Syukri, 1985). Conservative Malay political parties have indirectly supported the Muslim separatists in the South of Thailand by providing asylum as well as funds (Askew, 2007; Means, 2009; Millard, 2004). In addition to that, Jemaah Islamiyah has also cooperated with the insurgents in terms of logistical support and in the arms trade (Gunaratna & Acharya, 2006; Yegar, 2002). Funding from Middle Eastern sources has also been channelled through charities in order to support the Muslim community. Libya has been one of the strongest supporters of the Muslim community in Thailand and has provided funds and political support (Yegar, 2002).

On the other side of the conflict, the United States and its allies involved in the 'War on Terror' have supported the Thai government in its characterisation of the Muslim insurgents as part of international Islamic terrorism. This means that the United States has supported the traditional counterinsurgency approach of the Thai government as an important front in the War on Terror (Neher, 2002; Yegar, 2002).

Alternative Approaches to the Unrest in the Deep South of Thailand

There are other approaches to solving the unrest in the Deep South of Thailand besides the Autonomous Economic and Administrative Region approach that is proposed in this paper, however, none of them are very promising in terms of achieving sustainable peace and development. One such option is the one proposed by Duncan McCargo and colleagues (Askew, 2007; Jitpiromrisi & McCargo, 2008). This proposal involves the establishment of a Ministry for the South. It basically recommends the concentration of the administration of the South under a single ministry rather than having it divided among separate ministries and government agencies. This proposal also stresses the importance of strengthening civil control over the administration of the region but stops short of recommending local governance (Jitpiromrisi & McCargo, 2008). A Ministry for the South would make the administration of the region more efficient and would weaken the role of the military in the region but it would not deal with the most important grievances of the Muslim population in the South. Thus, this proposal can be considered to be administrative streamlining rather than a long term solution to the Southern unrest. This approach to the Southern unrest

does not include any greater autonomy for the region but simply a more efficient means of exerting direct control over a distant region of the country by the central government.

Another possible solution to the Southern unrest would be to re-establish the nineteenth century system based on feudal tenure by the Malay aristocracy (Syukri, 1985). Feudal tenure in the South of Thailand was based on the co-option of the Malay nobility into the administration of the region. This would provide some measure of autonomy under Thai sovereignty but would not be acceptable to the Thai government nor to the armed forces (Jitpiromrisi & McCargo, 2008; Syukri, 1985). This possibility was very popular in the decades after World World II, but has since then lost popular support. Thus, this possibility suffers from a lack of political capital in order for it to be accepted by important stakeholders.

Consequences of the Creation of the Greater Pattani Autonomous Economic and Administrative Region

Possible consequences of the creation of the Greater Pattani Autonomous Economic and Administrative Region can be divided into three broad categories, namely economic, political/security, and socio-cultural. On the economic front, the establishment of the Greater Pattani Autonomous Economic and Administrative Region would increase trade with other provinces as well as with other members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and attract foreign direct investment due to a more business friendly environment, greater political stability, and therefore a lower level of investment risk. This would create more jobs in the region as well as increase revenue for the central government in terms of taxes and tariffs. The transition from a military approach to one based on constructive engagement through the Greater Pattani Autonomous Economic and Administrative Region would translate into savings in armaments and a reduction in the military budget. The savings could then be reallocated to social services and development projects throughout the entire country.

A failure to establish the Greater Pattani Autonomous Economic and Administrative Region would result in continued capital flight due to the violence, a decline in the living standard of the inhabitants of the region, and a decline in the tourism

industry of the country as a whole. Moreover, further increases in the budget of the armed forces could be expected (Askew, 2007; Ungpakorn, 2010).

Some important consequences of the proposed policy on the political and security fronts would be a drastic reduction in terms of the budget and size of the army. Its influence would also be diminished since its involvement in the South and in other security issues will be greatly reduced. Civilian governments will be strengthened through an improvement in the economy and in the security of the Southern provinces. This could also have a positive impact on the general political stability of the country and reduce the likelihood of more military coups due to the improvement in the overall security of the country (von Feigenblatt, 2009c; von Feigenblatt et al., 2010). Moreover, the police would be strengthened in comparison to the army, since it would be given greater responsibility for the internal security of the country and law enforcement. It can also be expected that the Democrat Party would be greatly weakened due to its links to the military and corruption in the Deep South (Ungpakorn, 2010). Transnational organised crime in the border provinces would also come under greater national and international scrutiny due to the possible increase in trade and foreign direct investment. Most importantly, Malay Muslims should participate in greater numbers in the governance of the region. It is also expected that Malay Muslim politicians at the national level will also be strengthened due to the greater leverage they would gain through the establishment of the Autonomous Administrative and Economic Region and the greater resources they would be able to muster. Thus, there would be a gradual shift of some political power away from the centre in Bangkok and towards the South (Askew, 2007).

The possible consequences of failing to implement the recommended policy would mean a continuation of the status quo with all the unsatisfactory externalities that entails. Moreover, greater violence and local dislocation can be expected, as well as the further economic decline of the region and the country as a whole. Furthermore, the armed forces would continue to use the Southern unrest as an excuse to exercise influence in local and national politics (Kershaw, 2001; McCargo, 2004).

Finally, on the socio-cultural front, the country as a whole would become more pluralistic (von Feigenblatt, 2009c; von Feigenblatt et al., 2010). This means that diversity would be cherished rather than suppressed. Education could gradually be decentralised based on the example set by the Greater Pattani Autonomous Administrative

and Economic Region so as to include the particular histories and religious practices of different ethnic groups (von Feigenblatt et al., 2010). There is also the possibility that this would lead to a negative backlash by the ethnic Thai population of central Thailand, at least in the short term. It could be vigorously resisted by the Palace and conservative elites in the capital. For the Malay Muslim community the adoption of this policy would satisfy many of its most important grievances and gradually lead to a decrease in fundamentalist Islam (Perkasa, 2008; Ungpakorn, 2007; Yegar, 2002). The reason for this is that the Malay Muslim Community would not feel threatened by the dominant culture any more, thanks to their autonomy, and this would reduce the need for fundamentalist teachings. Needless to say this assumes that part of the appeal of fundamentalism is due to existential uncertainty and the related fear of a possible loss of identity. Furthermore, the general population in the South will not be as open to extremist teachings if they feel that their culture and religion are alive and thriving (McCargo, 2009).

The failure to implement the proposed policy would further alienate the Malay Muslim population and provide the perfect breeding ground for fundamentalist Islamic extremism. Rather than leading to national unity, as conservatives claim, it would force ethnic and religious minorities to become more fundamentalist and to distance themselves from the majority in an attempt to protect their culture. This would in fact be a continuation of the present situation which has shown an increase in the teaching of a Middle Eastern variant of Islam which stresses stricter compliance to religious teachings than the moderate version of Islam historically prevalent in the region (Mulder, 1996; Ramakrishna, 2005).

In summary, the proposed policy offers advantages on economic, political/security, and socio-cultural fronts. While there is the possibility of a negative backlash by conservative forces, this would only be a temporary setback. Failure to implement the establishment of the Greater Pattani Autonomous Economic and Administrative Region would be tantamount to a continuation of the present trend with all of the well known negative externalities.

Making the Greater Pattani Autonomous Administrative and Economic Region a Reality

Funding and Economic Considerations

Due to the nature of the proposed policy, finding the necessary funding to undertake the establishment of the Greater Pattani Autonomous Administrative and Economic Region will not be very difficult. First of all, very little funding is required, since most changes are administrative, and the savings made in other areas can be invested in the development of the region. Savings in the realms of security and pacification could be used for investment in infrastructure and human capital. This would improve the chances of the economic side of the policy being successful.

More specifically, gradual reductions in the defence budget will free up plenty of resources that can then be partly used for the implementation of this policy. It is also likely that Malaysia and other Muslim countries would be willing to provide some funding for the development of the region under the proposed autonomy. This would pump needed foreign direct investment into the region and create jobs, in addition to lowering the cost of implementing the policy for the central government.

Political Considerations

Political capital is the most important resource that will be necessary to move this policy forward. Civilian political parties should be convinced of the viability and benefits of this policy so that they provide the political support necessary in order to overcome the opposition of the armed forces and some elements in the Palace. It would clearly benefit civilian political parties to demilitarise the South and to divert resources away from defence and into social projects. Further research should be conducted by national and international scholars so as to demonstrate the potential benefits of this policy and persuade civilian parties to adopt it. In this respect, the role of national NGOs and grassroots organisations will be pivotal in convincing politicians. Since NGOs and civil society in general are usually fragmented in Thailand and lack a clear leadership, an overarching steering committee should be formed to orchestrate and coordinate the political movement (Ungpakorn, 2010; Yegar, 2002).

The Role of the Media

In Thailand, the media are very conservative and operate under strict censorship (Ungpakorn, 2007; von Feigenblatt, 2009c). It can be assumed that most mainstream media will be opposed to this policy due to their conservative nature and fears of reprisals by the military and the Palace. However, alternative media can be used, such as the internet, radio, and newsletters, to get the message across. Due to the tense political atmosphere related to the coming elections, the time is ripe for public pressure on politicians. Politicians will be more responsive to popular demands as the elections approach. The policy should be framed as an opportunity for national reconciliation and as a way to strengthen democracy over the military. Since the economy is slumping, it could also be marketed as a way to boost the lagging economy with a very small investment. The excesses of the military budget could also be brought to light. It is very important to avoid certain topics such as the role of the Palace and to stress the fact that sovereignty will stay in the hands of Thailand. Conservative media will surely attempt to distort the news in order to show the policy in a bad light. Nationalism should be kept in check by presenting the policy as a way to strengthen national unity through economic integration.

Summary and Conclusions

The violent unrest in the Deep South of Thailand is a top priority issue not only for the Thai government but also for the region. Due to the economic and socio-political externalities of the conflict, inaction is not an appropriate policy option. Furthermore, as explained in this paper, the present approach has not led to a reduction in the violence nor to an economic recovery. Moreover, the post Cold War rise in aspirations for self-determination combined with a renewed unity of the *ummah*, makes it harder to ignore the calls for greater cultural and religious autonomy for the Melayu Patani ethnonationality.

This paper compared and contrasted three broad categories of policy options that have been put forward at one point or another as possible solutions to the unrest in the Deep South of Thailand. Socio-cultural as well as political and economic factors were taken into consideration in the analysis so as to determine which category

would yield the best results. It was determined that only an approach that grants some level of autonomy to the South in addition to promote development would prove to be sustainable.

The Greater Pattani Autonomous Administrative and Economic Region was proposed as a policy framework that applies 'best practices' from the Chinese experiences in Hong Kong and Macau as well as socio-cultural considerations appropriate for the local context. Rather than simply putting forward a proposal for a new administrative structure, the paper delineated some of the possible political obstacles that could be encountered during its implementation as well as several ways in which they could be overcome.

In conclusion, the most appropriate and feasible way to achieve sustainable peace in the Deep South of Thailand is to establish the Greater Pattani Autonomous Administrative and Economic Region and thus grant the area greater self-determination on some issues and at the same time integrate it with the country and the region through greater economic interdependence.

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Forum Südostasien / **Forum South-East Asia**

Community-Based Tourism in Thailand: (Dis-)Illusions of Authenticity and the Necessity for Dynamic Concepts of Culture and Power

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Introduction

> *Touristic consciousness is motivated by its desire for authentic experiences, and the tourist may believe that he is moving in this direction, but often it is very difficult to know for sure if the experience is in fact authentic. (MacCannell, 1999, p. 101)*

Thailand is undoubtedly growing in popularity as a tourist destination and is advertised in multiple tourism brochures and travel guidebooks. Despite its exotic appeal, a large number of tourists decide to experience it from inside all-inclusive hotels and resorts with little contact with the local population. Nonetheless there are a growing number of individual travellers trying to discover the country's treasures off the beaten track, equipped with backpack and camera on the search for 'the untouched'. Research in tourism has shown that tourists increasingly demand 'authentic' experiences (Butcher, 2003, MacCannell, 1999, & Wang, 1999). Still, there is not only a shift in tourist expectations to a closer contact with locals, but also in terms of tourism development and planning (Mowforth & Munt, 2003). Neoliberal politics were at the forefront of an intrusion by multinational companies based in foreign, mostly developed, countries focusing on economic gain with high proportions of leakage and few

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benefits for local people (Potter, Binns, Smith, & Elliott, 2008). The dependency those companies and financing support of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) created is increasingly sought to be reduced in tourism politics and planning. Hence more alternative forms of tourism, such as 'pro-poor', 'sustainable', 'eco-' or 'community-based tourism' (CBT) are central to tourism planning, also because the negative economic, ecological, and socio-cultural impacts of conventional tourism are being realised (Archer, Cooper, & Ruhanen, 2005).

This article explores CBT as an alternative form of tourism in Thailand from a socio-cultural perspective. The intangible nature of cultural repercussions adds to the difficulty in attributing importance, which is why it is felt that not enough attention is being given to culture in tourism planning. A case study of a homestay programme the author participated in depicts both the tourists' desire for authenticity as well as their interaction with hosts. It is thus tried to not only identify socio-cultural impacts but to focus on a more holistic approach, bridging tourist expectations with the situation of hosts and investigating the concept of authenticity and power relations.

Front and Back Regions in the Host-Guest Encounter and CBT

The theoretical basis for this article is provided by the model of 'front' and 'back' regions, explained by MacCannell (1999) who adopts the concept of Goffman (1959). The front is herein made up of what is obviously presented to the tourist, whereas the back is the area of the locals' private lives. However, it has to be considered that "just having a back region generates the belief that there is something more than meets the eye" (MacCannell, 1999, p. 93). It is assumed that the back is the area of the authentic and untouched and is thus especially interesting for tourists as it embodies the 'real' life and not a simple 'show' (MacCannell, 1999). It is an honour to get admitted to the back and intimate zone as tourists "are motivated by a desire to see life as it is really lived, even to get in with the natives, and at the same time, they are . . . always failing to achieve these goals" (MacCannell, 1999, p. 94). He even argues that so-called 'false backs' deceive the tourist by pretending to grant access to the authentic, which in fact is not gained. The quest for authenticity is anchored in modernity, a process making the existence of authenticity in the West seemingly

impossible – mainly through technological progress (Taylor, 2001). This involves a production of self-identity, a motive which is common amongst tourists and which needs 'the other' to reassure one's own identity (Galani-Moutafi, 2000). With the division into 'self' and 'other' the author is referring to Edward Said's (1978) famous book *Orientalism* and post-colonial traces in tourism. Authenticity turns out to be essential for this piece of research as CBT and homestay programmes do involve a close contact with the host and a motivation of the tourist to discover the authentic and untouched.

According to Boonratana (2010) various definitions for CBT exist, however most of them exclude some of the aspects essential for its viability. He goes on and depicts the difficulties in defining CBT: It turns out that not all projects sold under the name of CBT are based on participation and there is a lack of awareness amongst tourists concerning the concept. Almost every type of tourism that is somehow connected to indigenous peoples is sold as community-based in Thailand. Boonratana (2010) finally defines CBT as

> *economically, environmentally, socially, and culturally responsible visitation to local/indigenous communities to enjoy and appreciate their cultural and natural heritage, whose tourism resources, products, and services are developed and managed with their active participation, and whose benefits from tourism, tangible or otherwise, are collectively enjoyed by the communities. (Boonratana, 2010, p. 286)*

In defining CBT, culture also plays an essential role with "host communities retain[ing] a traditional way of life and culture that is of interest to tourists" (Boonratana, 2010, p. 284). It is thus a community asset used for the tourist product, which creates the assumption that cultural authenticity is awaiting the tourist throughout the stay in the community.

Homestay Programme in Ban Talae Nok

Participative observations were undertaken in February 2009 during a three-day homestay programme in Ban Talae Nok – a village situated in Ranong province, which belongs to the area severely affected by the Tsunami in 2004. The author undertook overt unstructured observations, noting any aspect that appeared to be essential for the research. This included activities undertaken by tourists and hosts, their commu-

nication, and above all interactions with each other. The observations are described as objectively as possible in order to avoid personal bias. However, it is still important to keep in mind that the experiences are applicable to those particular days and might differ depending on the participants or other influencing factors. Concerning the homestay, it can generally be defined as

> *room or space within the private homes of community members, offered to guests for a nominal fee, who expects to experience simple rural living or traditional lifestyles, and to interact and have cultural exchanges with the host family, therefore providing a meaningful learning experience for both host and visitors. (Boonratana, 2010, p. 288)*

The CBT project was arranged by the organisation 'Andaman Discoveries' which is based in Phang-Nga province and the neighbouring province of Ranong. The organisation puts an emphasis on empowerment, training, and education, and seeks to actively involve villagers in their projects (Andaman Discoveries, n.d.) rather than seeing them as passive assets. Tourism is supporting the community financially, which gained special importance during the time after the Tsunami. Apparently, as locals were afraid of losing their traditions and culture to tourism, CBT was proposed – a more sustainable form of income that allows the generation of money without sacrificing locals' culture and lifestyle (Andaman Discoveries, n.d.). Nevertheless, it is the Thai culture, traditions, and ways of living that serve as an attraction to tourists (Boonratana, 2010). The exotic obviously appeals to tourists and is used for marketing on their web site (www.andamandiscoveries.com) with phrases such as "discover traditional culture", "interact and engage with people and environment", "experience the real Thailand", and "untouched Thailand". Those slogans attract the authenticity-seeking tourist but might ring the alarm bells of anthropologists. It is questionable if those phrases are true or simply used for marketing purposes luring curious tourists to the area. Most importantly, advertisements, also for alternative forms of tourism, appeal to the tourists' desire to find the authentic they themselves have already lost due to industrialisation and modernity (Taylor, 2001).

In order to gain a better understanding of the homestay in Ban Talae Nok, a description of activities for each of the three days is provided:

- First day: On arrival at the office in Kuraburi tourists received a briefing on the organisation and major issues named in the pre-departure guide. The four

tourists and a translator were brought to Ban Talae Nok where they were shown their room, which was located in one of the houses of the village. This was followed by a tour through the village with the chance to ask questions. In the afternoon they participated in the so-called 'waste management', consisting of picking up garbage with local children. After some free time they had dinner, which was cooked and served by the host family.

- Second day: After breakfast the tourists had the opportunity to try producing typical Thai batik; in the afternoon they participated in mangrove restoration. They went on an excursion in the mangrove forest by longtail boat and planted trees where the Tsunami had caused severe devastation. The Thai massage session that followed offered the participants the opportunity to give massages to locals. For dinner they had a barbecue at the beach with some of the villagers before dressing up in Muslim clothes, which was called "cultural exchange".
- Third day: As the material for soap making was not available, the participants went fishing with some of the villagers. After lunch, the author left the village and went back to the office in Kuraburi for a feedback session.

Discussion of Findings

When it comes to interpreting the observations gained, there are various issues worth mentioning. First of all, the briefing beforehand turned out to be helpful insofar as it supported participants in providing knowledge and understanding of the people they were going to stay with. Also, the programme brought Thai traditions closer to the tourist and can indeed serve as a bridge between locals and tourists, and as a tool for bringing about understanding and respect. Nevertheless, upon a closer look at the interaction between hosts and guests, one gets the impression that not everything turns out to comply with the ideals of a perfectly sustainable homestay. The activities undertaken were often insufficiently explained and the visitors sometimes doubted their purpose. Mangrove restoration was in fact solely practiced by tourists as the villagers have not planted any trees for years (E. Rogers, personal communication, 18 February 2009). Despite the fact that the tourists were staying with Thai families, there was little interaction. This minimal direct contact is (besides language barriers) due to the fact that tourists were having meals on their own with locals

serving them. In the end it seemed to the guests that locals were doing their jobs – an impression, which somehow collides with the expectation of finding 'the authentic'. Each encounter the tourists experienced seemed to be planned and part of an overall schedule. Still, the fact that tourists were part of the locals' everyday life to a certain extent makes it hard to decide whether they actually gained access to the back – the 'real' area – or whether their experiences were part of staged activities – a simple job performed weekly. Cohen (1988) even argues that tourists are being deluded as to the authentic nature of their experiences, which are in fact staged events. If this were true, would this assumption mean anything negative for either the guest or the tourist? It should not be forgotten that the fact of presenting the front and a staged life could even help to keep traditions alive while maintaining privacy for local people (Stanton, 1989).

To understand socio-cultural aspects in tourism and intercultural communication it is crucial to move away from a simplistic 'good versus bad' judgement with its emphasis on the negative effects on 'pristine' cultures. Repercussions of tourism – such as the widely researched *demonstration effect* (that is hosts aspiring to tourists' possessions and wealth), *acculturation* (that is one culture adopting parts of another, mostly more powerful culture) or *commoditisation* (that is culture being used as an economic good for consumption) (Holden, 2006) – should not be doubted. However, what is often overlooked is that culture is not static but dynamic as well as constantly evolving and developing (Burns, 2001). The fact that culture is sought to be preserved and kept 'untouched' (Taylor, 2001; Ivanovic, 2008) furthermore evokes the impression of superiority over 'the savage'. Tourism for development seems to allow advancement, but only to a certain extent to prevent threats to the exotic and keep its appeal for tourists. This view restricts a culture from developing, a concept which is hard to achieve as globalisation and foreign influences might provoke cultural changes as well (van der Duim, Peters, & Wearing, 2005). Hence it would be wrong to criticise restricted access to the 'back'– if at all the division exists. Hosts do probably keep a distinction between work and private life, and are not aware of the existence of terms such as staged authenticity or commoditisation.

This critique does not try to condemn CBT due to its potential intrusion into private space and hegemonic motives of Western tourists wanting to experience 'the other'. It is to be stressed that CBT does bring benefits for communities in less devel-

oped countries (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008). Central to this is involvement and teaching people to be active agents in shaping the tourist product and experience. The usage of local products helps to bring maximal profits to the area, a financial support that was above all needed after the Tsunami in 2004. CBT is indeed a beneficial form of tourism, given it is planned carefully and its implementation complies with the operational definition. Also, it leaves tourists with an extraordinary Thai experience, a precondition for mutual understanding and sensitisation. It even stages activities more subtle than conventional tourism does, which mostly satisfies the authenticity-seeking tourist (Maoz, 2006). Lastly the way CBT is organised can help strengthen culture and traditions through fostering respect (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008).

It would be essential, though, to also consider the viewpoint of the host. Ultimately – from a socio-cultural perspective – it is most important to ensure that people in the areas visited do still feel like human beings and not like part of a human zoo. This is where CBT can make its contribution by ensuring equal meeting grounds for people without a voyeuristic approach by tourists. Probably the most important task is to eliminate feelings of superiority and hegemony with one culture being superior to the other (van der Duim, Peters, & Wearing, 2005). It is necessary to ensure a more equal distribution of power, which is omnipresent on various levels in tourism and constantly changing (cf. Cheong & Miller, 2000, who are investigating power according to Foucault's ideas). This also involves asking who ultimately has the power to decide what is authentic (Taylor, 2001) and having a close look at what participation really means in CBT (Mowforth & Munt, 2003). It has even been found that the usage of culture in tourism by communities has the potential for their empowerment (Cole, 2007).

It is extremely difficult to balance power asymmetries in communication and human encounters due to the nature of tourism *per se*. Tourists as such are trying to escape everyday life (Burns, 1999), to get away from Westernised culture and homogeneity and increasingly look for the exotic and pristine, which is – for them – rarely to be found in the industrialised world. There is a search for meaning and values (Reid, 2003), which in turn connects to the striving for authenticity, leading back to suppression as "the whole notion of authenticity . . . comes to us constructed by hegemonic voices" (Spivak & Gunew, 1993, p. 195). Still, communication can help to return the gaze (Taylor, 2001) and make locals as well as tourists learn from each

other without feelings of suppression or superiority (van der Duim, Peters, & Wearing, 2005). Through examinations of power it is increasingly realised that a 'local gaze' does exist as well and includes staging events as a response to tourists' power (Maoz, 2006).

Conclusion

The intention of this article was to depict the concept of authenticity and cultural preservation in CBT in Thailand. Using the example of a homestay case study in Ban Talae Nok the concept of 'authenticity' and the division into 'self' and 'other' were critically investigated. The basis is formed by tourists' motivation to participate in CBT stemming from the desire to experience the exotic and authentic, which is supposed to be found in the back area of communities. Despite the economic gains CBT brings and the respectful way that tourists deal with hosts, the impression of hegemony in interactions is still existent. There is a division between 'I' and 'the others' and power levels seem to be uneven. Most importantly, tourists should not be disappointed if their experiences are not a hundred percent authentic, as it cannot be assumed that all tourists are accepted and treated as part of the family. Also the language barrier and the tour guide who plays a major role between the two groups will always reduce interaction.

It was also found that the utmost challenge is not necessarily cultural preservation, but a shift to a more symmetric power distribution. Hence staging authenticity and making tourists believe that the front is actually the back region they desperately try to enter might be a justified way to attribute more power to hosts and make the tourist experience a more equal one. CBT does involve power from below (van der Duim, Peters, & Wearing, 2005), which is certainly one step into the right direction. However, it is – in addition to that – necessary to ensure a cultural approach stemming from below as well. It is mostly self-evident in tourism planning to preserve culture and authenticity – as it is also shown by the definition of CBT – although it is not sure that hosts indeed share this viewpoint (Trupp & Trupp, 2009). Hence it is crucial to reinvent the role of culture in tourism planning – a concept that needs to be regarded as dynamic and based on power relations – to make community-based tourism a blessing for hosts and an enriching experience for tourists, even if accompanied by some degree of authentic disillusion.

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Forum Südostasien / Forum South-East Asia

Exhibiting the 'Other' Then and Now: 'Human Zoos' in Southern China and Thailand

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Introduction

From the eighteenth to the early-twentieth century, a form of public exhibition in which the objects of display were 'real people' gained worldwide popularity. These colonial expositions, taking place all around the world, from New York to London, Vienna, Moscow, or Tokyo, were exhibiting 'otherness' by emphasising physical and later politico-economic and socio-cultural differences of the displayed persons who were often 'imported' from overseas colonies. These forms of unequal representation are commonly referred to as 'human zoos' and are "exceptional in combining the functions of exhibition, performance, education and domination" (Blanchard, Bancel, Boetsch, Derdo, & Lemaire, 2008, p. 1). Even though the era of colonial human zoos ended in the 1940s, one can still observe similar developments and power relations in the context of modern 'ethnic tourism' (Cohen, 2001; Picard & Wood 1997; Trupp & Trupp, 2009). In South-East Asia and China, several 'ethnic villages' and 'ethnic theme parks' exist that put on show exotic appearing ethnic minorities to paying domestic and international tourists. While some observers deplore these tourist attractions as

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modern human zoos, others argue that they may help preserving a rare culture and provide a source of income for the displayed ethnic groups (Harding, 2008; Forsyth, 1992). This article gives a short overview of the development of these questionable attractions that were transformed from cabinets of curiosities to colonial exhibitions and ethnic theme parks/villages, and discusses present examples from Thailand and Southern China.[2]

Human Zoos: From the 'Monstrous' to the 'Exotic Other'

In an attempt to define the concept of colonial human zoos, Blanchard (2008) argues:

> *to place a man [sic], with the intention that he should be seen, in a specific reconstructed space, not because of what he 'does' (an artisan, for example), but because of what he 'is' (seen through the prism of a real or imagined difference).* (p. 23)

Human zoos charge admission fees and exhibit humans (not animals) within clear defined boundaries (fences, entrance gates, barriers) that construct a physical and social separation between 'them' and 'us'. In this context the conjoined Siamese twins Chang and Eng were among the first public objects of exhibition in the development of human zoos. In 1824 they were 'discovered' by a Scottish merchant in Samut Songhkram Province in the then Kingdom of Siam (since 1941 Kingdom of Thailand) and were later brought to the United States and Europe where they were exhibited and marketed as a curiosity by the American businessman and entertainer PT Barnum.[3] Displays of 'exceptions' or 'mistakes' of nature are intended to elicit a foolish sense of enjoyment in the viewer, through relatively unfamiliar traits of physical incongruence of the represented (Cohen, 1993, p. 45). Such 'freak shows' or 'cabinets of curiosities' highlighted physical 'abnormality' or 'monstrous' appearance and the displayed persons served as objects of entertainment and pseudo-scientific investigation (cf. Boetsch & Blanchard, 2008). Indeed, the tour of the Siamese twins was sponsored by Professor John Warren of Harvard Medical School (Blanchard et al., 2008, p. 41). Barnum's concept was to stage his 'monsters' in an entertainment area,

2 Politically China is part of East Asia, geographically and ethno-linguistically, however, Southern China can be referred to South-East Asia (cf. Lukas, 1996, p. 16)

3 Chang and Eng managed to terminate their contract with their promoters and started to market themselves. Both of them married, had several children, and proved that conjoined twins and others with physical disabilities can lead 'normal' lives, have jobs, spouses, and families (McHugh, Kiely, & Spitz, 2006, p. 899).

while simultaneously offering a program of 'scientific' lectures, magical tricks, and other performances (Blanchard et al., 2008, p. 5).

By the mid-nineteenth century, the status of the exhibited had changed from monstrous to exotic. The display of 'living ethnological exhibits' in the context of world fairs and other exhibitions had the purpose of demonstrating the power of the West over its colonies and dominated regions and the "achievements of the colonial 'civilizing mission'" (Blanchard et al., 2008, p. 17). The argument that empires brought technological and socio-economic advancements to their colonies should also be reflected in the exhibition of 'tamed' or 'noble savages'. Many expositions of that time put emphasis on the aesthetic or eroticised bodies on display, on the nature of cultural artefacts or the physical skills of the persons on show. For Saloni Mathur (2000), the phenomenon of 'living ethnological exhibits' represent "perhaps the most objectionable genre in the history of anthropology's signifying practices" (p. 492). Since the late nineteenth century, however, contracts between organisers and performers became more common, but economic benefits were still shared unequally, disadvantaging the performers (Blanchard et al., 2008, p. 14). In Europe, Carl Hagenbeck (1844-1913) launched his successful 'peoples shows' (*Völkerschauen*) of Lapps (Sami), Nubians, Maasai, Samoans, and other groups in the 1870s under the title of 'anthropozoological exhibitions' (Thode-Arora, 2008), and also in North America and Japan, human zoos became a popular feature of an infotainment industry. This emerging taste for remote places, exoticism, and eroticism, and the representation of 'otherness' was (and still is) linked to the popularisation of travelogues and explorer's reports from imperial lands (Hall & Tucker, 2004, p. 9; Obrecht, 2009). The success story of such exhibitions at that time is also reflected in (1) the impressive sale of postcards of the exhibited people at the shows, (2) the large number of articles in national and local newspapers about such events, and (3) the constantly high number of visitors attending the venues (Blanchard et al., 2008, p. 12). This boom lasted until the 1930s when the appearance of human zoos, especially in the context of world fairs, started to decline. Reasons for this decreasing interest in such shows and exhibitions include the shrinking power of colonial empires, a more critical public awareness, and the emergence of a new medium of entertainment: television. However, aspects of this phenomenon have continued to exist until the twenty-first century. Contemporary forms of representing the 'living other' can be found in documentaries, live perform-

ances, and especially in the field of the tourism industry. Throughout South-East Asia, we can find ethnic villages and ethnic theme parks that continue the tradition of human zoos and world fairs where the main objects on display (and of interest) are real people (cf. Bruner, 2004).

Exhibiting 'Living Otherness' Today

Similar to their predecessors, modern forms of human zoos charge admission fees, have entrance gates, clear defined boundaries, and exhibit 'living otherness'. Visitors are both domestic and international tourists. Ethnic theme parks or villages can be seen as part of the phenomenon of ethnic tourism, which is defined as a type of travel aimed at visiting 'alien' and 'aboriginal' cultures that posits the local inhabitants and their cultural practices as the main objects of interest. Tourists visit these attractions in order to consume seemingly exotic traditions in form of an entertaining experience. Whereas 'classical' ethnic tourism leads to rather remote areas such as forests, mountains, islands, or deserts, these tourism attractions (ethnic villages, theme parks) are mainly situated in or close to major urban areas.

While exhibitions in the Western colonial context often imported people from the colonies for their shows, nations with modern theme parks or ethnic villages recruit and employ their own citizens (Bruner, 2004, p. 212). In the context of South-East Asia, the attractions are mostly minority groups who "do not fully belong, culturally, socially, or politically to the majority (national) population of the state within whose boundaries they live" (Cohen, 2001, pp. 27-28). In the case of the 'Long-Neck-Kayan' villages in Thailand, some exhibited villagers do not even have Thai citizenship. These tourist sites (like the former colonial exhibitions) have leisure-recreational and political functions. According to Bruner (2004) who studied modern ethnic theme parks in Indonesia, China, and Kenya, these attractions are created, owned, and operated by the national government and are thus seen as vehicles for nation-building (p. 212). They foster the incorporation of different ethnicities into one mainstream-dominated but also internally diverse majority population (cf. Hitchcock & Stanley, 2010, p. 74).

Ethnic Theme Parks in Southern China

This pattern especially holds true for China where several minority parks have been constructed since the post-Mao period. China officially recognises 56 nationalities (*minzu*[4]) (including the Han majority population[5]) and claims that the central government is granting minorities a certain degree of autonomy (McCaskill, Leepreecha, & Shaoying, 2008). This autonomy varies from region to region: ethnic groups in the Southwest (Yunnan) have attained more freedom to act than the tightly controlled regions in Xinjiang, Tibet, or Inner Mongolia (Yang, Wall, & Smith, 2006, p. 753). In the context of ethnic theme parks, however, China represents stereotyped images of one

The entrance poster next to Shenzhen's ethnic theme park symbolises one big happy (multi-)national family. Note that 9 out of 12 represented persons are female.

4 According to Oakes (1997) *Minzu* may be translated as either 'nationality' or 'ethnic group' but has no equivalent in English (p. 67).

5 The Han constitute 92 percent of the population (Bruner, 2004, p. 213)

smiling and happy (multi-)national family. It is paradox, according to Bruner (2004), that these ethnic theme parks "display difference yet promote unity" (p. 212). It is also reported that some minority culture performers in the theme parks are actually Han: "Thus the Chinese Han tourists are, in effect, consuming themselves and, at the same time, their own romanticized image of minority peoples" (Bruner, 2004, p. 214). Another aspect that shows similarities between colonial and present representations is the image of the 'feminised exotic other'. Many of the ethnic houses feature attractive minority women symbolising the natural, the traditional, and the erotically titillating (Schein, 2000, p. 127).

The theme park *China Folk Culture Villages*[6] is situated within the Special Economic Zone in Shenzhen and contains an area of 22 hectares, hosting 24 villages and 22 minority nationalities. Visitors purchasing a ticket for 120 Yuan[7] can enjoy different village shows including such diverse groups as the Tibetan, Uygur, Miao, or Dong. Symbolically, the park officially opened on 1 October 1991 – China's National Day (Oakes, 1997, p. 42). According to the park's tourism brochure, 50 million visitors from all over the world including "national leaders, officials, foreigners, VIPs and big names" have visited the park. The vast majority of the visitors come from mainland and urban China "in need of the 'calming certainty' of folk tradition" (Oakes, 1997, p. 42).

Ethnic Villages in Thailand

In twenty-first century Thailand, ethnic villages are exhibiting Kayan[8] refugees from Myanmar. Due to the brass rings Kayan females wear around their neck, they have become a major tourist attraction for paying domestic and international visitors. In his autobiographic writing *From the Land of Green Ghosts: A Burmese Odyssey*, the Burmese author Pascal Khoo Thwe from the minority of Kayan people recalls when in 1936 a white man invited two of the grandmothers and some of their friends who wore neck-rings to come to England. "They were to be taken around Europe by a circus called Bertram Mills and exhibited as freaks" (Khoo Thwe, 2002, p. 28). This

6 Adjacent to the *Folk Culture Villages* lays *Splendid China*, another theme park that comprises over 30 hectares of miniaturised national landmarks (cf. Oakes, 1997, p. 41).

7 During the time of writing 120 Yuan is equivalent to 13 Euros.

8 The term *Kayan* is an endonym, the name the ethnic group uses for self-description. The lowland Burmese call them *Padaung* and the Thai *Kariang Koo Yau* (Long-Neck Karen), a term that is also popular in the context of tourism promotion.

continuing practice in Thailand prompts some observers to criticise these ethnic villages as human zoos ("Critics decry", 1998; Harding, 2008).

In order to escape from Myanmar's military dictatorship, the Kayan refugees crossed the border to Thailand in the 1980s, a time when Thailand's Mae Hong Son (MHS) province opened its doors to tourism (Ismail, 2008, p. 4).[9] The exotic appearance of Kayan women was at that time rather unknown and so the Kayan became the symbol of ethnic tourism in MHS, heavily promoted by external actors such as the provincial tourism administration and private agencies. One of the most popular Kayan villages, Huay Pu Keng,[10] is inhabited by 122 Kayan people and receives over 32,000 tourists per year (Lacher & Nepal, 2010, p. 85). Grundy-Warr (2004) argues

'Long-neck Karen' village in Sattahip, close to the beach- and sex-tourism centre of Pattaya, Thailand

9 For a general background on the interplay of politics and tourism in Myanmar, see Henderson (2003).

10 Huay Pu Keng village was founded in the 1990s as a way to make money for the Thai residents living in the area and the Myanmar-based KNPP (Karenni National Progressive Party) which seeks their own political independence from the central government of Myanmar (Lacher & Nepal, 2010, p. 85).

that the touristic villages of the 'Long-Neck-Kayan' are "deliberately located at some distance from the main refugee camp populations, who mostly remain hidden from the tourist gaze" (p. 250). While minorities in the refugee camps are not allowed to leave the camp, 'Long-neck-Kayan' are permitted to move within their district or within MHS province, depending on their identity card status (Ismail, 2008, pp. 55-57). Most of them, however, do not obtain Thai citizenship and are therefore not allowed to leave MHS province or to accept other formal jobs. This situation reveals the government's contradictory policy on citizenship and tourism. In spite of the fact that the 'Long-Neck-Kayan' are recent illegal immigrants in Thailand, the government ignores their status and takes advantage of them by actively promoting them for tourism purposes (Evrard & Leepreecha, 2009, p. 250). While most of the Kayan engaged in tourism live in MHS as well as in staged ethnic villages in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai province, some Kayan villagers were recently moved to Sattahip, close to the famous beach- and sex-tourism hotspot Pattaya (cf. Trupp, 2009, p. 103). When private tourism operators sought to relocate the Kayan people from one province to another, local government officials were quick to point to their illegal status and threatened them with prison or deportation (Leepreecha, 2008, p. 232).

Compared to their situation in Myanmar, where they fear the violence of the Myanmar military and other paramilitary units, the Kayan people might agree that life in Thailand is better, but this often just means that "their existence is more peaceful and not that they are necessarily materially better off" (Ismail, 2008, p. 57). The main sources of income for villagers are the selling of souvenirs and the entrance fees. Concerning admission charges, the Kayan in Thailand's ethnic villages are economically dependent on international tourists, as Thai tourists (in MHS province) do not need to pay entrance fees. Admission fees, however, have to be shared with Thai residents as the Kayan with their insecure political status are also dependent on the benevolence of the mainstream society. "If the Kayan were not in an uncertain political position they would have been able to keep even more of the entrance fees" (Lacher & Nepal, 2010, p. 92). In the years 2006-2008 a severe conflict between some Kayan women and the Thai authorities emerged as New Zealand offered them asylum, but the Thai authorities did not let the women leave. An MHS deputy district officer argued that "the Kayans [*sic*] are in fact registered as a Thai hill tribe and so do not have the right to seek asylum" (Ismail, 2008, p. 58). The UNHCR criticised the

'Long-Neck-Kayan' villages as human zoos and called for a tourism boycott (Harding, 2008). The accusation was that the women were not allowed to leave Thailand because of the central role they played in tourism. After months of struggling, the Kayan women (who even took off their brass rings as a form of protest) were finally granted permission to leave for New Zealand in August 2008 (Zember, 2008).

Kayan ethnic tourism has certainly played an important role in preserving the 'long-neck' tradition and in providing a basic income for the refugees (Ismail, 2008, p. 54). Despite the fact that only those women who wear the rings receive an income, several women decided not to wear them anymore as they prefer to dress in a 'modern' or Western style. Other Kayan women refused wearing the rings because they are upset about being portrayed as exhibits in a human zoo. Economic needs, however, often lead Kayan women to put their neck rings back on again (Ismail, 2008, p. 59). The influx of tourism may keep the custom alive, yet economic dependency and political concerns remain unsolved.

Conclusion

Even though the colonial forms of display, where people were exhibited in cages or frankly advertised as 'freaks', have disappeared, the staging and the external representation of the 'other' have continued. Also, certain features of the former human zoo, such as entrance fees, clearly defined boundaries, and commercial exploitation, for example through postcards or tourism brochures, have persisted. While in Southern China ethnic theme parks are mainly managed and represented by government agencies, Thailand's ethnic villages are in the hands of private business people and the provincial tourism administrations. In both of the cases examined above, economic and political inequalities between the exhibited persons and external agents of the tourism industry prevail, often leading to the accusation of internal colonialism (Bruner, 2004, p. 216). Blanchard et al. (2008), referring to colonial exhibitions, note that it is difficult from today's perspective to uncover the opinions, interests, and motivations of the groups involved, be they the visitors, promoters, or the persons on display. As this article has shown, the phenomenon of consuming the 'other' in exchange for money is still a relevant one and therefore it is necessary to further study these contemporary forms of representation including underlying power relations between the relevant actors.

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Forschungswerkstatt / Research Workshop

Lieber Bhutan als Bali? Perspektiven nachhaltiger Tourismusentwicklung in Timor-Leste

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Als einer der jüngsten Staaten der Erde versucht Timor-Leste (Osttimor) sich auf der touristischen Landkarte Südostasiens zu positionieren und möchte dabei den Weg einer nachhaltigen touristischen Erschließung und Entwicklung beschreiten. Das hier präsentierte Forschungsvorhaben hat zum Ziel, die Perspektiven einer nachhaltigen Tourismusentwicklung in Timor-Leste zu beleuchten. Erste Zwischenergebnisse zeigen, dass viele touristische Unternehmen zumindest teilweise über ein „Nachhaltigkeitsbewusstsein" verfügen, wobei nur in seltenen Fällen auch tatsächlich ökologisch nachhaltig gewirtschaftet wird. Weiterhin offenbaren sich erhebliche Mängel auf institutioneller und planerischer Ebene: Es besteht nahezu keine Kooperation zwischen touristischen Betrieben, engagierten NGOs und der Regierung. Dies wird insbesondere im Falle des massiven „Expat-Tourismus" deutlich, da mit dem Abzug der Vereinten Nationen (UN) und NGOs auch der entstehende Tourismussektor zusammenzubrechen droht, weshalb dringend zukunftsweisende Strategien und Konzepte diskutiert werden müssten.

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Timor-Leste: Eines der neuen „Urlaubsparadiese"?

In den letzten Jahren weisen vermehrt Artikel in deutschsprachigen und internationalen Zeitungen, Magazinen und Online-Portalen[2] auf die Schönheiten des bis 2002 im Kriegszustand befindlichen Timor-Leste hin: Es sei ein echter „Geheimtipp", wie beispielsweise *Welt Online* schreibt:

> *Das Land war erst eine portugiesische Kolonie und dann indonesisches Besatzungsgebiet. Der Widerstandskampf machte den Zipfel Land . . . zur ‚No-Go-Gegend'. Das Ergebnis: Die Landschaft ist nicht durch Rohstoffausbeutung verschandelt, die kilometerlangen Sandstrände nicht mit Hotels zugepflastert, die Korallenriffe nicht durch kommerzielle Fischereimethoden mit Dynamit zerstört. („Was wissen Sie", 2008)*

Auch die osttimoresische Regierung ist sich der touristischen Potentiale ihres Landes bewusst. In ihrem politischen Leitwerk, dem *Plano Estratégico de Desenvolvimento*, benennt sie die zentralen Ziele wirtschaftlicher, gesellschaftlicher und politischer Entwicklung bis zum Jahre 2030. Dem Tourismussektor wird dabei eine hohe Bedeutung beigemessen: 2030 soll er den wichtigsten Wirtschaftszweig neben der Öl- und Gasindustrie darstellen und als „Jobmotor" dienen (vgl. Governo de Timor-Leste, 2010). Trotz dieser ehrgeizigen Ziele betont das *Nationale Direktorat für Tourismus*[3], sich lieber an „Bhutan als Bali" (Blinda, 2006) und dementsprechend am Leitbild einer nachhaltigen touristischen Erschließung und Entwicklung zu orientieren.

Die touristische Entwicklung steht zwar weit oben auf der politischen Agenda, kann aufgrund der vielschichtigen Probleme des jungen Staates derzeit jedoch nicht oder nur bedingt umgesetzt werden: Auch nach der hart erkämpften Unabhängigkeit von Indonesien ist das Land politisch instabil. Massiven innenpolitischen Unruhen 2006 und 2007 folgten 2008 versuchte Mordanschläge auf Präsident Ramos-Horta und Premierminister Gusmão.[4] Darüber hinaus bestehen nach wie vor elementare Probleme in der Grundversorgung der Menschen mit Nahrungsmitteln und Trinkwasser, insbesondere im ländlichen Raum abseits der Hauptstadt Dili. Die Arbeitslosigkeit, vor allem die der jungen SchulabgängerInnen, ist hoch – Schätzungen gehen

2 Zum jetzigen Zeitpunkt existieren nur wenige wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen zum Tourismus in Timor-Leste, insbesondere Rocha (2007) sowie Cabasset-Semedo (2009), Friese (2006) und Malta (2003).

3 *Direcção Nacional do Turismo*; dem *Ministério do Turismo, Comércio e Indústria* untergeordnet.

4 Zu den politischen Unruhen von 2006 vgl. Schmitz (2006); zu den Attentaten auf Präsident Ramos-Horta und Premierminister Gusmão von 2008 vgl. Borgerhoff (2008).

von einer Arbeitslosenquote von rund 40 Prozent in Dili und Umgebung aus (vgl. CIA World Factbook, 2011). Ohne die Initiativen und Unterstützung der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit wäre der Staat nicht handlungs- und überlebensfähig.[5]

In Anbetracht dieser Herausforderungen ist das Budget, das dem Direktorat als zentralem staatlichen Akteur im Tourismus zur Verfügung steht, äußerst gering. So belief es sich für das Jahr 2009 auf rund 900.000 USD (Governo de Timor-Leste, 2008). Der Hauptanteil des Budgets wird für die Vermarktung von Timor-Leste auf internationalen Reisemessen, beispielsweise der *ITB* und dem *PATA Travel Mart*[6], verwendet.

Ein Post-Konflikt-Staat mit enormen touristischen Potentialen: Eine Chance im Sinne der Nachhaltigkeit

Trotz der vielen anderen politischen Probleme und Herausforderungen sollte die touristische Planung und Entwicklung seitens der staatlichen Institutionen, in Kooperation mit touristischen Dienstleistungsunternehmen und aktiven NGOs vor Ort, bereits jetzt erfolgen. Die besondere Ausgangssituation als touristisch de facto unerschlossener Post-Konflikt-Staat muss hier als Chance im Sinne einer vielfach postulierten nachhaltigen Entwicklung im Tourismus begriffen werden: Während in anderen Destinationen die Aufgabe zumeist darin besteht, die vielseitigen negativen Auswirkungen unkontrollierter touristischer Expansion ex post mittels verschiedenster „Nachhaltigkeitsinitiativen" einzudämmen, besteht für Timor-Leste die Chance, solche negativen Folgen von vornherein durch eine kontrollierte, angepasste und nachhaltige Entwicklung des Tourismussektors zu vermeiden.

Forschungsfrage und Forschungsdesign

Ziel der hier präsentierten Diplomarbeitsforschung ist eine umfassende Evaluierung der Perspektiven nachhaltiger Tourismusentwicklung in Timor-Leste.

Nachhaltigkeit ist dabei in zweierlei Aspekte zu differenzieren: Zum einen bedarf es *Nachhaltigkeit auf institutioneller, planerischer Ebene*, d.h. langfristige Kooperation

5 Einen guten Überblick über aktuelle Herausforderungen und das Engagement der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit bieten verschiedene Artikel in Borgerhoff & Schmitz (2008).

6 *ITB - Internationale Tourismusbörse*, jährlich in Berlin; *PATA (Pacific Asia Tourism Association) Travel Mart*, jährlich an verschiedenen Standorten in Südostasien.

und Partizipation aller touristisch relevanten AkteurInnen (vgl. Baumgartner, 2006, S. 140-147; Hein, 2006, S. 140-141). Zum anderen muss es das Ziel sein, *Ausmaß und Gestalt* des Tourismus gemäß des Leitbildes der Nachhaltigkeit zu entwickeln, um negative Folgen unkontrollierter touristischer Erschließung wie Umweltverschmutzung, wirtschaftliche Ausbeutung der lokalen Bevölkerung oder Akkulturation zu verhindern (vgl. Aderhold, Kösterke, von Laßberg, & Vielhaber, 2006, S. 25-46). Dafür wird vor allem ein hohes Maß an *Nachhaltigkeitsbewusstsein* seitens der touristischen Dienstleistungsunternehmen benötigt, ganz gleich, ob es sich um lokale oder ausländische InvestorInnen handelt.

Aus dem Spannungsfeld *Tourismus – Entwicklung – Nachhaltigkeit* lassen sich spezielle Herausforderungen und Zielkonflikte für eine nachhaltige Tourismusentwicklung ableiten[7], die in dieser Arbeit analysiert werden, unter anderem:

- Ausländische Investitionen vs. Schutz und Entwicklung lokaler AnbieterInnenstrukturen
- Staatliche Leitlinien/Strategie *(top-down*) vs. Partizipation und Kooperation (*bottom-up*)
- Vermittlung eines *Nachhaltigkeitsbewusstseins*
- *Dark-Tourism*-Potentiale nutzbar machen (positiver Umgang mit der Geschichte)[8]

Um zu analysieren, wie derzeit mit diesen Herausforderungen und Zielkonflikten umgegangen wird, wurden mit Personen aller relevanten Akteursgruppen des sich entwickelnden Tourismussektors persönliche Interviews durchgeführt (ExpertInneninterviews), die je nach Rolle der AkteurInnen innerhalb der touristischen Wertschöpfungskette durch einige quantitative Fragen, wie etwa des geschätzten prozentualen Anteils von Gästen der UN und NGOs, ergänzt wurden. Insgesamt wurden 31 Gespräche mit Personen folgender Akteursgruppen geführt:

- Staatliche Institutionen (Ministerium, Tourismusdirektion, Eventbüro des Staatspräsidenten)
- Im Tourismus engagierte NGOs und Organisationen der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit (lokale wie *Haburas* oder *Roman Luan* und internationale wie die

7 Für allgemeine Literatur zu diesem Themenkomplex vgl. insbesondere Aderhold et al. (2006), Baumgartner (2008) und Beyer (2002).

8 Unter Zielen des *Dark-Tourism* sind Orte des Schreckens und der Trauer zu verstehen, die sich zu touristischen Zwecken nutzen und entsprechend vermarkten lassen (vgl. Steinecke, 2010, S. 109-123).

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit oder *Development Alternatives Inc.*)

- Internationale Organisationen (z.B. *UNWTO*, *PATA*)
- AnbieterInnen touristischer Dienstleistungen (Hoteliers, TourenanbieterInnen, Transportunternehmen etc.)[9]

Dazu wurden sechs weitere internationale ExpertInnen zu Rate gezogen, beispielsweise ReisebuchautorInnen und ehemalige TourismusberaterInnen der osttimoresischen Regierung, die sehr persönliche, „externe" Sichtweisen auf die Entwicklungen der letzten Jahre offenbarten.

Zwischenergebnisse

Bisher wurden zwei zentrale Hemmnisse der touristischen Entwicklung Timor-Lestes identifiziert: Zum einen ist dies die mangelhafte (Verkehrs-)Infrastruktur, die das Reisen außerhalb der Hauptstadt Dili während der Regenzeit mühsam bis teilweise unmöglich macht. Auch die Anreise nach Dili gestaltet sich schwierig, da lediglich Flugverbindungen mit Darwin (Australien), Singapur und Denpasar (Bali/Indonesien) bestehen und die Flugpreise aufgrund des fehlenden Konkurrenzkampfes deutlich höher sind als im restlichen Südostasien. Zum anderen ist die mangelnde Investitionsbereitschaft seitens aktueller und potentieller lokaler UnternehmerInnen aufgrund der nach wie vor angespannten Sicherheitslage zu nennen.

Die Gespräche haben gezeigt, dass viele AnbieterInnen touristischer Dienstleistungen (Hotels, Restaurants, Reiseagenturen) der Meinung sind, dass von einer Entwicklung des Tourismussektors in erster Linie die lokale Bevölkerung wirtschaftlich profitieren sollte, und der Markt somit weiterhin vor hohen ausländischen Investitionen zu schützen sei. Viele streben eher eine langsame, stetige Entwicklung des Tourismussektors an, die von lokalen Unternehmen getragen werden soll. Es wird jedoch stark bemängelt, dass es seitens der Regierung keine Maßnahmen oder Programme gibt, die eine lokale Unternehmenstätigkeit fördern. Ebenso wird befürchtet, dass die Regierung nicht die Geduld haben wird, den Tourismus entsprechend des postulierten Leitbilds zu entwickeln. Zu groß erscheint der Druck, Arbeitsplätze für die stetig

9 Die Mehrzahl der Betriebe liegt aufgrund strenger Investitionsbedingungen für ausländische InvestorInnen in osttimoresischer Hand. Kleinere ausländische Unternehmen entstanden vor allem zur Zeit der UN-Übergangsregierung von 1999 bis 2002 (*UNTAET - United Nations Transitional Administration for East Timor*).

wachsende Zahl an jungen SchulabgängerInnen zu schaffen.

Offensichtlich ist ein fehlendes ökologisches Bewusstsein der AnbieterInnen: So verfügen beispielsweise nur etwa 10 Prozent der besuchten Beherbergungsbetriebe über ein organisiertes Abfall- und Abwassermanagement. Die im Tourismus engagierten Organisationen versuchen, die Wichtigkeit ökologischen Wirtschaftens zu vermitteln, jedoch gestaltet sich dieser Prozess schwierig. Auf institutioneller, planerischer Ebene zeigen sich erhebliche Mängel in Bezug auf Kommunikation und Partizipation. Es besteht nahezu kein Austausch zwischen touristischen DienstleisterInnen und der Regierung. Dies ist auch auf die Tatsache zurückzuführen, dass es keine intakte gemeinsame Interessensvertretung der touristischen DienstleisterInnen mehr gibt: Mit dem Rückzug treibender Kräfte aus der *A.T.T.L.*[10] fanden auch ihre Aktivitäten – darunter immerhin ein gelegentlicher Austausch mit Direktorat und Ministerium – ein Ende. Auch die NGOs werden seitens der Regierung kaum zu Rate gezogen. Insgesamt erscheint so das von der Regierung bemühte Postulat „lieber Bhutan als Bali" mehr als Notlösung denn als wahre Strategie. Der junge Staat versucht sich derzeit als „Nischendestination" auf der touristischen Landkarte Südostasiens zu positionieren. Aber: Trotz aller Kritik sind an dieser Stelle auch die Budgetrestriktionen des Tourismusdirektorats zu berücksichtigen. Soll sich der Tourismus in naher Zukunft zu einem der wichtigsten Wirtschaftszweige des Landes entwickeln, müssen die finanziellen Mittel deutlich erhöht werden.

Ein massives Problem könnte der *Expat-Tourismus* darstellen: Nahezu 90 Prozent der NutzerInnen touristischer Dienstleistungen sind MitarbeiterInnen von in Timor-Leste tätigen internationalen NGOs und den Vereinten Nationen, oder zumindest Angehörige dieser Angestellten. So steht zu befürchten, dass mit dem Abzug der *UNMIT*[11] und dem sukzessiven Rückzug von internationalen NGOs auch der sich langsam entwickelnde Tourismussektor wieder in sich zusammenbrechen wird. Die touristischen AnbieterInnen scheuen diese düsteren Aussichten und hoffen kurzfristig vor allem auf eine Verlängerung des UNMIT-Mandats[12]. Auch die Regierung scheint sich mit dieser Problematik bis dato kaum auseinandergesetzt zu haben. Sie verfolgt ebenfalls eine „Strategie des Verdrängens", anstatt in Kooperation zu versuchen, Strategien

10 *Associação de Turismo de Timor-Leste*

11 *United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste*; aktuelle UN-Mission in Timor-Leste (seit den Unruhen von 2006; *UN-Resolution 1704*). Die derzeitige Einsatzstärke umfasst ca. 3.000 Personen.

12 Das aktuelle Mandat läuft bis zum 26. Februar 2012.

und Konzepte für die Zukunft des Tourismus in Timor-Leste zu entwickeln.

Ein kurzes Zwischenfazit zu den Perspektiven einer nachhaltigen Tourismusentwicklung in Timor-Leste kann zum jetzigen Zeitpunkt nur lauten: enormes Potential, gleichzeitig aber enorme Schwächen auf institutioneller Ebene – und aufgrund des Expat-Tourismus ist ein baldiger Einbruch des noch jungen Tourismussektors zu befürchten.

Endergebnisse

Die abgeschlossene Diplomarbeit wird im letzten Quartal 2011 auf der Homepage der Deutschen Osttimor Gesellschaft (DOTG e.V.) unter http://www.osttimor.de zum Download bereitgestellt.

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Forschungswerkstatt / Research Workshop

CLASDISA – Classifications of Disabilities in the Field of Education in Different Societal and Cultural Contexts: Insights Into the Current State of Research

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The research project *Classifications of Disabilities in the Field of Education* (*CLASDISA*) investigates which environmental factors facilitate or restrict activity and participation of 8- to 12-year-old children with disabilities[4] in the field of education in different societal and cultural contexts. The following report about this international research project provides insights into the research design, the first phase of field research, and the projects' current progress with an emphasis on research activities in Thailand. Given that previous research pertaining to education and disability in Thailand has been rather unsystematic and fragmentary, particularly qualitative research (Cheausuwantavee, Nookaew, & Cheausuwantavee, 2010), this study aims

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4 Deviations due to severe disabilities or late schooling of children might occur within the sample.

to identify and describe factors that are influencing children with disabilities in Thailand's capital more thoroughly.

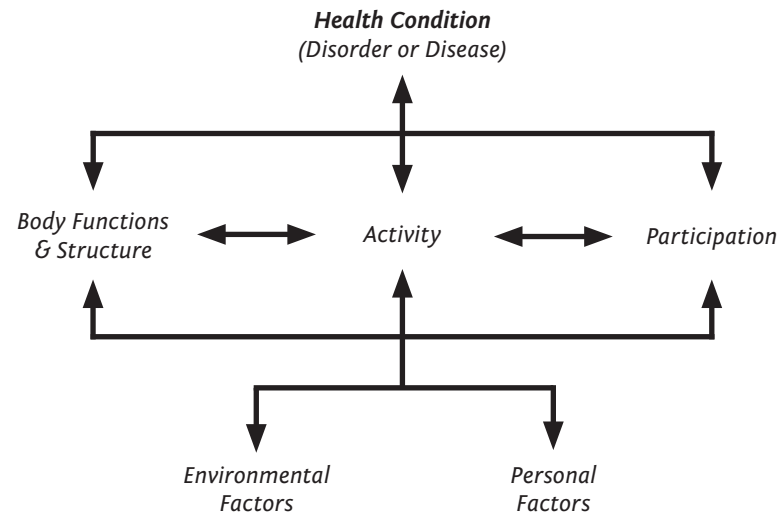
Background of the Project and Research Focus

How disability is conceptualised and defined differs over time and varies in different societal and cultural contexts. Classifications and their underlying models of disability have implications for professional practice and support systems, and determine political decision-making processes, legislation, and policies. Underlying assumptions about what constitutes a disability have important consequences in the field of education.

> *Thus, the daily lives of people with disabilities, if and how they are educated, if and where they work, and their social and familial life, in large part are determined by models of disability. Perhaps, most important, models of disability exert a powerful influence on the public perception of disability and the public's response to people with disabilities. (Smart, 2009, p. 3)*

The *International Classification of Functioning Disability and Health* (*ICF*) is based on a biopsychosocial model of disability. Thus, disability is not just regarded as a medical condition of the individual in need of treatment and rehabilitation, but also as a social phenomenon. Contextual factors, such as the physical environment and attitudes towards people with a disability, play an important role. This is illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Framework of the ICF



Source: WHO, 2001, p.16

Based on the *International Classification of Functioning Disability and Health, Children and Youth Version* (*ICF-*

CY), which was released by the *World Health Organization* (*WHO*) in 2007, the *CLASDISA* researchers address barriers and facilitators for activity and participation of children with disabilities at schools in the capitals of Austria, Ethiopia, and Thailand.

The rationale for choosing the different countries is based on their varied cultural and societal contexts (different religions, values, beliefs, and institutional and structural factors) as well as varied economic and developmental backgrounds (according to the *Human Development Index*). The decision to select these three countries was also based on already existing contacts to respective Special Needs Departments and the prospect of efficient cooperation.

Following two years of preparation, the research proposal for the project was rated as excellent in the course of the *Austrian Science Fund*'s (*FWF*, project number P22178) review process, which in turn led to three years of financial funding. The research project started in February 2010 and will end in January 2013.

A team of three researchers from the University of Vienna conducted the first phase of field research. Each focused on one of the capital cities and was supported by research assistants in Thailand and in Ethiopia. Besides cooperation with local scientific teams from the Department of Special Education at Srinakharinwirot University in Bangkok and from the Department of Special Needs Education at the University of Addis Ababa, two experts in the field of special needs education, Lani Florian from the University of Aberdeen and Judith Hollenweger from the School of Education at the Zurich University of Applied Sciences, support the research process. Research workshops will be held after each phase of field research involving all researchers associated with the project.

Methodological Framework

The empirical data for this study will be collected in the course of two phases of field research, lasting three months each, and undertaken simultaneously in the three capitals: Bangkok, Addis Ababa, and Vienna. Data collection is supposed to result in a sample of 16 'cases', each case consisting of one child, one parent/legal guardian/(primary) caretaker and one teacher. The children's disabilities must be allocated to one of the following disability categories:

1. Visual disability
2. Auditive disability
3. Physical disability
4. Intellectual disability

By using a mixed-methods approach (Creswell & Clark, 2007), qualitative research based on grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) is complemented by data gained quantitatively (i.e. questionnaires for parents and teachers). The development of research instruments draws on the *ICF-CY*'s chapter on environmental factors. The *ICF-CY* is a coding instrument that is supposed to be universally applicable, a claim that is at times challenged by researchers (Üstün et al., 2001).

> *The unit of classification is, therefore, categories within health and health-related domains. It is important to note, therefore, that in ICF persons are not the units of classification; that is ICF does not classify people, but describes the situation of each person within an array of health and or health-related domains. (WHO, 2007, p. 8)*

Several authors have stressed the relevance of the *ICF-CY* regarding classifications of disability (Florian & McLaughlin, 2008). Based on the *ICF-CY* and assumptions about what affects activity and participation, the researchers developed interview and observation guidelines as well as questionnaires for the first phase of field research. Through interviewing children, teachers, and parents, the researchers aim to gain insight into micro-, meso-, and macro-systems affecting children with disabilities in terms of their educational biographies, including the societal and cultural conditions they are confronted with.

Furthermore, the project includes three innovative aspects. First, the research project investigates relations between society, culture, disability, and education. Second, it is applying the *ICF-CY* in the field of education, including a critical examination of this classification system. Finally, during the research process, adequate research methods are developed through international scientific cooperation in the field of special needs education. The latter includes the development of adapted methods for interviewing children with disabilities.

Aside from interim and final project reports, the research is intended to result in four doctoral theses, three focusing on the individual countries, as well as one in

which quantitative results are to be summarised and compared.

Current Localisation

Figure 2: Methodological Framework - 3 Phases of Research

Source: Authors

The development of instruments for qualitative and quantitative data collection was complicated by the language diversity in each of the societal and school contexts. Questions regarding quality assurance arose while the intended research instruments initially had to be translated from German into three other languages (English, Thai, Amharic). The research team in Vienna developed instruments in German and translated them, with support of a native speaker, into English. The research teams in Thailand and Ethiopia translated the questionnaires, interview guidelines, and informational materials from English into Thai and Amharic. This step was followed by retranslation (from Thai and Amharic into English) by professionals in order to ensure quality and consistency (van de Vijver & Hambleton, 1996). Overall, these linguistic issues pose substantial challenges for the development of research instruments and research implementation as well as for the process of data analysis.

After the *pre-testing phase*, the *first phase of field research* took place in Thailand, in Ethiopia, and in Austria. Currently, qualitative interviews are being translated and qualitative data from the three countries are being prepared for computer-based analysis. The processing of quantitative data, which was collected during the *first phase of field research*, is nearly completed. In addition, a methodological framework as well as research instruments for the *second phase of field research* are being developed.

Reflections on Research in Bangkok

The research team in Thailand established initial contacts with schools and organisations during a visit to Bangkok in June and July 2010. In Bangkok, almost all of the targeted schools and institutions offered support and showed interest in the research and its findings, even though the framework of the study, to many of the experts and parents involved, appeared highly complex. Only two institutions postponed or denied cooperation. Overall, 92 interviews were conducted and 124 questionnaires were collected at 15 institutions during the first phase of field research between November 2010 and January 2011. The local partners' support in regard to interviewing, translating, and organisational tasks was very helpful.

Researchers observed a tendency that teachers expected them to interview either the least disabled or best students in their classrooms. The relevance of targeting a wide variety of children including those with severe disabilities had to be explained several times. Interviewing children with a wide range of disabilities and filling in a complex questionnaire with parents, who are in part nearly illiterate, posed particular challenges. This led to discussions within the research team in Thailand as well as with colleagues working in Ethiopia and in Austria. It appeared that the time and resources for filling in questionnaires had been underestimated, given that nearly half of the parents needed support due to either not understanding the questions or to limited reading or writing skills.

During the first phase of field research most participants spoke and understood Central Thai or a close dialect. However, occasionally a sign language interpreter supported the research team in Thailand. Starting mid-November 2011, the research team aims to interview as many of the persons as possible who had already participated in the first field research phase for a second time. Also, interviews with additional experts and more observations in classrooms are planned. Questions for this second phase will be developed based on data analysis of the first round of data collection. It will be further investigated and discussed whether research materials might need to be translated into other languages apart from Thai and English (such as those of migrant workers).

Only broad indications relating to further research foci can be given at this stage of the research process. Since the analysis of the data has not been completed, it is

inherent in the methodology of grounded theory that researchers avoid premature conclusions and progressively generate new theoretical concepts and insights (Charmaz, 2006). Still, an initial assessment of the empirical data at hand implies that, among other issues, the relevance of religion and belief in a transitory society (Taylor, 2003) and their impact on understanding disability and attitudes towards people with disabilities (Miles, 2002) needs to be explored in-depth. For example, data from the first phase of field research in Thailand suggests that almost all parents interviewed sought counselling or support from monks or institutions of worship at some stage during their child's development. In addition, the relevance of particular educational policies and current developments in inclusive schooling are to be further examined.

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Forschungswerkstatt / Research Workshop

Auf der Suche nach dem Paradies? Einblicke in eine Studie zu „Amenity Migration" in Cha-am und Hua Hin, Thailand

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Altersmigration („Amenity Migration" bzw. „Retirement Migration") ist ein Phänomen, das in westlichen Gesellschaften in den letzten Jahren immer mehr an Dynamik gewonnen hat. Ausschlaggebend für den drastischen Anstieg der Anzahl älterer MigrantInnen, die ihren Lebensabend außerhalb ihres Heimatlandes verbringen wollen, ist einerseits der rasch voranschreitende demographische Alterungsprozess in westlichen Gesellschaften, andererseits aber auch das meist niedrige Pensionsalter gepaart mit steigendem Wohlstand und relativ niedrigen Kosten für Fernreisen. Parallel dazu hat auch das wissenschaftliche Interesse an solchen semi-permanenten bzw. permanenten Mobilitätsformen, deren Ursachen, Struktur und Folgen (primär für die Zielgebiete, aber auch für die Gesellschaften in der Herkunftsregion) zugenommen.

Während der Großteil der Altersmigrationen in den letzten Jahrzehnten auf längerfristige Wohnstandortverlagerungen innerhalb der Vereinigten Staaten aus den nördlichen Landesteilen in die klimatisch begünstigten Gebiete des Südens und im Bereich Europas ähnliche Tendenzen von Nord-Süd-gerichteten Altersmigrationen entfiel, zeichnet sich in den letzten Jahren zunehmend ein neuer Trend ab: ein Anwachsen der „Retirement Migration" aus dem Westen in Zielländer, die einen niedrigeren sozioökonomischen Entwicklungsstand aufweisen. Zwei räumliche Schwer-

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punkte zeichnen sich diesbezüglich ab: (1) Zuwanderungen aus Nordamerika in die Karibik oder in manche Staaten Mittelamerikas und (2) ein wachsender Zustrom von AltersmigrantInnen in südostasiatische Staaten, insbesondere nach Thailand und die Philippinen.

Während über das Phänomen „Amenity Migration“ innerhalb Europas und Nordamerikas bereits zahlreiche Studien vorliegen, ist über die neue Variante – nämlich diese Form der Migration von wirtschaftlich hoch entwickelten in wirtschaftlich weniger entwickelte Teile der Welt – noch wenig bekannt. Das Interesse der Forschung zu diesem Thema entstand in den USA und die WissenschafterInnen dort befassen sich hauptsächlich mit den Mobilitätsprozessen der NordamerikanerInnen. Es kommt zur Abwanderung in den *Sunbelt* der USA, Teile Lateinamerikas (vor allem Costa Rica und Mexiko) sowie auf einige karibische Inseln. In Europa tritt die Altersmigration vor allem in den letzten 50 bis 60 Jahren vermehrt auf. Bei Betrachtung der Literatur zum Thema ist festzustellen, dass Südeuropa ein beliebtes Auswanderungsziel ist. An erster Stelle stehen dabei Spanien, Südfrankreich, die Toskana, Malta und die Algarve (Müller, 2002). Dabei ist zu erkennen, dass es sich überwiegend um eine Nord-Süd-gerichtete Mobilität handelt. Für die Region Südostasien ist die Literaturgrundlage nicht sehr umfangreich. Zu erwähnen sind die Arbeiten von Howard (2008, 2009), welcher anhand einer Onlinebefragung Motive, Erfahrungen und Wohlbefinden der westlichen PensionistInnen in Thailand erfragte. Koch-Schultes’ (2008) empirische Fallstudie untersucht die Stadtentwicklung in Udon Thani unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Sextourismus und der Entstehung von Zweitwohnungen. Anhand von qualitativen Interviews untersuchte Veress (2009) in ihrer Diplomarbeit die männliche Altersmigration in Cha-am und Hua Hin, wobei die Relationen zwischen Altersmigration und Sextourismus im Zentrum der Forschung standen. Mit einer Untersuchung im Rahmen der Diplomarbeit zum Thema „Amenity Migration“ in Cha-am und Hua Hin möchten die Autorinnen einen empirischen Beitrag zu diesem vergleichsweise wenig erforschten Phänomen leisten.

Die aus zwei Fallstudien bestehende Diplomarbeit trägt den Titel „Auf der Suche nach dem Paradies? Das Phänomen „Amenity Migration“ – eine Fallstudie am Beispiel von Cha-am und Hua Hin“ und die empirischen Daten wurden im Rahmen eines viermonatigen Forschungsaufenthaltes im Untersuchungsgebiet gesammelt. Ziel der Arbeit ist die Erstellung eines soziodemographischen und ökonomischen Profils der

westlichen Altersmigranten[3] sowie die Analyse der Bedeutung dieses Phänomens für Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft vor Ort. Im Rahmen der Untersuchung sollten Antworten zu den Fragen „Warum kommen Expats[4] nach Cha-am und Hua Hin?", „Welche soziale Herkunft weisen sie auf?" und „Welchen Lebensstil führen sie?" erforscht werden. Eine qualitative, explorative Erhebungsmethodik diente dazu, einen Einblick in die Lebenssituation der ausländischen Migranten zu erlangen. Damit wird der Frage nachgegangen, ob es sich bei den Untersuchungspersonen im Raum Cha-am und Hua Hin um eine Problemgruppe oder einen unverzichtbaren ökonomischen Faktor handelt.

Altersmigration in Thailand

Eine neue, aufstrebende Destination der internationalen „Amenity Migration" ist das südostasiatische Königreich Thailand. Hauptmotive für eine Reise nach Thailand sind im Allgemeinen die freundliche Bevölkerung, die reichhaltige Kultur, geringe Lebens(erhaltungs-)kosten, warmes Klima, Strand, Sport- und Freizeitmöglichkeiten sowie nicht zuletzt die Verfügbarkeit von attraktiven (Sexual-)Partnerinnen (Howard, 2008, S.149).

Thailand ist mit 15,94 Millionen internationalen Ankünften im Jahr 2010 (Department of Tourism, 2011) neben Malaysia Spitzenreiter in der Region Südostasien. Die Annehmlichkeiten, die dieses Land bietet, machen es für LangzeittouristInnen und Expats interessant. Die Sehnsucht nach einem besseren Leben, „dem Paradies", die Möglichkeit, dem Alltagstrott im Herkunftsland zu entfliehen sowie die steigende Flexibilität und Mobilität auch älterer Bevölkerungsgruppen führen zu einer zunehmenden Verwischung der Grenzen zwischen den beiden (Mobilitäts-)Phänomenen Tourismus und Migration. So schätzt Howard (2008), dass sich im Durchschnitt 98.000 MigrantInnen aus den westlichen Industrienationen in Thailand aufhalten, wobei etwa 10.000 bis 15.000 das Pensionsalter erreicht haben. Verlässliche statistische Angaben über die Anzahl von AltersmigrantInnen in Thailand sind leider nicht

3 Aufgrund der Tatsache, dass während der Untersuchung 91 Prozent männliche Probanden befragt wurden, wird im Text in diesem Zusammenhang die männliche Form von personenbezogenen Hauptwörtern verwendet.

4 Die Bezeichnung „expatriate", kurz „expat" bezieht sich auf Personen, die außerhalb ihres Heimatlandes leben. Der Begriff meint permanente MigrantInnen, wird aber in der Praxis wie etwa innerhalb der thailändischen Expat-Gemeinschaft genauso für saisonale oder temporäre Zuwanderer verwendet. (Williams, King, & Warens, 1997) Im Zusammenhang mit dieser Fallstudie werden daher die Begriffe „Expats" und Zuwanderer synonym verwendet.

verfügbar. Fakt ist, dass das Land nicht nur eine wichtige Zieldestination für den internationalen Tourismus ist, sondern auch neue längerfristige Erscheinungsformen der Mobilität in den letzten Jahren boomen und Thailand als Land zum Sesshaftwerden immer beliebter wird (Libutzki, 2003).

Dies ist nicht selbstverständlich, da neben den bereits angeführten Pull-Faktoren auch erhebliche kulturelle und sprachliche Barrieren, zahlreiche bürokratische und gesetzliche Hürden – wie zum Beispiel die komplizierten Visabestimmungen sowie Restriktionen für ausländische Personen, Land zu besitzen – einem längerfristigen Aufenthalt von AusländerInnen im Königreich entgegenwirken.

Datengrundlage der Diplomarbeit

Im Rahmen der Studie wurden qualitative, explorative Interviews mit zufällig ausgewählten Mitgliedern der Expat-Bevölkerung von Cha-am und Hua Hin durchgeführt. Zur Teilnahme an den Interviews war ein Mindestaufenthalt von drei Monaten am Stück pro Jahr im Untersuchungsgebiet erforderlich. Von besonderem Interesse im Rahmen der Befragung waren die Attraktivität des Standortes und die Standortentscheidung, die Wohnsituation, das Verhältnis zur thailändischen Kultur und Sprachkenntnisse sowie das sozioökonomische Profil der Zuwanderer. Die Fragen wurden anhand eines strukturierten Leitfadens gestellt, der den InterviewpartnerInnen genug Raum für eigene Reflexionen und freie Antworten ließ. So variierte die Dauer der Interviews von 20 Minuten bis zu 2 Stunden, meist bewegten sie sich im Rahmen von 30 bis 45 Minuten. Insgesamt wurden 130 Interviews auf Englisch oder Deutsch aufgezeichnet. Die Befragten füllten überdies zwei Polaritätsprofile aus, welche sich als geeignetes Mittel erwiesen, um Images und Einstellungen gegenüber dem Zielland und der eigenen Bevölkerungsgruppe darzustellen. Zusätzlich wurden die ProbandInnen ersucht, ihren Wohnstandort im Untersuchungsgebiet auf einer beigefügten Karte einzutragen, um eventuell vorhandene räumliche Segregationstendenzen der Expats aufzuzeigen. Die Befragungsaktion ergab schlussendlich 112 Interviews, die transkribiert, kodiert und mithilfe von *MAXQDA*, einem Programm zur Analyse qualitativer Daten, sowie *SPSS* für die statistische Analyse ausgewertet wurden.

Die Expats in Cha-am und Hua Hin

Bereits nach wenigen Tagen Recherche wurde offensichtlich, dass sich Expats an ganz bestimmten Plätzen der Stadt aufhielten – häufig in Einkaufszentren, Restaurants und Bars im touristischen Viertel und in der Thai-Sprachschule von Hua Hin. Diejenigen, die sich zu den Interviews bereit erklärten, waren meist sehr interessiert an der Thematik, offen und auskunftsfreudig. Nicht selten erzählten sie von ihren privaten Problemen, Enttäuschungen und Hoffnungen – Beweggründe, weshalb sie schlussendlich nach Thailand gekommen waren – oder von emotionalen Erlebnissen, die sie erst dort hatten. Die zunehmende Beliebtheit Thailands als Ziel der internationalen Altersmigration spiegelt sich zusätzlich in der Altersstruktur der Befragten wider: Der Großteil (42 Prozent) der Probanden war zwischen 60 und 70 Jahre alt. Ebenso wenig überraschend war die Tatsache, dass fast ausschließlich männliche Interviewpartner befragt wurden (91 Prozent). Die Verteilung der Befragten nach Nationalitäten sowie deren Geschlechterproportion stimmen mit den Aufzeichnungen des Immigrationsbüros von Hua Hin (N. Satitnathitham, persönliches Gespräch, 8. September 2010) überein. Die größte Gruppe stellen Expats aus Großbritannien dar, gefolgt von Skandinavien (Schweden, Norwegen, Dänemark, Finnland), der Schweiz, Deutschland und den USA.

Mit der Zahl der Zuwanderer steigt die Nachfrage nach angemessenen Wohnmöglichkeiten, weshalb der Immobilienmarkt in Cha-am und Hua Hin wächst. Zahlreiche Bauprojekte unter ausländischem Management wurden bereits verwirklicht, zumeist handelt es sich um so genannte „gated communities", die auf die Bedürfnisse westlicher Kunden – und dabei speziell auf ein älteres Klientel – zugeschnitten sind. Die Angebotsseite wurde ebenfalls in die Untersuchung miteinbezogen: Durch Besichtigungen und Gespräche mit ManagerInnen diverser Projekte konnte ein Überblick über die Anzahl bereits fertig gestellter sowie gerade entstehende Immobilienprojekte gewonnen werden. Weiters wurden die Grundbuchämter beider Städte aufgesucht, um sowohl einen räumlichen als auch quantitativen Überblick über die Immobilienprojekte und die Entwicklung der Landpreise zu bekommen. Ein eigens erstellter Interviewleitfaden für die Bürgermeister von Cha-am und Hua Hin sollte helfen, Auskünfte zu aktuellen und zukünftigen Planungsmaßnahmen für die wachsende Expat-Bevölkerung zu erhalten. Die Meinung der Betroffenen, warum das Untersuchungs-

gebiet ein so beliebtes Ziel für den Zuzug von Expats darstellt, wurde erfragt.

Während die Befragung der Expats gut voran ging, erwies sich die Datenbeschaffung bei den verschiedenen Behörden als deutlich schwieriger. Die „Tourism Authority of Thailand“ (TAT) führt zwar präzise Tourismusstatistiken, jedoch keine spezifisch zum Thema „long-stay-tourists“. Ebenso problematisch erwies sich die Datenlage im Hinblick auf die Zuwanderung von AusländerInnen in das Untersuchungsgebiet. Im Immigrationsbüro von Hua Hin und Bangkok waren die gewünschten Daten entweder nicht aufbereitet oder nicht zugänglich. Eine weitere Hürde bei der Arbeit mit den thailändischen Behörden stellte wie erwartet die Sprachbarriere dar. Ohne die Hilfe von ÜbersetzerInnen war die Informationsgewinnung, angesichts der geringen Thai-Kenntnisse der Forscherinnen und der oft mangelhaften Kenntnisse der englischen Sprache auf thailändischer Seite, selten von Erfolg gekrönt.

Es bleibt allerdings zu hoffen, dass die bestehenden sprachlichen Hürden aufgrund der steigenden Bedeutung der aus dem Ausland zugezogenen Bevölkerungsgruppe in naher Zukunft abgebaut werden. Gerade weil die tendenziell eher wohlhabenden Zuwanderer große Wertschöpfung in die Region bringen, wird es zunehmend wichtiger, diese Entwicklungen zu kontrollieren, da Konflikte bei so unterschiedlichen sozioökonomischen Gruppen leicht auftreten können. Aufgrund der Tatsache, dass die thailändische Regierung mit ihren „Retirement Visa“ auch zukünftig auf ein älteres Klientel ausgerichtet ist, es jedoch immer mehr zu einem Auseinanderklaffen zwischen der Lebensweise der Expats und der lokalen Bevölkerung kommt, sollten die Entscheidungsträger eine „Win-Win“-Situation für beide Seiten erlangen. Die Verfasserinnen hoffen, mit ihrer Arbeit, welche im Herbst 2011 fertig gestellt wird, einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Verbesserung des Forschungsstandes in Bezug auf dieses noch relativ unerforschte Phänomen „Amenity Migration“ sowie zur Verbesserung der Kommunikation zwischen der lokalen Bevölkerung und den Expats zu leisten.

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Im Dialog / In Dialogue

Kindersextourismus: Ein südostasiatisches Phänomen? Im Dialog mit Astrid Winkler von ECPAT Austria

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*Sonne, Meer, Tempel - Nicht allen TouristInnen scheint das genug zu sein, wenn sie sich auf die Reise nach Thailand machen. Lange Zeit schien sexuelle Ausbeutung von Kindern in Form von Prostitution und anderen strafrechtlichen Vergehen auf den südostasiatischen Raum beschränkt. Medien vermittelten den Eindruck, dass vor allem Thailand und Kambodscha beliebte Reiseziele für jene wären, die in ihrem Urlaub nach Möglichkeiten für Sex mit Minderjährigen suchten. Ein Gespräch mit der Geschäftsführerin der NGO ECPAT (*End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes*) Österreich, Astrid Winkler, macht deutlich, dass regionale Einschränkungen fernab der Realität sind, Kindersextourismus nie auf den südostasiatischen Raum beschränkt war.*

*Sun, sea, temples - Not everybody travelling to Thailand seems to be content with that image. Sexual exploitation such as prostitution as well as other forms of crime against children seemed to be focused on South-East Asia. The media have conveyed the impression that especially Thailand and Cambodia are favoured holiday destinations for those seeking sex with minors respectively. An interview with the director of the non-governmental organisation ECPAT (*End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes*) Austria, Astrid Winkler, shows that regional limitations are not consistent with reality and that child sex tourism has never been restricted to South-East Asia.*

Michelle Proyer: Jemand, der ECPAT nicht kennt, sollte wissen …

Astrid Winkler: ECPAT steht für *End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes* und ist eine internationale Kinderrechtsorgani-

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sation, die auf Bekämpfung von sexueller Ausbeutung von Kindern in den zentralen Ausprägungsformen Kinderprostitution, Kinderpornographie, Kindersextourismus als Sonderform der Kinderprostitution und Kinderhandel spezialisiert ist.

Proyer: Zur Organisation …

Winkler: ECPAT ist eine NGO. Die Organisation gibt es in über 80 Ländern. Der Hauptsitz befindet sich in Bangkok, wo sich die Organisation Ende der 1980er- bzw. zu Beginn der 1990er-Jahre als Kampagne gegen den Kindersextourismus in Asien entwickelt hat. Ursprünglich stand das Akronym für *End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism*. Die beteiligten Organisationen der Kampagne erkannten allerdings bald, dass das Phänomen komplexer ist, Kinderprostitution im Tourismus nur eine Manifestation ist. In der Zeitspanne zwischen 1990 und 1996, als der erste Weltkongress gegen die sexuelle Ausbeutung von Kindern in Stockholm in Kooperation mit UNICEF und der schwedischen Regierung stattfand, wurde der Tätigkeitsbereich ausgeweitet. Der Sprung von der Kampagne zur Organisation wurde vollzogen. In Österreich gibt es die Organisation seit 2003, seit 2006 als eingetragenen Verein. Davor war ECPAT Österreich ein informelles Netzwerk, das in der Organisation *respect* [Institut für integrativen Tourismus und Entwicklung, Anm. M.P.], quasi als Fachbereich integriert war.

Proyer: Schwerpunkte von ECPAT Österreich in Südostasien …

Winkler: Derzeit gibt es diese im südostasiatischen Raum nicht, weil es an Ressourcen mangelt. Die Frage ist: Woher sollen die finanziellen Mittel herkommen? Die Schwerpunktarbeit von ECPAT liegt bei der Arbeit im eigenen Land. Diese besteht aus Lobbying und Advocacy für Verbesserungen im Bereich der Prävention und Betreuung von sexuell ausgebeuteten Kindern, Monitoring der nationalen Gesetzgebungen, um zu sehen, wie diverse internationale Instrumente umgesetzt werden, so zum Beispiel die Kinderrechtskonvention, und natürlich auch Sensibilisierung und Bewusstseinsbildung, etwa durch Schulungen und Workshops. Wichtig sind für ECPAT Kooperationen und Netzwerkarbeit und die Beteiligung von Jugendlichen. Im ECPAT Österreich Jugendbeirat engagieren sich Jugendliche zwischen 18 und 25 Jahren und führen eigene Aktivitäten, wie z. B. Peer-to-Peer Workshops durch. Ein wichtiger Partner mit historischer Tradition ist die Tourismuswirtschaft, aber auch andere privatwirtschaftliche Sektoren wie beispielsweise Internetserviceprovider. Und nicht zu vergessen sind

Aktionen wie die derzeit laufende internationale Kampagne *Stoppt Sexhandel mit Kindern* in Kooperation mit dem internationalen Kosmetikunternehmen *The Body Shop*.

PROYER: Vernetzungsaktivitäten im deutschsprachigen Raum …

WINKLER: Derzeit gibt es eine trilaterale Kampagne, die in erster Linie auf Regierungsebene passiert. Die zuständigen Ministerien von Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz haben diese Kampagne ins Leben gerufen, eine bisher einmalige Kooperation. Es handelt sich um einen Video-Spot, der von Reiseveranstaltern, Hotelketten (z.B. *Accor Österreich*), der *Austrian* auf Langstreckenflügen und im öffentlichen Raum gezeigt wird. In diesem werden Reisende bzw. die Bevölkerung dazu aufgerufen, Vergehen an Kindern zu melden, um Ermittlungsbehörden zu unterstützen. Generell muss man davon ausgehen, dass ein paar Tausend ÖsterreicherInnen jedes Jahr im Ausland Minderjährige sexuell missbrauchen und ausbeuten. Man ist auf ZeugInnen und Opferaussagen angewiesen, deswegen ist es sehr wichtig, diese Sensibilisierung durchzuführen und Menschen Hinweise zu geben, wohin sie sich wenden können.

PROYER: Kontakt mit österreichischen Reiseveranstaltern …

WINKLER: Es gibt positive Erfahrungen mit einigen wenigen. Zehn Jahre nach der Unterzeichnung des Verhaltenskodex[2] durch den *Österreichischen Reisebüro Verband* (ÖRB), der ungefähr 60 Mitglieder zählt, wäre es wünschenswert gewesen, dass mindestens 80 Prozent der Mitglieder sichtbare Schritte gesetzt, also in ihrem Aktionsradius mögliche Maßnahmen des Kodex umgesetzt hätten. Informationen auf der Webseite zu veröffentlichen, um über die Kampagne zu informieren, wäre das Mindeste. Jene, die eigene Kataloge haben, könnten ein Inserat abdrucken. Wirklich sichtbar ist der Verhaltenskodex nur bei *Jumbo Touristik*, *TUI Österreich*, *Thomas Cook* und teilweise *Verkehrsbüro*. Es bräuchte hier ständiges Monitoring. Vielleicht 10 Prozent der Reiseveranstalter haben sichtbar etwas umgesetzt.

PROYER: Zur Datenlage …

WINKLER: In den „Hotspotgebieten", wie den Tourismuszonen von bspw. Kambodscha, Thailand, den Philippinen, Kenia, Brasilien, Sri Lanka etc. ist Kindersextouris-

2 *Code of Conduct for the Protection of Children From Sexual Exploitation in Travel and Tourism,* im Folgenden auch nur als *Kodex, Kinderschutzkodex* oder *Child Protection Code* bezeichnet.

mus sehr offensichtlich. Sehr junge Prostituierte kann man überall finden. Es handelt sich nicht um ein verstecktes Phänomen. Wirklich versteckt ist die Prostitution von kleinen Kindern. Einschlägige pädophile Netzwerke haben hier eigene Kontakte. Teilweise erhalten wir auch von im Tourismus Tätigen (HotelangestellteInnen, TaxifahrerInnen etc.) einschlägige Informationen. Vereinzelt findet man aber auch noch – eher unbekannte – Reiseveranstalter, die in diesem Segment Gewinn machen wollen. Weiters gibt es ein sehr dichtes Netzwerk an ECPAT-Partnerorganisation oder Affiliates, die Daten erheben. Das sind keine statistischen Daten, da solche in diesem Bereich schwer zu erheben sind. Es werden lokale Assessments erstellt, die Informationen darüber enthalten, wo sich Hotspots befinden. Jeder/m TouristIn könnte Kindersextourismus auffallen, es bedarf keiner speziellen Schulung.

Kriterien des Kinderschutzkodex

1. Einführung einer Firmenphilosophie (Leitbild), welche sich eindeutig gegen die kommerzielle sexuelle Ausbeutung von Kindern ausspricht.
2. Sensibilisierung und Ausbildung der Mitarbeitenden/Beschäftigten im Herkunftsland und im Zielland der Reisenden.
3. Aufnahme von Klauseln in den Verträgen mit LeistungsträgerInnen, welche die gemeinsame Ablehnung von kommerzieller sexueller Ausbeutung von Kindern deutlich machen.
4. Informationsvermittlung an die Kundinnen und Kunden betreffend die kommerzielle sexuelle Ausbeutung von Kindern mit dem Faltblatt »Kleine Seelen – große Gefahr« oder anderen geeigneten Mitteln.
5. Zusammenarbeit (Informationsvermittlung) mit den Destinationen.
6. Jährliche Berichterstattung über die durchgeführten Maßnahmen

Quelle: The Code (o.D.)

PROYER: Tendenzen in der Gesetzgebung der betroffenen Länder und Regionen…

WINKLER: Es ist eine eindeutige Tendenz zu beobachten, dass die Gesetzgebungen strenger werden. Das Problem ist die Umsetzung der Gesetze, die Korruption. Ein weiteres Problem stellt das Faktum dar, dass die Ausbeutung oft im Einverständnis mit der Lokalbevölkerung oder der Familie passiert. Das Phänomen ist sehr vielschichtig und die Sicht aus unterschiedlichen Perspektiven notwendig. So gering teilweise das Unrechtsbewusstsein unter den Reisenden oder unter GelegenheitstäterInnen ist, gibt es dieses fehlende Unrechtsbewusstsein auch auf der anderen Seite.

PROYER: Ende des Kindersextourismus - Wegfall einer wichtigen Einnahmequelle …

Winkler: Wenn die Polizei ermittelt und ZeugInnen sagen Dinge wie: „da war nichts, der/die hat nur Schulgeld bezahlt", wird es schwer die Sachlage vor Gericht zu bringen. Andererseits haben viele Länder, zum Beispiel Kambodscha, nicht zuletzt aufgrund der starken Präsenz einer NGO, die nicht zum ECPAT-Netzwerk gehört, extreme Fortschritte gemacht, auch in Bezug auf die Strafverfolgung.

Proyer: Verschiebung der Hotspots …

Winkler: Kindesmissbrauch ist nichts Neues. Das Phänomen hat im Lauf der Zeit und in unterschiedlichen Kulturen unterschiedliche Ausprägungen angenommen. Alle Kulturen haben dafür rationalisierende Erklärungen gefunden. Ansonsten geht er einher mit steigenden Tourismuszahlen. Rasche Tourismusentwicklung übt einen gewissen Sog aus. Es gibt ein klares sozio-ökonomisches Gefälle zwischen Reisenden und der Gesellschaft vor Ort. In vielen Destinationen hat Kindersextourismus eine lange Tradition. Sexuelle Straftaten gegen Kinder sind bei weitem nicht mehr auf Asien beschränkt. Dieses Bild, dass es nur in Thailand oder hauptsächlich in Südostasien ein Problem ist, hat sich aber ganz tief eingeprägt.

Proyer: Der/die typische KindersextouristIn …

Winkler: Es gibt keinen Steckbrief, der den typischen Kindersextouristen oder die typische Kindersextouristin charakterisiert. Nicht jede/r steigt als KindersextouristIn ins Flugzeug. Täter verbinden mit der Urlaubsillusion und -vorstellung Sex. Es gibt eine relativ große Zielgruppe, zu der auch Geschäftsreisende gehören. Prostituierte oder Escortservices gehören manchmal zum ganz normalen „After-Business-Vergnügen" und werden teilweise von den GeschäftskollegInnen vor Ort organisiert. Häufig genügt es, wenn ein/e ReisendeR so etwas nicht ausschließt. Der nächste Schritt ist dann ein relativ kleiner. Es kommen bestimmte Faktoren dazu: Man ist weit weg vom sozialen Umfeld, also von der normalen sozialen Kontrolle befreit. Sand, Sonne, Alkohol – man gönnt sich mal was, was man sonst vielleicht nicht machen würde…

Proyer: Das Reiseziel…

Winkler: Es gibt natürlich bestimmte Problemziele, die bekannt sind. Diese sind aber definitiv nicht auf den südostasiatischen Raum beschränkt, auch die Karibischen Inseln, etwa Kuba, gehören dazu. In Südostasien gibt es neuerdings Meldungen aus

Myanmar. Dort soll mittlerweile vieles möglich sein. Man kann das Phänomen also wirklich nicht auf bestimmte Regionen einschränken.

PROYER: Aktivitäten im Bereich des *Tourism Child Protection Code*...

WINKLER: Die wichtigsten PartnerInnen, die den Kodex in Österreich unterzeichnet haben, sind der ÖRV (*Österreichischer Reisebüro Verband*) – dieser hat als Verband den Verhaltenskodex für alle seine Mitglieder unterzeichnet – und *ACCOR Österreich*. ECPAT erwartet sich von der trilateralen Kampagne auf Regierungsebene, wo ECPAT-Organisationen aller drei Länder eingebunden sind, zusätzlichen Anstoß. Weiters hat erstmals auf der Ferienmesse in Wien ein *Corporate Social Responsibility* (CSR)-Tag stattgefunden, wo ECPAT in Rahmen einer Kooperation eingebunden war und die es auch im kommenden Jahr wieder geben soll. ECPAT nützt also jede Gelegenheit. International gesehen ist es wichtig, dass die ITB Berlin (*Internationale Tourismus-Börse)* (ITP) als Messe den *Child Protection-Code* im März 2011 unterzeichnet hat.

PROYER: Zukunft des Kinderschutzkodex (*Child Protection Code*) ...

WINKLER: Es konnte ein großer Erfolg beim Fundraising erzielt werden, um eine professionelle Struktur aufzubauen. Noch 2011 wird ein Headquarter in Bangkok eingerichtet, da hier auf langjährige Erfahrung zurückgegriffen werden kann. Weiters sollen bald drei Regionalstellen für voraussichtlich Europa, Afrika und die Amerikas entstehen. Die größte Herausforderung für die kommenden Jahre, neben Strukturschaffung, wird darin bestehen, ein praktikables und standardisiertes Prozedere für internes und externes Monitoring der Umsetzung der sechs Kriterien des Kinderschutzkodex zu entwickeln.

PROYER: Vielen Dank für das Gespräch.

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Netzwerk Südostasienforschung / Network South-East Asia Research

Research on South-East Asia in Austria: Department of Development Studies, University of Vienna

Petra Dannecker[1] & Wolfram Schaffar[2]

University of Vienna, Austria

Citation Dannecker, P., & Schaffar, W. (2011). Research on South-East Asia in Austria: Department of Development Studies, University of Vienna. *ASEAS - Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies, 4*(1), 179-182.

The Department of Development Studies at the University of Vienna was founded in 2010. It originated out of the Project International Development, which was initiated in 2002 by a group of lecturers and professors interested in establishing a study program focusing on 'development'. Within a short period of time, International Development became highly popular and today about 3,000 students from more than 50 countries are enrolled in the programme.

The aim of the department, which is supported by various faculties at the University, is the establishment of International Development Studies in teaching as well as in research. The premise that 'development' is a phenomenon which can only be taught and analysed transdisciplinarily is the basis for the department's approach and distinguishes it from other institutions in Europe and around the world, where development studies are mainly based on economics or social sciences only.

Transdisciplinarity as a methodological concept means that our study programs

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2 Wolfram Schaffar is professor for international development studies at the University of Vienna, Austria. He was trained in political science, South-East Asian studies, and Japanese studies. He is working on social movements, democratisation, and state theory, with a regional focus on South-East Asia, especially Thailand and Myanmar/Burma. He is also doing research on social security systems, the welfare state, and globalisation, as well as on questions of new media and democratisation. Contact: wolfram.schaffar@univie.ac.at

and research activities combine social, political, historical, cultural, and economic approaches to development and to global and local inequalities. Such an approach requires a multidisciplinary team. Our staff members as well as our lecturers, therefore, have different disciplinary backgrounds and experience in doing research on different regions of the world.

We are glad to introduce our department to the readership of ASEAS as Prof. Petra Dannecker and Prof. Wolfram Schaffar, two full time staff members at the department, have specialised in South-East Asian Studies at earlier stages of their career and feed in their experience to the development of the new department. Although we do not pursue an area studies approach – as much as we insist on the combination of different disciplinary approaches, we focus on a global perspective rather than on specific regions – South-East Asia is now strongly represented in the teaching as well as in the research programme.

This used to be different before the establishment of the department. Back then, it was rather Latin America and Africa that featured prominently in the programme – Latin America because of its dynamic political development and the traditionally close links to concerned scholars, and Africa, since the project International Development was born out of the institute for African Studies. Still, it has always been possible for students to specialise in South-East Asian issues since a number of lecturers (for example Dr Silvia Michal-Misak, Ms Yuki Seidler, and Mr Valentin Seidler) as well as the cooperation with other departments (Prof. Rüdiger Frank from the Department of East Asian Studies, Prof. Karl Husa and Prof. Helmut Wohlschlägl from the Department of Geography) made it possible to visit seminars focusing on South-East Asia and even choose aspects of South-East Asian development as topics for diploma theses.

With Petra Dannecker and Wolfram Schaffar, however, two permanent staff members are now representing South-East Asian issues in teaching and research. Petra Dannecker received her PhD from the Department of Sociology at the University of Bielefeld, Germany, where South-East Asia was one of the focal regions of study. Wolfram Schaffar previously worked as a lecturer at the Department of South-East Asian Studies at the University of Bonn, Germany, and at the Faculty of Political Science at Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok, Thailand.

In her research, Petra Dannecker focuses on migration – in particular on Bangla-

deshi migrant workers in South-East Asia and the economical, political, social, and cultural transformation and development in the countries of origin and destination which are triggered and influenced by migration processes. The theoretical framework draws on concepts of transnational migration as well as on new approaches which deal with temporary and circular migration. Central issues which are pursued in a transdisciplinary research group are the construction of masculinity and femininity as well as the negotiation of local cultures and Islamic identities through transnational activities and networks.

Another research focus with reference to South-East Asia is the negotiation of 'global' concepts of development, first and foremost in Malaysia. The focus is on the construction of new social spaces by 'global' concepts of development and the embeddedness of these construction processes in translocal networks like transnational women's organisations. This research aims at revealing the complexity of social relations between regions in order to question usual dichotomies like local versus global and Islamic versus Western.

Wolfram Schaffar is working on democratisation processes, social movements, and constitutionalism in South-East Asia with a focus on Thailand and Burma/Myanmar. A research project on social movements' perspective on the process of democratisation and constitution drafting in Thailand is currently under review by a research funding agency. This study focuses on the tension between the movements' quest for the protection of fundamental rights on the one hand and the rejection of a judicialisation of politics on the other. As such, the project aims at an investigation of contested democratisation processes which are relevant not only for Thailand but also for the most recent developments in the Arab world.

Wolfram Schaffar is also member of a research group on statehood and concepts of the state in countries of the Global South. The group is currently drafting a research project in which aspects of so-called 'failed states' will be analysed and interpreted from different perspectives – the fragmentation of the state in Myanmar/Burma, with its numerous ethnic insurgency groups, state formation in Palestine, or situations of so-called ‚weak' or ‚failed states' in West and East Africa.

Not only for these research projects, but also in order to provide new opportunities for our students, our department is preparing exchange programmes with universities and research institutions in South-East Asia. Negotiations for a joint study

programme with Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok, Thailand, where Wolfram Schaffar used to teach in the MA in International Development Studies programme are under way. We are optimistic that more contacts will follow as soon as the process of consolidation of our department's BA and MA programmes is completed.

In the end, what makes the Department of Development Studies a dynamic place for studying South-East Asian issues are our students and their commitment. We are currently supervising diploma theses on issues such as coffee plantations in the Central Highlands of Vietnam, which go back to a development cooperation project between the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the role of the internet in the democratisation process in Malaysia, the concept of 'Sufficiency Economy' in Thailand, or the situation of Burmese migrant workers in Thailand. The successful consolidation process of our department during the past couple of months gives us every reason to be optimistic that our department will soon be another important institution for the study of South-East Asian issues in Austria.

Selected Publications of the Department Staff

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***Südostasien sehen** / South-East Asia Visually*

Thai Communities in Vienna

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Citation Butratana, K., & Trupp, A. (2011). Thai Communities in Vienna. *ASEAS - Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies, 4*(1), 183-190.

This article provides a short overview on Thais in Vienna, offering some selected impressions of the second largest South-East Asian community in Austria. For a long time immigrants have mainly been portrayed as cheap labour force and low-skilled workers who were recruited in order to counter the problem of labour shortage in Austria (Castles & Miller, 2003; Mayer, 2010). Indeed, immigrants from all over the world have shaped the appearance and development of Vienna for centuries. In this context, not much is known about South-East Asian communities in Vienna. Official data of *Statistik Austria* (2010a) registered 22,551 South-East Asians in Austria, with more than half of them living in Vienna. This number includes persons who hold a South-East Asian citizenship (whether they were born in Austria or abroad) as well as persons who were born in South-East Asia but now hold Austrian citizenship.

As Table 1 shows, immigrant groups from the Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam constitute 91.6 percent of the South-East Asian population in Vienna. The population structure of Thais in Austria, however, differs from the general pattern of the South-East Asian groups.

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Table 1: Number of South-East Asians in Vienna 2010

	South-East Asian Population		South-East Asian Citizens			Born Abroad but Austrian Citizenship
	total	percent	total	foreign born	born in Austria	total
South-East Asia	12,589	100	5,410	5,000	410	7,179
Brunei Darussalam	2	0.0	2	2	0	0
Indonesia	480	3,8	306	285	21	174
Cambodia	232	1.8	41	39	2	191
Laos PDR	56	0.4	9	9	0	47
Malaysia	160	1.3	117	109	8	43
Myanmar (Burma)	26	0.2	18	17	1	8
Timor-Leste	0	0.0	0	0	0	0
Philippines	8,786	69.8	3,386	3,073	313	5,400
Singapore	97	0.8	62	60	2	35
Thailand	1,481	11.8	1,107	1,066	41	374
Vietnam	1,269	10.1	362	340	22	907

Source: Statistik Austria (2010a)

Thais in Vienna

In the following we bring to light some characteristics and manifestations of Thai communities in Vienna by outlining the importance of bi-national marriages, student migration, immigrant businesses, and cultural-religious activities. We are aware, however, that the illustrations presented provide only a sketch of this heterogeneous group.

Statistik Austria (2010a) registered almost 5,000 Thais in Austria but less than 1,500, or 30 percent, are living in the capital city. The majority of the Thai population in Vienna is female as the gender ratio of 100 : 416 (male : female) demonstrates; a pattern that contradicts common images of male-dominated international migration. The main reason for this structure lies in the marriage-motivated migration of Thai females. Using the weighted data of the Austrian sample census 2010[3], *Statistik Austria* (2010b) calculated approximately 2,500 bi-national couples consisting of a Thai(-born)

3 Due to the small sample, generalisations on the federal level are not possible. Also note that these numbers only include marriages that are registered in Austria

PHOTO LEFT: Bi-national marriages have played an important role in migration to Austria. PHOTO RIGHT: Entrepreneurial activities of Thai immigrants are not limited to restaurants, food shops, karaoke bars, or massage parlours. Also, Thai pantomime artists gain the attention of domestic and international tourists.

PHOTO LEFT: Traditional Thai massage in Vienna becomes increasingly popular. This is the newest of 16 officially registered Thai massage parlors in Vienna (Official of Office of Commercial Affairs of the Royal Thai Embassy in Vienna, personal communication, 16 March 2011). PHOTO RIGHT: *Talad Thai* which literally means Thai market opened in 2002. Thai products such as curry pastes, instant noodles, Thai beer as well as fresh Thai herbs or vegetables are requested by Thai and Austrian clients.

wife and an Austrian(-born) husband. This means that more than 60 percent of Thai women in Austria are married to Austrian men. However, since Austria has introduced ever more obstacles for bi-national partnerships (a higher requisite net-income and German language qualifications prior to arrival in Austria[4] among others), the number of marriages between Austrians and so called third-country nationals have decreased.

Another group are Thai students living in Vienna. According to the Royal Thai Embassy in Austria, approximately 60-70 Thai students (including visiting students and guest researchers) are enrolled at different university programs in Vienna (Embassy official, personal communication, 3 May 2011). International higher education

PHOTO LEFT: *Visakha Bucha Day* at *Wat Yansangvorn*: This 'Triple Anniversary Day' is the most important Buddhist religious festival as it commemorates the birth, death and enlightenment of the Buddha. The event takes place at the full moon of the sixth lunar which usually falls in May. PHOTO RIGHT: Inside Siam Restaurant: The first Thai restaurant in Vienna was opened 35 years ago by the same owner who is now running the Siam Restaurant. Both, Thais and Austrians, benefit from the urban culinary diversity offered by Thai entrepreneurs.

4 This regulation will become effective this year (2011).

Vienna's second Thai Buddhist temple, *Wat Thamnurak*, organised the religious and social activities for this year's Thai New Year Festival. *Songkran*, the beginning of the Thai New Year, is celebrated in mid-April according to the Thai lunar calendar. While in Thailand Buddhist monks, Buddha images, and various offerings are paraded in a procession through the streets, members of the Thai community in Vienna rent an event location in a community college (*Volkshochschule*) in order to carry out ceremonies and celebrations. Thais and Austrians were invited to join the parade and the Buddhist ceremonies. In the lobby of the community college visitors could buy Thai food, drinks and even Thai *sarongs* (wrap-around skirts).

The festivity started at nine o' clock in the morning and lasted until after midnight. In daytime, Buddhist praying, offerings and processions occupied the centre stage while in the evening a Thai rock star was entertaining the audience. This year, approximately 200 visitors joined the festivities in Vienna even though many Thai people went back to Thailand in order to celebrate with their families.

enhances social status and increases professional business opportunities. Many Thai students believe that the qualitative level and especially the status of a European university are higher than that of their home universities. Many Thai students in Vienna receive a scholarship which is bound to study results and the minimum duration of study. Their social environment mainly consists of Thai and other foreign students as it is found to be difficult to build friendships with Austrians within such a a relatively short time.

The most popular and obvious manifestation of Thailand in Vienna can be found in immigrant businesses, especially in restaurants, food shops and traditional massage parlours. The Office of Commercial Affairs of the Royal Thai Embassy in Vienna (2011) has registered 35 Thai restaurants in Austria, of which 20 are located in Vienna. The existing Thai businesses in the form of restaurants, food shops, or massage parlours not only enhance the exotic appearance of Austria's capital, but also reflect two ongoing developments: First, the rise of and the quest for exotic and 'exotised' entrepreneurial activities; second, the deepening transnational links between Thailand and Austria. Thai restaurants are visited by both Thai and Austrian customers. However, there are more Austrian than Thai guests as the latter prefer to cook for themselves and eat at home. One restaurant owner reported that she prefers to employ Thai staff for two reasons. First, she wants to support Thai people in Vienna and second, it is easier to communicate with co-nationals.

Thai Buddhist temples (*Wat*) are places of both religious and social activities. Thailand counts several thousand temples, many of them running libraries as well as schools which are located in the temple compound. Temples in Thailand are architecturally rich with an abundance of styles; in Vienna, however, one can find 'only' two Thai Buddhist temples with rather basic architecture.

PHOTO LEFT: Inside *Wat Thamnurak*: After offering the food to the monk, the meal is shared among the temple visitors. PHOTO RIGHT: Entrance door of *Wat Thamnurak*: As the temple is located in an apartment building, the outer facade looks rather unspectacular for a *Wat*.

PHOTO LEFT: Inside *Wat Yansangworn*: This temple opened in the year 2000 as Vienna's first Thai Buddhist temple. PHOTO RIGHT: The Buddhist temples in Vienna are mainly visited by Thai females and are most frequented on weekends and holidays.

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Rezensionen / Book Reviews

Hitchcock, M., King, V. T., & Parnwell, M. (Eds.). (2009). Tourism in Southeast Asia: Challenges and New Directions.

Copenhagen, Denmark: NIAS Press. ISBN: 978-87-7694-033-1. 358 pages.

Citation Dolezal, C. (2011). Book Review: Hitchcock, M., King, V. T., & Parnwell, M (Eds.) (2009). Tourism in Southeast Asia: Challenges and New Directions. *ASEAS - Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies, 4*(1), 191-195.

The increasing importance of tourism in the countries of South-East Asia and its changing nature from, amongst others, social, political, or anthropological points of view have created the grounds and necessity for a publication that brings together – as the title illustrates – current challenges and new directions in tourism in South-East Asia. After their previous co-editing of *Tourism in South-East Asia* (1993), Hitchcock, King, and Parnwell have published a fundamental book for academics, researchers, and friends of South-East Asia with a fine selection of contributions.

The volume comprises sixteen chapters, with contributions on different South-East Asian countries, e.g. Thailand, Indonesia, or Vietnam, written by authors from various disciplines. Despite the variety of topics, the regional focus seems to be put primarily on Indonesia, especially Bali – taking away room from other countries such as Malaysia or Burma. Still, the topics covered are broad, ranging from anthropological insights and arts to policy-making, sex tourism, political ecology, gender, and terrorism. Instead of referring to widely researched aspects of those topics, the authors surprise with interesting, for the reader maybe even unknown, issues. Gender issues and sex tourism in the borderlands of China and Vietnam for example – as focused on by Yuk Wah Chan in chapter 10 – illuminate a different perspective on sex tourism compared to the Thai sex industry and offer a glance at some of the new challenges the region faces. A special emphasis is put on culture, especially in the first two chapters. Victor King's work offers an immersion into anthropology and tourism in

South-East Asia, building on key researchers in the area, such as Erik Cohen or Michel Picard. His contribution raises interesting questions about authenticity, agency and the dynamics of culture, power and identity. It concludes with the claim that anthropology should "embrace . . . the study of culture at the local, national, and the global levels" (p. 68). Hence the study of anthropology gains new importance in tourism research, where it faces challenges within the complexity of the tourism systems.

Kathleen Adams continues with her investigation of handicrafts and art in Indonesia and the forces they are exposed to through buyers and sellers in the age of globalisation and modernity. The commoditisation of handicrafts seems to be a common phenomenon in the countries of South-East Asia with fake sculptures, statues, and manufactures luring the authenticity-seeking tourists into spending money. However, instead of a loss in value, culture experiences the transformation of meanings and handicrafts seem to be "inspired by foreign tourists' expectations of what 'tribal art' should look like" (p. 81). Adams underpins her research by the use of various pictures – regrettably the only author doing so in the whole book.

The next two chapters focus on the Bali bombings of 2002 with I Nyoman Darma Putra and Michael Hitchcock looking at tourists and their feelings of insecurity on the one hand and illuminating the motives of the bombers and the political context on the other hand. They locate the reason for the terrorists choosing tourist areas for their attacks in their aspiration for international publicity, which did indeed result from tourists being the target of those bombings. The chapter offers a broad and comparative approach to viewing the Bali bombings as they are connected with the bombings in 2005. Subsequently, Michel Picard's contribution offers insights into the Balinese culture and people, with the latter attributing the reasons for the bombings to their society: The mere fact of opening the country to globalisation through – above all international tourism – is considered by many Balinese as the major cause for the attack. The new *Ajeg Bali* tourism strategy, which was created in the aftermath of the bombings, therefore mirrors the rising determination of the Balinese "to avoid being overcome by the cultural hegemony of globalization, with its trail of consumerism, commercialism and commodification" (p. 113) and to rediscover their 'Balinese-ness', i.e. their Balinese identity. Generally speaking, several of the contributors focus on Bali, concentrating largely on the Bali bombings, which can be partly redundant for the reader. Equally, the 2004 Tsunami constantly serves as a basis for the analysis in

various chapters, which raises concerns about a better linking between the contents of the individual contributions.

The book continues with some chapters highlighting economics and policy-making in South-East Asia. Furthermore, challenges are discussed, including catastrophes such as the tsunami in 2004 or sustainability issues, which need to be dealt with not only on a local but more on a global level and demand the cooperation of and effort from various nations.

In chapter 7, Jonathan Bennett continues with a focus on the private tourism business in Vietnam, highlighting power redistributions from the central government to the regional level and the difficulties associated with these developments. Due to the vague wording of government directives and regulations, the interpretation is left to regional authorities, so-called 'provincial people's committees', making *quan he xa hoi* – the cultivation of social ties to those officials – of central importance for entrepreneurs in Vietnam. In the following chapter David Harrison and Steven Schipani present Laos as a positive example of how tourism can serve as a tool for development and poverty alleviation by means of, amongst others, international cooperation between players such as the central government and aid agencies (for example SNV, the Netherlands Development Organisation). The fact that Laos is only as of recently experiencing growth rates in tourism means that it can still learn from the mistakes its neighbouring countries (such as Thailand) made in tourism development.

Shinji Yamashita's analysis of Japanese tourists in South-East Asia presents a rather new perspective on tourism in the region (chapter 9). From healing tourism in Bali to lifestyle tourism in Thailand, the chapter outlines the motivation of Japanese to visit South-East Asia. Even though Japanese tourists consider the region to be less oriental than some Western tourists, they regard it as "a nostalgic place where they can find what they have lost in Japan's modernization" (p. 201). This is particularly relevant and valuable, as Western publications often tend to ignore a more regional viewpoint due to their Eurocentric perspective.

Chapter 10 brings to light gender issues in the China-Vietnam borderlands: Yuk Wah Chan's research shows that the sexual relationships between Chinese men and Vietnamese women cannot be condemned instantly without a closer investigation of the underlying meanings and without putting it into the broader context of modernity and globalisation. The topic of sex tourism is included in the volume with a

contribution by Heidi Dahles who discusses the phenomenon of women looking for male gigolos and sexual encounters. She moves away from the usual angle of female prostitutes in Thailand and uses a case study of Yogyakarta to illustrate 'romance tourism'. By introducing a rather novel perspective on sexual commercial relations, she undoubtedly contributes to research in this area. Nevertheless, the sex-tourism dilemma in countries such as Thailand is not a major issue in the book.

The last chapters of the volume are dedicated to environmental and policy issues with Michael Parnwell looking at how political frameworks can work to achieve sustainable tourism development in South-East Asia. He considers sustainable tourism as a phenomenon based on cooperation between private and public entities, NGOs, and others to focus on new forms of tourism, such as 'pro-poor', 'eco-', or 'community-based' tourism. According to Parnwell, a shift in power distribution has taken place, which has contributed to capacity building and empowered communities. However, tourism actors in South-East Asia still have to implement various measures in order to contribute to fair and equal tourism development. The ecotourism sector is further discussed by Janet Cochrane, who addresses its challenges as well as realities in Indonesia. From a political ecology perspective, Cochrane focuses on commercialisation and selling ecotourism as a product based on nature. Thereby the importance of community participation is often overlooked.

Henning Borchers (chapter 14) continues the regional emphasis on Indonesia with a discussion of tourism development in Komodo National Park. He points to the importance of money generation to national parks as an engine for survival and sustainability and discusses the significance of community involvement. In the case of Komodo National Park "there has been a disproportionate emphasis on meeting the goals of resource protection, conservation and development of nature tourism, to the disadvantage of the livelihood needs of local communities" (p. 285). Mark and Joanna Hampton finally assess the environmental impacts of backpacker tourism on the fragile island of Gili Trawangan in Indonesia. They name repercussions, both on the terrestrial area as well as on coral reefs, and suggest stricter regulations in terms of conservation. Regulations seem necessary due to the upcoming shift from backpacker to conventional or mass tourism, which could damage the environment immensely and contribute to a loss of its attractiveness.

The conclusion by the editors presents a perfectly adequate ending to the work

and elucidates the status quo of research undertaken in the respective disciplines included. Also, it compares the editors' 1993 book with this new publication by pointing to the similarity in topics, which have been further explored in the meantime. Therefore the angle has shifted to current challenges and developments of tourism in South-East Asia. By focusing amongst others on East Asian tourists travelling to South-East Asia, *Tourism in Southeast Asia: Challenges and New Directions* shows a necessary shift away from a Eurocentric perspective. One might argue that a focus on disciplines such as economics or history is missing; however, the editors have still chosen a good selection of contributions and specify the limitations of the volume in the introduction as well as the conclusion. The capture of the phenomenon of globalisation is an essential feature of the volume, whose excellence is due to the interconnectedness of the chapters and disciplines, but also due to the accentuation of future developments and research necessities. Overall, *Tourism in Southeast Asia: Challenges and New Directions* is a comprehensive publication contributing to tourism research and should not be missing from the bookshelf of academics or friends of South-East Asia interested in the tourism discourse.

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Rezensionen / Book Reviews

Hitchcock, M., King, V. T., & Parnwell, M. (Eds.) (2010). Heritage Tourism in Southeast Asia.

Copenhagen, Denmark: NIAS Press. ISBN: 978-87-7694-060-7. 322 pages.

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Heritage tourism is one of the issues most recently discussed within the tourism discourse. Tourism influx in South-East Asia and domestic tourism within the region has intensified in the last two decades. Along with this, there has been an increase in listings of World Heritage Sites by UNESCO, and a more intensive awareness-raising of national heritage issues throughout the region can be discovered as well. These developments make this book a timely contribution to heritage tourism in the academic discourse. The editors who had previously collaborated on the book *Tourism in Southeast Asia: Challenges and New Directions* provide more precise and up-to-date information on the topic of heritage in their recent book, entitled *Heritage Tourism in Southeast Asia*. The promotion of heritage for tourism issues by the states in South-East Asia is ubiquitous. But what is heritage? What is promoted? Cultural and natural heritage, an imaginary construct, is part of a wide political discourse and of the tourism industry throughout the region, and deals with the perception of the past, the transformation of cultural and natural heritage, and their adoption in the present. Various scholars and researchers have contributed to the highly complex subject matter. The book is concerned with this complexity by providing analyses of different theoretical streams and explanations of many issues related to heritage tourism.

The volume contains 13 chapters, 12 of them based on empirical research, an index, and a bibliography. The first chapter by the editors provides an introductory definition of heritage as a term and its connection with other problematical and arguable issues like identity, globalisation, management and policies, and its interrelation with nature, culture, and, of course, tourism.

In the second chapter, entitled *Courting and Consorting with the Global*, Kathleen Adams (Chicago University) outlines the historical and colonial role of *Ke'te' Kesu'* in Sulawesi, Indonesia, the beginning of tourism, and how locals deal with and perceive their own heritage in the context of tourism. Furthermore, this case study contains local, national, and global perspectives on the involvement of UNESCO and *Ke'te Kesu's* fall from international celebrity as a tourism destination through its rejection as a mixed – both natural and cultural – site.

In the chapter on R*econstruction of Atayal Identity in Wulai, Taiwan*, Mami Yoshimura and Geoffrey Wall (University of Waterloo) point to the relationship between culture, identity, and tourism, and the Atayal people's identity shifts within various colonial periods, and how tourism can be of benefit for the indigenous group's heritage. The theoretical framework of identity provided here is helpful for understanding the shifts in Atayal identities.

Moreover, Nick Stanley (Cambridge University) and Michael Hitchcock (University of Luzern) describe the role and importance of ethnographic museums in Indonesia and Taiwan, and how the museums contribute to nation-building, but also in which ways they are instrumentalised by the two states. The 'living museums' as described in this chapter reflect a special kind of museum which is in "part [an] open-air museum" to educate visitors and in "part [a] theme park" to entertain – thus realising the "edutainment" idea (pp. 72-73).

Heritage tourism in South-East Asia as a field of study yields many different analysable examples, so there is actually no need to hark back to extra-region case studies like Taiwan in the last two chapters. Despite the authors' giving reasons for adding the case studies to this volume, Austronesian languages as well as some common cultural features with South-East Asia are not in this reviewer's opinion sufficient reasons for their inclusion.

The next chapter, written by Can-Seng Ooi (Copenhagen Business School), illustrates the phenomenon of 're-making Singapore' by discussing attempts to 'orientalise' and 'asianise' the city through three different museums which are located in the city state. He builds his argument on a theoretical discussion of Edward Said's concept of 'Orientalism'. Each of the museums discussed in the text traces a special aim of the government's 're-Orientalisation', 'self-Orientalisation', as well as the 're-Asianisation' process within the region and in tourism issues (pp. 96-97). *The National*

Museum of Singapore reflects the attempt to build a Singaporean identity, whereas *The Singapore Art Museum* and *The Asian Civilisations Museum* present a regional identity and therefore inadvertently convey an imperialist attitude.

Keiko Miura (Waseda University) provides a comparative chapter of two World Heritage Sites: Angkor in Cambodia and Vat Phou in Laos – both 'living heritage sites', meaning that locals reside there – are explained on different levels of interplay between conservation and tourism management. The paper also points out the problems each site faces, and improvements and lessons the persons with responsibility for Vat Phou learnt from Angkor, where some effective changes, especially for locals, took place.

Nigel Worden (University of Cape Town) portrays the construction of 'Malayness' by means of the most important historical city in Malaysia, Melaka. He underlines Melaka's cultural heritage in a historical and colonial context, how it contributes to develop a 'Malayness' identity, and how this cultural heritage is conditioned for domestic as well as international tourists.

George Town's development and the problems this Malaysian city faces are explained in the eighth chapter by Gwynn Jenkins (University of Hull). She describes the ongoing urbanisation, decreased population, and the social change taking place in the context of the city's World Heritage Site nomination. This has caused a touristic influx and various consequences for "multi-cultural users and producers" (p. 153) of the urban space and for conservation efforts.

The subsequent four chapters deal with different heritage issues in Vietnam. Mark Johnson (University of Hull) refers to John Urry's classic *Tourist Gaze* while analysing how differently the researchers and tour guides at the *Hue Monuments Conservation Centre* portray the World Heritage Site to tourists in an "on-going ideological struggle . . . in the present about the past" (p. 175). He also focuses on the various kinds of tourists and concludes that the interests and intentions for visiting the site differ considerably among domestic tourists, which also contrast with those of international tourists.

The authors of the tenth chapter, Wantanee Suntikul (Macau), Richard Butler (Strathclyde University), and David Airey (Surrey University), demonstrate the nationalistic, patriotic, and symbolic character of three Hanoian monuments and the politicisation of the past for international and especially domestic tourists. The An-

cient Quarter, Hoa Lo Prison, as well as the Ho Chi Minh Mausoleum have stood as symbols of national identity and "cultural anchor[s]" in a "period of transition" (p. 219) in Vietnam since the beginning of *doi moi* (renovation) era.

Nguyen Thi Thu Huong, who was project manager of the Handicraft Centre in Hai Duong, and Simone Wesner (London Metropolitan University) reflect on the role of handicrafts sold in one of Vietnam's numerous traditional handicraft villages in Hai Duong as cultural heritage. Handicrafts as heritage became a notable tourism product when the number of tourists greatly increased. As a result, copying and cultural adaptation is taking place. The authors underline that the real heritage is displayed more in the abilities of the producers than in the final product.

Michael Parnwell (University of Leeds) shows in his comparative study the contradictions of heritage and tourism in the case of tourism management at Ha Long Bay, Vietnam, and Phang Nga Bay, Thailand. Whereas the latter is not an UNESCO World Natural Heritage Site like Ha Long Bay, it faces similar environmental problems through tourism and mismanagement of the site. Hence, being a World Heritage Site can be a burden – for the people and the site itself. According to the author, heritage conservation and tourism should be in a state of equilibrium. Recently the authorities have become aware of these problems.

In the final chapter, the editors outline problems of different perceptions of heritage and the fact that it is rather a European concept. Further research should emphasise more the views and perceptions that South-East Asians have about cultural and natural heritage, as well as their meaning to the local people and the connections they have with the site. The editors point out the necessity of more comparative studies of different heritage sites.

This volume brings up various theoretical concepts and approaches such as nation-building, tourism development, cultural change, democratisation, participation, and nationalism – all tightly linked to heritage tourism and therefore clarifying the complexity of this subject within each case study. It shows the instrumentalisation of heritage in order to strengthen nationalism and national identity, and to develop tourism. On the other hand, the same intricacy allows the different approaches to merely be superficially debated so that it is challenging for non-scholars to follow the arguments.

Instead of discussing more of the diverse examples of heritage in the Philippines,

Thailand, or other South-East Asian countries, extra-region case studies, although highly interesting, were included in this volume. Except for the case study on tourism management in Thailand and Vietnam, there is a lack of analyses of natural heritage sites, e.g. national parks, though the environmental preservation of the sites is extremely necessary for tourism.

Despite these little deficiencies, the book is well researched and provides compelling reading for researchers of social sciences, tourism, or area studies as well as for students. It contributes to a deeper awareness of tourism and heritage-related problems and their complexity. Each case study is well examined and well grounded in heritage tourism issues. The book is therefore not only a timely but also an essential contribution to the academic discourse.

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Call for Papers

ASEAS

Österreichische Zeitschrift für Südostasienwissenschaften
Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies

Focus Borderlands

Issue 4(2) of the Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies will feature a focus on 'Borderlands', aiming at bringing together scholars working on this topic in a South-East Asian context. Borderlands, in our preliminary definition, are understood as distinct political, social, and cultural systems. The concept is not limited to geographical areas between states, but also refers to internal geographical, social, or political boundaries and marginality within states.

If you intend to submit a paper, please contact the editorial board (aseas@seas.at), as this eases our planning process. Of special interest are submissions dealing with one or several of the following issues:

- The *trans*national and *inter*national character of borderlands; economic, political, social, cultural, and historical dimensions
- Relations and interactions between social and physical space
- Sharing and non-sharing of ideas, practices, and attitudes in border regions; manifestations of interethnic relations and identity politics
- Translocality of borderlands as sources of identification within local and global reference systems
- Centre-periphery networks and relations
- Cross-border migration (labour, refugees, etc.)
- Immigration, security, and border control policies
- Frontier and borderland tourism

- As always, suggestions for interviews are welcome (for further details, please contact the board of editors)
- We also accept submissions **OUTSIDE THE FOCUS**!
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Deadline
30 July 2011
Abstracts can be sent at any time.

SEAS SOUTH-EAST ASIAN STUDIES
Gesellschaft für Südostasienwissenschaften
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Call for Papers

ASEAS

Österreichische Zeitschrift für Südostasienwissenschaften
Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies

Focus Health

Issue 5(1) of the Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies will feature a focus on 'Health', aiming at bringing together scholars working on this topic in a South-East Asian context. Health: 'A state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease.' Recounting the World Health Organisation's (WHO) basic definition, the ASEAS editorial board hopes to disclose a wide range of links to varied fields of (interdisciplinary) interests related to health in South-East Asia. We invite senior or junior researchers to contribute ideas and perspectives on health and health-related aspects in South-East Asia.

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- Environmental health and hazards, such as chemicals (e.g. Agent Orange) and environmental disasters, affecting natural living spaces and urban lifestyle
- Socio-economic balance and health: Exploring relations between economic transition, health services (availability), and demographic changes in urban as well as rural areas in South-East Asia
- Health and economy: Pharmaceutical industry, migration of labour force in the health sector, and touristic developments related to health and wellness
- Cultural dynamics and perceptions of health: Do (religious) beliefs and attitudes play a role in connection with health definitions and issues?
- Intersections of health and political conditions, human rights as well as social (in)equality

- As always, suggestions for interviews are welcome (for further details, please contact the board of editors)
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Deadline
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Topics should be related to South-East Asia, but they do not need to be restricted to the geographical region, as in the case of - for example - linguistics, diaspora groups or forms of socio-cultural transfers where spatial and political borders of South-East Asia are crossed.

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SUBMISSION DEADLINES ASEAS 4(2): 31 July 2011 + ASEAS 5(1): 31 December 2011

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