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Community Based Tourism in Cambodia: Exploring the role of community for successful implementation in Least Developed Countries

This Thesis is presented for the award of Doctor of Philosophy

SOTEAR ELLIS

School of Marketing, Tourism and Leisure

Faculty of Business and Law

Edith Cowan University, Western Australia

Abstract

Sustainable tourism has been identified as a potential tool for development in Least Developed Countries (LDCs). Specifically, at the community level, Community Based Tourism (CBT) has emerged as an effective model to promote the development of sustainable tourism which produces meaningful benefits for all sectors of the community while protecting the longevity of the tourist product, and encouraging environmental and cultural conservation.

The practical implementation of sustainable tourism in LDCs via CBT models faces many challenges. The source of these challenges is the complex stakeholder environment in which the theoretical and practical elements of CBT exist.

Stakeholders have influenced the theoretical understanding of CBT through the multitude of definitions further hindered by the variations in terminology that abound within the theoretical literature. Internal stakeholders further complicate the implementation of CBT in communities, through misinterpretation and their different agendas. The potential negative outcomes of these external stakeholder influences include the persistence of poor quality theoretical models and inadequate information sources for practitioners. Internal influences can result in increasing power imbalances within the community, and the establishment of conflicting goals for CBT.

Cambodia presents a unique opportunity to explore CBT as the model utilised to implement sustainable tourism for development in an LDC. Cambodia, identified as an LDC in 2001, has focused on the use of tourism to stimulate development, with recent attention being given to the opportunities for CBT.

The aim of this research gives consideration to developing informed best practice for the implementation of CBT in LDC communities by finding a means to minimise these potential negative outcomes. To do so, the case studies of two rural communities in Cambodia utilising CBT to stimulate community development have been explored –Banteay Chhmar, Banteay Meanchey Province, and Banlung, Ratanakiri Province.

The research was conducted in two phases, consisting of semi-structured and structured interviews with members of the community directly participating in tourism, the tourism committee, and non-participants in tourism. A total of 67 residents participated in both phases of the research.

The key findings of this research show a strong positive perception of tourism by both communities which is supported by the perception of a range of positive economic, social, cultural and environmental impacts which dominate any minor perceived negative impacts. The research revealed the importance of the role of perception in the successful implementation of CBT. In particular, the research revealed that the perception of self,

perception of community, and perception of the tourism committee have a considerable effect on the development of community support for tourism, which enhances meaningful participation for effective implementation of CBT. This alludes to social capital as an idea which can benefit the theoretical understanding of CBT, and therefore, inform practice.

This research informs the practical implementation of CBT by highlighting the importance of open communication as a facilitator of education and awareness of CBT, which supports tolerance and support of CBT during and after implementation. Also highlighted was the importance of community pride, collaboration and commitment to community activities, represented as community cohesion. This cohesion is essential for the implementation of CBT in the LDC context, as it serves to mitigate some of the challenges encountered in disadvantaged communities.

Finally, the foundations for a considered approach for the establishment of effective CBT committees are established. In addition to the assumption that CBT committees ensure community control of tourism and fund development goals, there is also a need to focus on the continued support of community cohesion as being essential for the continued success of CBT in the long term.

From this exploration of two sites in Cambodia, this research makes meaningful theoretical contributions regarding the foundations of understanding how to implement CBT effectively in the Cambodian LDC context. The practical solutions identified will facilitate this implementation process, and can potentially be extrapolated to other similar LDC settings, and into general community development scenarios.

Declaration

I certify that this thesis does not, to the best of my knowledge and belief:

i. incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any institution of higher education;

ii. contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text of this thesis; or

iii. contain any defamatory material;

Sotear Ellis

Acknowledgements

In memoriam

Aaron Lee Hawkins

1977-2009

I always believed that the journey taken to complete a PhD was one of the most difficult challenges in life. In losing you so suddenly, I realise that I was wrong. Life is full of challenges that are so much greater than the ones we can conceive. Though there is no greater tragedy than that of your death, you have made me stronger for it. For you, this PhD is now complete. You have shown me that I have the strength to reach for my dreams in the face of overwhelming grief and loss. Thank you for your ceaseless support and love, and for all the lessons you have taught me in life and death.

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Chapter One: An Introduction

Note: The above character is the Khmer numeral '1'. Khmer numbers are used as part of each chapter heading.

In the realm of poverty alleviation, much effort has been dedicated to increasing the efficacy of advocated solutions. However, poverty alleviation faces considerable challenges in the modern world, as the financial distribution gap continues to widen, and environmental concerns increase the pressures on the standard of living of millions worldwide.

Community development is now a key focus of supranational agencies and Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) invested in poverty alleviation. In the twenty first century, tourism has emerged as a potential vehicle for community development in Least Developed Countries (LDCs), representing the most disadvantaged countries worldwide. However, there is a need to ensure that where tourism is being utilised for development in LDCs, that there is also sustainability of both tourism as an industry and of the setting in which it exists. Only through this, can we be sure of long term positive effects on community development and poverty alleviation via tourism.

This research looks at sustainable tourism as a tool for development in LDCs, as its use becomes increasingly popular. In particular, this research will focus on Community Based Tourism (CBT) as a tool for implementing sustainable tourism projects in LDCs.

This initial chapter establishes the theoretical framework of this research by exploring the historical foundations of sustainable tourism development, and its new found role as a tool for community development in LDCs. However, the role of sustainable tourism development as a tool faces many challenges in its practical implementation. The following review highlights the difficulties of practically implementing the models of sustainable tourism development, revealing the need to address these challenges in order to improve practical efficacy.

An Historical Overview of Sustainable Development

The foundations for sustainable tourism development have emerged from a need to encourage a more sustainable industry practices from an environmental perspective. This has steadily become a key consideration in a diverse range of contexts. Environmental awareness has become increasingly visible during the second half of the twentieth century, and also in the twenty first century. Though evidence shows that environmental awareness emerged in 1949, in the works by Aldo Leopold (1949, cited Weaver & Lawton, 2010), the emphasis in tourism literature focuses intensely on the outcomes from the World Commission on Environment Development Report (1987). Most frequently quoted is the aforementioned report definition of sustainable development: “development meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, p. 54). The presentation of this report in 1987 by the World Commission on Environment and

Development (WCED), and reaffirmation of this definition in 'Agenda 21' presented at the Earth Summit in 1992, has firmly grounded the 'sustainable' in sustainable development as pertaining to the sustainability of natural resources (United Nations Department for Economic and Social Affairs, 1992).

The purpose of sustainable development, with this environmental focus in mind, is to seek a balance between economic gain and environmental resource conservation with long term benefit. This theory found application in heavy industry and businesses as environmental awareness became a critical factor of profitability and marketability (See Pokharel & Larsen, 2007; Searcy, Karapetrovic, & McCartney, 2005; Sherry, Halseth, Fondahl, Karjala, & Leon, 2005).

Slowly, sustainable development has expanded out from these areas and found tourism. Yet, the original grounding in environmental sustainability has followed, and much literature investigating sustainable development in tourism has continued to focus on environmental conservation. This reflects the increased awareness of environmental issues in society, and indeed the focus of recent research in tourism on environmental impacts of tourism operations in destinations.

However, there is evidence of a shift from the specificity of this environmental focus towards more holistic approaches. This has led to a clarification of the definitions of sustainability in terms of tourism, towards a definition which includes environmental and economic sustainability, with an increasing level of awareness of social and cultural issues. And thus, with this viewpoint, sustainable tourism is defined in its own right.

The Emergence of Sustainable Tourism

The World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) has defined sustainable tourism:

> "Sustainable tourism development meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future. It is envisaged as leading to the management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity, and life support systems." (World Tourism Organization, 1998 , p. 20)

This definition is widely used in tourism research. It builds on the ambiguous definition of sustainable development, highlighting the need to consider specifically, key stakeholders, being the tourist and the resident community, along with the need to balance development (economic, social and physical) with maintenance of cultural and natural resources. However, it possesses its own ambiguity that allows the definition to be interpreted in many ways (Gilmore, Carson, & Ascenco, 2007; Kelly & Moles, 2000).

This ambiguity can be particularly problematic in terms of who is doing the interpreting, as meaning can be fitted to agenda. One critical conflict emerges in the use of the terminology itself. It is suggested that 'sustainable tourism' can be used to denote the sustainability of the tourism industry, which would suggest that approaches should only seek to ensure the survival of the tourism industry. This usage of the term is allegedly favoured by those pursing sustainability as a marketing tool over desire to affect change (Jamrozy, 2007; Lansing & De Vries, 2007). The alternative to this interpretation is more widely accepted, where sustainable tourism (also, 'sustainable tourism development') refers to the development of tourism which sustainably exploits local resources whilst minimising harm to the local community and environment (World Tourism Organisation, 2005).

The Potential for Sustainable Tourism for Development in LDCs

Sustainable tourism is a tool which can enhance opportunities for development wherever it is possible for tourism to be introduced (George & Henthorne, 2007). However, it has particular potential for economic and social development in LDCs. This requires that sustainable tourism, as a concept, must synthesise both previously mentioned interpretations of sustainable tourism (i.e. sustainable tourism must seek to protect the local community and environment through conservation of resources as well as ensuring the survival of the tourism industry) so as to guarantee the provision and growth of benefits for present and future generations.

This research views sustainable tourism in this light, as having a role in the development of socially and economically disadvantaged countries, with great potential for poverty alleviation. Thus, sustainable tourism in this case incorporates the UNWTO definition, but recognises a focus on sociocultural aspects as important as environmental ones, and the potential development opportunities for poverty alleviation.

As a development tool, tourism is a non-heavy industry with relatively few barriers to entry that can be used to facilitate economic development (Weaver & Lawton, 2002). In LDCs, it is a lack of money that is a major cause of socio economic disadvantage, and many residents live in poverty (Dao, 2004). Tourism is therefore frequently seen as a quick and easy solution to economic disadvantage, and it is optimistically assumed that increased wealth will lead to the resolution of other social problems via a trickle-down effect of economic benefits which can lead to an increase in standard of living (Gossling, 2003; Rogerson, 2007).

However, Bigman and Fofack (2000) has noted that generally, research has shown this to be an unlikely outcome in most cases. Rarely does income from tourism reach poorer sectors of the community. Leakage of tourism income occurs to international investors and tourism businesses or to domestic investors and businesses operating in capital centres distant from tourism areas (Carbone, 2005; Stoeckl, 2007). Also, income from tourism retained in the

community is unlikely to be distributed evenly, favouring local power elites over poor community residents (Feng, 2008; Rogerson, 2007). Rapid progress towards tourism development increases many risks associated with an uncontrolled development approach, particularly where governments lack the necessary frameworks which is common in LDCs (Akpabio, Eniang, & Egwali, 2008; Hanh, 2006). Though tourism development approached in this way produces short term economic benefits, such benefits are short lived, as other costs associated with tourism emerge, which negate positive impacts received. Therefore, there is an identified need for sustainable tourism to be utilised as an approach that promotes social and economic development in a way that benefits community in a meaningful way, long term (Jayawardena, Patterson, Choi, & Brain, 2008).

Sustainable Tourism Development Models

There are various sustainable tourism development models. This section briefly outlines three key models. First is the development of sustainable tourism products based on the utilisation of existing assets in the community. This approach can use existing environmental or cultural assets (or a combination) and has a substantial effect on the community in which it is established. The focus of this approach is on the development of the tourism product (Cottrell & Cutumisu, 2006; Gilmore & Simmons, 2007; Shunnaq, Schwab, & Reid, 2008; Teh & Cabanban, 2007). Also addressed in this section are Pro Poor Tourism (PPT) and CBT. PPT is a holistic approach to tourism, which demands that any development be considerate of the needs of the poor at all levels of decision making. CBT constitutes a practical combination of both prior models. CBT utilises existing assets for tourism, but emphasises the need for community control. This facilitates the initial development of tourism, but, through emphasising community control, it seeks to mitigate the challenges of PPT associated with the multitude of tourism and non-tourism related stakeholders, and the need to push for holistic policy change.

Ecotourism and Other Niche Tourism Products

The notion of 'sustainability' in tourism has led to the growth of sustainable tourism development models which seek to reassign values of natural and cultural assets towards preservation for utilisation as tourism assets. This leads to sustainability of the industry as well as the original asset.

Ecotourism is one of the most common manifestations of sustainable tourism in LDCs. It is easy to see the direct link between harnessing environmental assets for tourism over other resource consumptive industries as a means of conservation which has financial returns (Mvula, 2001). Value of an environmental asset is reassigned to its preservation over its consumption, where the expectation that financial returns will be greater and for the longer term than the alternative.

The conservation of natural assets also has implications for social benefit, by helping to preserve the amenity of the resident community's living environment. Ideally, this includes

reduction in pollution of the environment and atmosphere and potentially protects other resources, including flora and fauna populations, and protecting clean water supplies.

Other niche products can follow the ecotourism model in utilising other non-natural assets for tourism. In terms of sustainable tourism for development in LDCs, these other forms of asset are usually cultural, utilising either modern cultural assets or heritage assets. Similarly, cultural tourism helps to preserve the cultural assets through valuing them financially as a tourism asset (Hanh, 2006).

The key focus of these products is focused on the original asset being used to develop tourism. The conservation of the asset is intended to ensure its continued value for tourism. The risk is the assumption that tourism will have a trickle-down effect, where tourism will naturally create positive economic and social impacts, through employment and increased income to the community (Byrd, 2007; Gossling, 2003). Effective planning is essential to ensure the realisation of positive impacts, including all those under the sustainable tourism paradigm, and the minimisation of potential negative impacts (Arthur & Mensah, 2006). This can be hindered by the focus on conservation (environmental or cultural) and the critical need for tourism to deliver fast economic impacts, which can lead to the neglect of broader development goals.

Pro Poor Tourism (PPT)

Pro Poor strategies are a more holistic development approach requiring that there is a dependence on all activities to provide some beneficial outcome for the poor (Scheyvens & Momsen, 2008). Development is not required to follow a particular model, as long as the needs of the poor are considered as part of each decision making process. This influences tourism development, via PPT, to follow sustainable tourism and poverty alleviation guidelines. The holistic nature of PPT allows tourism to grow and produce benefits from sustainable tourism practices which are not dependent on the development and maintenance of a single tourism product (Binns & Nel, 2002; Mograbi & Rogerson, 2007; Rogerson, 2007). Positive impacts can be derived from all developments supporting tourism in a community.

The limitations of PPT are derived from there being no clear process. Instead, PPT is reliant on the goodwill of industry stakeholders in considering the poor and their needs as a part of their business. Traditional tourism industries often involve large numbers of international companies, who do not answer to local communities in terms of their profit goals and business styles (Tepelus, 2008). In LDCs in particular, the role of international stakeholders is so great, financial leakage can exceed 50% of earnings (Lansing & De Vries, 2007; Muhanna, 2007). Even when PPT is identified as a strategy for a community, the diverse and global stakeholder network is a hindrance to its application.

Community Based Tourism (CBT)

CBT, as the name implies, relies on the community developing tourism, usually with the support of another organisation (government or NGO) that possess the appropriate skills and capacity. Though similar tourism assets are utilised as opportunities as for ecotourism or niche markets, the focus remains on the community and the assimilation of tourism into the community in an appropriate way. This is more readily achieved where the community has control of tourism from early planning stages (Muhanna, 2007). The nature of CBT is to create a tourism industry which is as community sufficient as possible. This means that the community has control of tourism, as the product, as providers of physical and human resources and as suppliers. Thus, they can maximise the benefits from tourism, and have the ability to minimise negative impacts inappropriately.

The risk of CBT as a development tool, particularly in LDCs, is where CBT is implemented by an external group (such as an NGO). The community's relative inexperience and vulnerability usually excludes them from the critical initial planning stages. The community therefore lacks the control of tourism which is key to successful CBT, and ends up dependent on the implementers (Buccus, Hemson, Hicks, & Piper, 2008; Manyara & Jones, 2007). This prevents the growth of sustainable tourism and reduces the potential for tourism to maximise community benefits. Without community control, projects usually fail upon withdrawal of the implementers (Manyara & Jones, 2007; Shunnaq, et al., 2008).

For the purposes of this research, CBT has been identified as the most appropriate model for the implementation of sustainable tourism for development in LDC communities. By utilising existing natural or cultural assets in the community, tourism can be established quickly based on a core product. The focus on community and the establishment of community control eliminates the time consumptive nature of PPT that often requires widespread policy changes to support community development goals, where all communities are disadvantaged. CBT bypasses this by ensuring that the community in question considers their own development goals and also controls tourism in order to support them. This makes CBT the model with the best practical potential for sustainable tourism to support development in LDC communities.

Implications for Sustainable Tourism Theory

It may be suggested that sustainable tourism theory as a development tool in LDCs has conceptual issues. There is an assumption that success in tourism (sustainable or not) requires a level of development. On a basic level, this is designed to create a product and attendant tourism industry that will attract visitors and facilitate the consumption of their experience. It is designed to improve the amenity of a tourism product to international tourists, but also challenges notions of conservation of environment and culture (Cottrell & Cutumisu, 2006; Johnston & Tyrrell, 2007).

By seeking social development goals, it is inevitable that such development will initiate cultural change, especially in the realm of living culture (Dong, Yu, & Liu, 2008; Kuhn, 2007). For example, development which increases the standard of living within a community has the potential to affect traditional practices (Nettekoven, 1979), such as education ,the production of culturally significant products, or traditional foods among others, due to an increase in affluence. This suggests that cultural conservation, as advocated by sustainable tourism, may be an impossible or unnecessary goal. This presents major theoretical challenges for sustainable cultural tourism development (Fauzi & Buchary, 2002; Oviedo-Garcia, Castellanos-Verdugo, & Martin-Ruiz, 2008).

Acculturation is traditionally viewed as a negative sociocultural impact of tourism that manifests as a dominant visiting culture is adopted by the weaker resident culture at the expense of the latter (Weaver & Lawton, 2002). However, in today's global society, acculturation is not simply a negative impact of tourism. It is becoming a widespread phenomenon as globalisation increases, where cultures are seen to evolve to take on the characteristics of the most dominant culture in the world (Van De Berg, 2000).

The issue of development is further complicated in the LDC context, as poverty alleviation goals inherently support development goals. The conflict with sustainable tourism development focusing on environmental or cultural assets arises where positive development has a negative impact on the conservation of the tourism asset (Binns & Nel, 2002), for example, through the loss of traditional practices to more efficient modern alternatives (Bottomley, 2002).

These conflicting issues then call into question who has established the ideal models for development that sustainable tourism must aspire to. Where external stakeholders are involved in LDCs, cultural differences are great, and external stakeholders tend to hold a position of perceived authority (Teye, Sonmez, & Sirakaya, 2002). Therefore, the appropriateness of these models in different cultural environments must be considered, along with the possible motives and influences of these groups. External stakeholders in tourism, such as the international community (representing international agencies and NGOs) and potential tourists are thus major contributors to issues of acculturation and the appropriateness of development in LDCs.

The following section will discuss the roles of internal and external stakeholders in sustainable tourism. International agencies and tourists represent the major external stakeholders which have an important role in the development of sustainable tourism. All models of sustainable tourism, including ecotourism and niche products, CBT and PPT are under the influence of these external stakeholders. International stakeholders are key stakeholders in policy, implementation and resources, where tourists as external stakeholders represent the consumers of the tourist product. The resident community has the most involved role in tourism as they have direct and indirect contact with tourism as a part of their daily lives. Government and the private sector will also be discussed, as these

stakeholders have a role as internal and external stakeholders, as their power usually extends beyond the localised community context.

Sustainable Tourism Stakeholders

International Agencies

International agencies are an external stakeholder group which includes other governments, international organizations such as the United Nations and the World Tourism Organization, and, in the case of LDCs, international NGOs. This group is a major financial contributor to LDCs, also providing human capital and expertise.

International agencies present a number of challenges to the successful implementation of sustainable tourism. For example, many of these organisations are vulnerable to their own influences, such as sources of funding, or their own motivations and agendas. This can have a substantial impact on how projects are funded and which projects are supported, regardless of the recipient government's policies or priorities (Coate, Handmer, & Choong, 2006; Gounder, 2001). The high profile of these international agencies has further implications, as it leads these agencies to occupy positions of power in comparison to LDCs, which decreases the ability of LDCs to participate effectively, as they are enthusiastic to accept the aid being made available. This can also serve to accelerate acculturation. International agencies are not necessarily knowledgeable in the diverse range of cultural environments, and the imposition of their ideas of best practice can be inappropriate (Feng, 2008; Hanh, 2006; Jayawardena, et al., 2008).

Tourists as External Stakeholders

As consumers of the tourist destination, tourism is dependent on them for success, regardless of any development strategy that has been implemented. Thus, tourist satisfaction is a key part of all tourism planning. In sustainable tourism development, it is important to ensure that tourist satisfaction and demand is also sustainable to ensure the future of the tourism development (Fyall, Garrod, & Leask, 2003; Gilmore & Simmons, 2007). Such development, from the tourist perspective, requires a certain amount of compromise in providing safe and familiar products (e.g. food, amenities) for international visitors to experience that do not impact on the cultural practices of residents. This can be extremely difficult. In the case of LDCs, tourists can also have a negative role in causing an increase in acculturation. Tourists typically represent a dominant culture with a sizeable cultural distance which can increase acculturation and impact social development goals (Hanh, 2006; Kuhn, 2007; Shaw & Ismail, 2006).

However, tourists can have a positive role in sustainable tourism development. Tourists can contribute to raising awareness of environmental and cultural conservation issues as well as problems contributing to poverty in the community. This can be achieved through education of the tourists so as to encourage respect and support for the destination, leading to

behaviours which support conservation and awareness issues (Fyall, et al., 2003; Mason, 2003; Scheyvens & Momsen, 2008).

Market trends towards ecotourism and ethical tourism would suggest that tourists will have a positive impact on sustainable tourism practices. However, it is unclear how tourists understand sustainable tourism and how much influence this understanding has (Mvula, 2001; Tepelus, 2008). The risk is that tourists' understanding of sustainable tourism is not founded on true cases of sustainable tourism, but the product of marketing techniques employed by the private sector. This can impact tourist satisfaction in the long term, and have negative implications for success in sustainable tourism.

Resident Community

For sustainable tourism, the resident community of a tourist destination is arguably the most important stakeholder (Muhanna, 2007). Sustainable tourism is intended to provide benefits to the community, but this group is also the victim of negative impacts of tourism. As the key stakeholder group, it also presents major challenges to the implementation of sustainable tourism strategies. In LDCs, a lack of education and understanding of tourism can potentially reduce the success of sustainable tourism as it can lead to a lack of respect and support for tourism, in favour of practices with more immediate economic returns (Clayton, 2003; Fauzi & Buchary, 2002). Such a lack of education and awareness is a difficult problem to overcome to ensure successful implementation of sustainable tourism (Mvula, 2001; Scheyvens & Momsen, 2008).

Community participation is the widely accepted approach to addressing the above issues. However, this is challenging in itself, particularly where sustainable tourism has a role in poverty alleviation (Carbone, 2005). Community participation must give a sense of ownership and responsibility for tourism to the community as a means of ensuring the retention of economic benefits and minimising of negative sociocultural impact (Ying & Zhou, 2007).

The key challenges include difficulties of attracting community participation in early stages of development as well as encouraging balanced and representative cooperation. The community are more likely to begin participating in tourism development strategies after having observed the achievement of economic benefits by others, usually external businesses. This means that external interests are always involved in early stages of tourism development, which can have negative impacts, such as acculturation and creating entrenched economic leakage pathways. Also, the early stage of development is where their input is most valuable and influential (Carbone, 2005; Kelly & Moles, 2000; Mbaiwa, 2004). The appropriateness of tourism development in terms of the acceptance and support of tourism by the community is affected by the lack of community input in setting these key boundaries.

There is also a risk in encouraging participation via community groups and committees, which in that these groups will not be an accurate representation of the resident community as a whole. They may belong to a particular group with agendas and motives for influencing tourism development. It is very common in LDCs that poorer community sectors are significantly underrepresented, and participation is engaged in by local elites (Akpabio, et al., 2008; Rogerson, 2007). This is of particular concern in tourism development for poverty alleviation, as community participation is a requirement for the equal distribution of benefits from tourism. Where the critical groups intended to benefit from tourism are excluded, benefits to these groups are reduced, and thus the purpose is not achieved.

It must also be noted that the heterogeneity of any given community can prove challenging to sustainable tourism development. It is intended that community participation and control is a part of the sustainable tourism development process. However, internal conflicts, different groups and diverse attitudes and beliefs can affect lines of communication within a community and also, cooperation between its members (George & Henthorne, 2007; Manyara & Jones, 2007). This will affect community participation and support for tourism. It is interesting to note that despite the negative impacts on participation, when this is overcome, community heterogeneity will have little impact on operations within the community (Mason & Beard, 2008).

In addition to these challenges, LDC communities are also disadvantaged due to the power roles of stakeholder relationships and how the community perceives itself. It has already been noted that a lack of education and understanding within a community can undermine development goals, as the community will not respect and support tourism (Rogerson, 2007). The other potential outcome, common in the LDC scenario, is that this lack of education and understanding emphasises powerlessness in the community and will discourage this involvement, as the community perceives itself to be too inexperienced to take ownership of tourism (Suntikul, Bauer, & Song, 2010). Where tourism has been introduced as a development tool by an external stakeholder group, such as an NGO, this is exacerbated, as the community will see these 'outsiders' as more knowledgeable than themselves, elevating them to a position of power in the process of developing tourism (Buccus, et al., 2008; Shunnaq, et al., 2008). This enables the community to persistently avoid meaningful participation based on this perceived powerlessness and inexperience, making tourism developments dependent on the NGO indefinitely, despite any goals being set to the contrary.

Dependency on foreign aid is a recognised impediment to development in LDCs. Communities can see themselves as powerless to escape from their own poverty, through, for example, their personal experiences of hardship, conflict or poor education (Galea et al., 2010; Lever, Pinol, & Uralde, 2005). This means that intervening authorities from places that have not suffered this hardship, or do not suffer as the communities do, are in a position of perceived power. This can reinforce the community's feeling of inadequacy, and lead to the

dependence of communities on external support, particularly financial support. The convenience of accepting aid over seeking paths out of poverty for themselves, creates an inertia which encourages dependency on aid also (Lever, et al., 2005).

Government

Where sustainable tourism is being implemented to pursue development goals, the government, on national, regional and local levels, needs to be heavily involved to ensure progress. The government's role, supported by the public sector, is to provide guidance and leadership via policies, regulations and frameworks to ensure total participation to achieve sustainable tourism goals (Dao, 2004; Mograbi & Rogerson, 2007; Muhanna, 2007).

For LDCs, there are extra challenges which must be overcome, including a crippling lack of resources, and an increased risk of systemic corruption. This presents challenges for the initial uptake of sustainable tourism, as well as challenging the ability to enforce regulations and adhere to established frameworks to ensure its success (Carbone, 2005). Governments in LDCs are vulnerable to power discrepancies in their own country, and the global community. This can be a result of the lack of resources and corruption, but is also enhanced by dependency on aid and support from international organizations, as discussed previously. Pressures from these stakeholders may not necessarily be in line with sustainable tourism strategies, further weakening any stance the government has in developing sustainable tourism (Hanh, 2006; Scheyvens & Momsen, 2008). Corruption within a government system only serves to undermine progress in sustainable tourism development by allowing activities which do not support policies regarding tourism and continue to challenge the authority held by the government within the country, as well as in the global community (Carbone, 2005).

Private Sector

The private sector represents stakeholders with business interests in tourism and industries supporting tourism. These businesses can range in size, from small, family owned enterprises to transnational conglomerates (Weaver & Lawton, 2002). For sustainable tourism, small to medium locally owned businesses are advocated to promote the ownership and retention of earnings of tourism within a community (Mbaiwa, 2004; World Tourism Organisation, 2002). However, large transnational businesses are very common in tourism due to the international nature of the industry.

Businesses are traditionally motivated by profit. In the case of sustainable tourism for development, this creates problems as businesses are reluctant to commit to sustainable tourism practices as it is not in line with short term profit driven goals (Binns & Nel, 2002; Prasad, 1998). It is very difficult for businesses to realise that long term profitability will be enhanced by adoption of sustainable tourism practices. This can lead to the degradation of tourism assets to the disadvantage of tourism development (Fauzi & Buchary, 2002). This is of particular concern where businesses are not operated by the local community, as external business owners are not aware of the importance of these assets or how to

manage their exploitation in a way that will not cause harm to the community (Lansing & De Vries, 2007). This is the primary reason why regulation by governments is necessary to ensure the participation of the private sector in sustainable tourism through policies and frameworks.

Another issue to arise regarding transnational businesses in the LDC scenario is the power possessed by large corporations that can have a considerable influence. The income potential of having large corporations operating in particular destinations means that tourism development can become influenced by their agendas and their processes. The international ownership of these large corporations also prevents community ownership and control of tourism. It can even prevent national control and ownership of tourism, and therefore, economic benefits are retained by the origin country of the corporation with little flow-on effect to the destination (Binns & Nel, 2002; Muhanna, 2007; Prats, 2001). LDCs are more likely to be influenced by these international businesses to the detriment of policy in exchange for such powerful support for the tourism industry and potential economic benefits. However, it should be noted that these economic benefits are seldom realised locally.

Despite these challenges, consumer awareness of global issues (such as climate change) and an increasing desire of tourists to seek novel experiences, is contributing to the increase in market appeal of sustainability, particularly environmental sustainability. Consequently, the saleability of sustainable tourism as a product is improving, which will encourage businesses to pursue sustainability for the potential benefits from increased sales. Thus far, much of this development is superficial, and not an earnest attempt at sustainable tourism development at any level (Jamrozy, 2007; Mahony, 2007; Sichel, 2006). Much more work is required for the private sector to actively support sustainable tourism development without legislation, but it is a more positive outlook.

The practical challenges of implementing CBT as a policy framework to support LDC development goals, and in community scenarios are strongly influenced by the stakeholder environment. The external stakeholders in CBT have a controlling influence on the building of policy frameworks and the conceptual defining of CBT. The implementation of CBT in the community encounters challenges based on the unique cultural context and the interactions between stakeholder groups. The breadth and influence of these challenges begins to call into question the practicability of sustainable tourism. The following sections will present an overview of the conceptual understanding of sustainable tourism upon which CBT is founded, and will also critique its viability.

The Impact of Theoretical Issues on the Practice of Sustainable Tourism Development

Throughout the world, sustainable tourism is being undertaken, via the creation of sustainable tourism products or via broader development approaches. Sustainable tourism, however, is still hotly debated in the literature, with little consensus being reached on matters of terminology, as well as practical application. Despite this, there are key themes identified in the broader definitions of sustainable tourism that can be used to frame practical implementation. The openness to interpretation, however, represents challenges for its practical implementation, and also, its evaluation.

However, this does not mean a standardised definition for sustainable tourism development is appropriate or practical. Countries and the communities within them are diverse in all respects, environment, culture, values, traditions, government, economy, etc. The interaction of all stakeholders and their role in tourism is equally diverse. It is therefore impossible to develop an approach to sustainable tourism development that is applicable in all settings. Approaches need to be developed with special consideration of the needs and resources available in each instance (Chens, Sok, & Sok, 2008).

Thus, if individual approaches are applied to individual settings, evaluation ends up being on an individual scale also. The literature reveals that there is no standard for the assessment of sustainable tourism approaches (Bramwell & Lane, 2008), and in the light of available definitions and guidelines, this is not surprising (Lansing & De Vries, 2007). The most common means of evaluating the success of the implementation of sustainable tourism development strategies is the use of indicators to ascertain as to whether objectives of the approach are being met (Weaver & Lawton, 1999).

In the majority of cases, sustainable tourism development is evaluated via the use of indicators. Indicators in themselves have limitations as they are based on objectives which may not reflect sustainable tourism guidelines, and are vulnerable to bias by developers and those who may interpret results for their own ends. As a result, there is a distinct lack of evidence to demonstrate whether sustainable tourism is practicable and which approach is most successful (Bramwell & Lane, 2008)

Other limitations for the successful evaluation of sustainable tourism approaches include variances in interpretation of definitions, which forms the basis for developing evaluative objectives, in which these errors are inevitably replicated (Johnston & Tyrrell, 2007). The influence of the stakeholder responsible for the implementation or evaluation of sustainable tourism approaches also potentially introduces bias into the evaluation process. This in turn reduces the accuracy of these evaluative processes and diminishes the value of its contribution towards developing objective models for best practice (Fuchs & Lorek, 2005).

This leads to the conclusion that what is required to enhance the successful practice of sustainable tourism in LDCs is a complex, holistic solution. The challenges represented by

the lack of clear theoretical definitions, and the complex stakeholder environments in LDCs, exacerbated by the added vulnerabilities of LDCs, demand that more attention must be given to considering effective practical approaches to sustainable tourism development. However, to improve practical implementation, the priority must be to identify objectives of sustainable tourism for development which consider the unique challenges presented by different communities. As such, objectives should identify key areas which are common between communities, but also have the flexibility to be able to address specific community issues.

It is these objectives which should be evaluated to assess the success of sustainable tourism development. If the key objectives are used for evaluation, the bias of particular stakeholder groups can be minimised based on the clearer understanding of individual goals in a particular context. Also, objectives based evaluation techniques can be utilised in multiple settings enabling a clearer and more consistent viewpoint of the practice of sustainable tourism development in LDCs worldwide.

It is suggested in this overview that the available literature does not support the creation of this understanding of how sustainable tourism works, and what can be done to improve the success of implementations in any LDC context. This research will focus on the gap in information regarding community issues. A better understanding of these issues will facilitate successful sustainable tourism development in LDCs.

In summary, it is evident from the literature that debate surrounding the definition of sustainable tourism has led to difficulties in implementing sustainable tourism approaches. This is a result of difficulties in further defining sustainable tourism approaches and identifying objectives of these approaches. What must become a priority the use of a clearer and practically-founded understanding of sustainable tourism development to inform practice by highlighting common community objectives, but also encouraging flexibility in practice to adapt to specific community conditions.

Critique of 'Sustainability' in Tourism

Though the limitations of sustainable tourism have been highlighted as a contrast between theoretical understanding and practical ability, it is necessary to address one of the fundamental limitations of sustainable development and tourism which is widely disregarded in the literature. This literature review has highlighted the theoretical foundations of sustainable tourism, yet few researchers have called into question the essential practicability of 'sustainability'. The majority of researchers accept the theoretical foundations, and through their individual interpretations, produce further theoretical conclusions, or aim to use this interpreted theoretical understanding to inform practice.

Without the bias of interpretation of theoretical definitions, the practice of sustainable tourism, particularly for the stimulus of development in LDCs, is logically impossible.

Pursuing sustainable tourism in it purist form will fail to succeed as the volatility of the tourist market acts as an uncontrollable force for destinations, the effects of which are amplified in the small niche markets advocated by sustainable tourism. The conservation goals, environmental and sociocultural, which are the core focus for 'sustainable' are in direct conflict with development goals, both at the community and the tourism industry level.

Limitations of Niche Markets

The use of tourism for community development in LDCs has, for the most part, focused on rural areas. It is these less accessible areas that have not benefitted from traditional tourism markets, such as those in larger urban centres and capital cities. The assets available to rural destinations are usually limited to being natural or cultural assets. Thus, the niche market models of ecotourism and cultural tourism are the most appropriate models for development, as they utilise existing assets, reducing capital outlay, and seek to attract independent tourists with higher spending and cultural and environmental sensitivity. This increases income via tourism without dependence on high numbers of tourists and ensures a minimal impact on the community. These markets also represent tourists willing to travel to more isolated destinations, who will tolerate lesser infrastructure in exchange for a 'genuine' experience (Mason, 2003). Therefore, these niche markets are theoretically an ideal solution for stimulating economic development with least effort and expenditure, and minimal impact on the community.

Despite the theoretical potential for the attraction of niche markets to achieve the development goals of communities in LDCs, there are some important issues that need to be addressed. Where communities utilise tourism for development, priority is placed on economic and social development. Even under the sustainable tourism paradigm, development goals include major changes to the livelihoods of the community and the improvement of essential infrastructure. These goals are reliant on the sustainability of the industry, in terms of the continued growth of visitor numbers, to increase the income from tourism to fund development goals. It can be argued that the scale of development required in LDC communities for poverty alleviation in dependent on long term growth.

Therefore, conflict arises when communities utilising tourism for development require continuous long term growth in visitor numbers. As these numbers increase, it will ultimately alienate their original niche target markets in favour of broader, mass tourism markets. If communities do not make this transition to more traditional markets, visitor numbers will plateau, and growth will cease, which will impede the achievement of development goals. The transition to more traditional mass tourism markets, however, will increase the prevalence of negative tourism impacts which the original niche market was designed to minimise.

In these cases, the prioritisation of development goals also negatively affects sustainability. The expansion of markets beyond the original niche markets will increase negative effects of

tourism, thus causing a failure to sustain the tourism industry in terms of causing no harm to the social, environmental and cultural fabric of the community. However, not expanding the target markets for tourism will cause a stagnation of the tourism industry, where the industry itself will not be sustainable, nor provide benefits for future generations, and preventing the provision of benefits through the achievement of development goals.

Conflict between Development and Conservation Goals

Sustainable tourism is intended to minimise negative impacts, increasing the potential longevity of the industry. However, where tourism is intended to further development goals, particularly in LDCs, conflict arises for the sustainability of the industry, and the community that sustainable tourism was designed to safeguard. This is particularly problematic in the case of cultural assets being utilised to establish a sustainable tourism product. The extreme poverty typically experienced by rural communities in LDCs constitutes a part of the tourist product. Traditional cultures and practices are maintained as modern resources, equipment, or alternatives are not available to the community. Environments and sites of cultural significance remain unchanged, as development is stagnated by a lack of money and resources. However, as globalisation becomes more widespread, the desire to adapt to the more dominant culture grows. When the resources become available for development, in this case, via the income from tourism, the process will have a negative impact on the original assets the community utilised for tourism. Traditional cultures and practices can be changed through access to more efficient forms of technology, or through the import of cheaper or better materials. As accessibility to alternative cultures and products increase, the adoption of these will have a deleterious effect on the traditions of the community.

Though this 'demonstration effect' or 'acculturation' is typically identified as a negative impact of tourism, it must be noted that in the case of LDCs, development is a common goal for sustainable tourism. The aforementioned changes represent the achievement of these goals. However, under these circumstances, the achievement of development goals as facilitated by tourism, will negatively affect the product. This must be taken into consideration, as it is not appropriate to deny community development for the sake of the sustainability of the tourism product, where development is a key aim. There must be a compromise for which allows tourism to continue to grow to facilitate development, without impacting sustainability. Whether this can be a practical reality is yet to be seen.

Realities of Sustainable Tourism for Development in LDCs

Despite the challenges identified in this critique, the role of sustainable tourism is still important for enhancing the opportunities for LDCS with its reduced barriers to entry compared to other developmental solutions. The above critique has focused on the purest theoretical definitions of sustainable tourism, and highlighted the contradictions in sustainable tourism for development in LDCs. It also decreases the extent of the dissonance between sustainable tourism theory and practical reality. This critique also serves to

highlight the realities of sustainable tourism for development in LDCs to avoid overdependence and unrealistic expectations, and to stimulate the discussion of more practical models of sustainable tourism for development which address these conflicts effectively.

From this review of the literature, the following conclusions may be drawn:

1. There is a need for a holistic definition of 'sustainable tourism'.

Sustainable tourism has, in the literature, evolved from a purely environmental viewpoint to include a more balanced view incorporating social, cultural and economic elements. However, its history in environmentalism still pervades, creating confusion and ambiguity in understanding sustainable tourism (see Sinclair & Jayawardena, 2003). Formal definitions offered by the UNWTO do little to reduce this ambiguity. As it stands, sustainable tourism as a concept, should been seen to promote the development of a successful and viable tourism industry. This industry must recognise the need for environmental and cultural sustainability, via minimising negative environmental, social, cultural and economic impacts to the community and enhancing positive impacts to the community. In this way, sustainable tourism can be recognised as a catalyst for social and economic development which supports the community and the industry for maximum benefit.

2. The stakeholder environment in which LDCs operate influences the theoretical foundations of sustainable tourism, as well as affecting practical implementation.

The inconsistencies in theory and practice highlighted in the literature can be largely attributed to the influences of the external and internal stakeholders involved in sustainable tourism in LDCs. Recognition of these influences and effects can lead to the reconciliation of these inconsistencies via the acceptance of some inevitabilities and the introduction of processes to minimise their impact. The priority is the transformation of theory to reflect a reality which accepts the practical implications of stakeholder involvement.

3. A clearer understanding of key objectives of sustainable tourism for development in LDCs is required as a foundation for informing practical approaches to tourism.

Three key types of practical approaches to sustainable tourism development have been identified. However, the continued debate surrounding the definitions of sustainable tourism development and the multitude of interpretations of available definitions distracts from the development of key objectives which will stimulate best practice.

4. There is no basis for standardising sustainable tourism approaches or evaluating these approaches to promote successful implementation in terms of theoretical objectives.

The variability of communities and destinations, along with the challenges in implementing sustainable tourism, means that formulating a single, standard approach to sustainable

tourism development is impossible. However, clearer definitions and objectives of would facilitate more successful implementations and also improve the ability to assess whether sustainable tourism is successful in its individual setting. Current assessment techniques are too prone to bias and also lack objectivity, and consequently, it cannot be determined how successful practical approaches are. This could be rectified by clearer understanding of common objectives, as well as structures to facilitate the identification of site specific objectives, providing key points for evaluation.

5. The critique of sustainable tourism as a theoretical concept must be acknowledged to inform practical expectations of implementation.

The potential for sustainable tourism to stimulate development in LDCs should not be overlooked. However, there are many concerns regarding the plausibility of sustainable tourism as a theoretical concept and therefore, practical solution. If sustainable tourism cannot practically meet the expectations of its theoretical foundations, where the need for development is so critical in LDCs, any potential sustainable tourism possesses for development should be embraced. By not considering sustainable tourism for development as a 'panacea' for LDCs, and having more realistic expectations based on practical experience, contributions will enhance development opportunities and provide medium to long term relief which will buy time to identify other development solutions.

Sustainable tourism development theory presents a fantastic opportunity for stimulating development in LDCs in a way that minimises harm, and contributes to the improvement of all sectors of society. As such, it is a panacea with such potential for LDCs, where means for utilising tourism exists, as well as a need to do so (George & Henthorne, 2007). However, scrutiny of the theory and the challenges for the implementation of sustainable tourism raises many concerns about the ability of existing practical approaches. Nevertheless, the potential for sustainable tourism still exists. What is required is clearer understanding of the practical implementation of sustainable tourism from an objective viewpoint. With this understanding, a synthesis of theory and practice can be achieved that allows the aspirations of sustainable tourism development theory to become an achievable reality. Various approaches proven to fulfil these aspirations can then be identified, and will become the foundation for the widespread development of LDCs via this new, practical understanding of sustainable tourism development.

Theoretical Framework

In this review, the theoretical perspectives which influence sustainable tourism for development are identified. Despite the broad goals of sustainable tourism development and community development being prioritised differently, the expected outcomes demonstrate some overlap. In practice, sustainable tourism and community development goals are dependent on each other. These include the need for developing sustainable tourism products which target viable niche markets to provide economic benefits and support conservation goals for the community. The economic benefits from tourism are important in the achievement of community development goals by funding social development. Sustainability goals for tourism development also serve to protect the natural and cultural assets of the community.

The outcomes of sustainable tourism development and community development goals are, in practice, affected by the stakeholder environment in which the implementation of CBT (as a model of sustainable tourism development) must operate. These stakeholders are external and internal. External stakeholders affect the practice of implementing CBT by influencing the theoretical foundations of CBT. The inherent risks include the inconsistent use of various definitions and terminology. Internal stakeholders, i.e., those directly involved with the implementation of CBT in the community, are faced with the practical challenges of implementing CBT due to the specific nature of the community and cultural contexts. This is challenging as the various motives of the stakeholder groups and their different perspectives will affect the implementation of CBT.

Where these challenges prevail, the outcomes for the practice of CBT do not reflect positive development goals. The theoretical challenges leave practitioners without clear information or models to guide effective CBT implementation. In the field, power imbalances are created by the various agendas of internal stakeholders, and clear, consistent goals for CBT cannot be established.

Informed by the literature, Figure 1.1 below illustrates the theoretical framework that underpins this research.

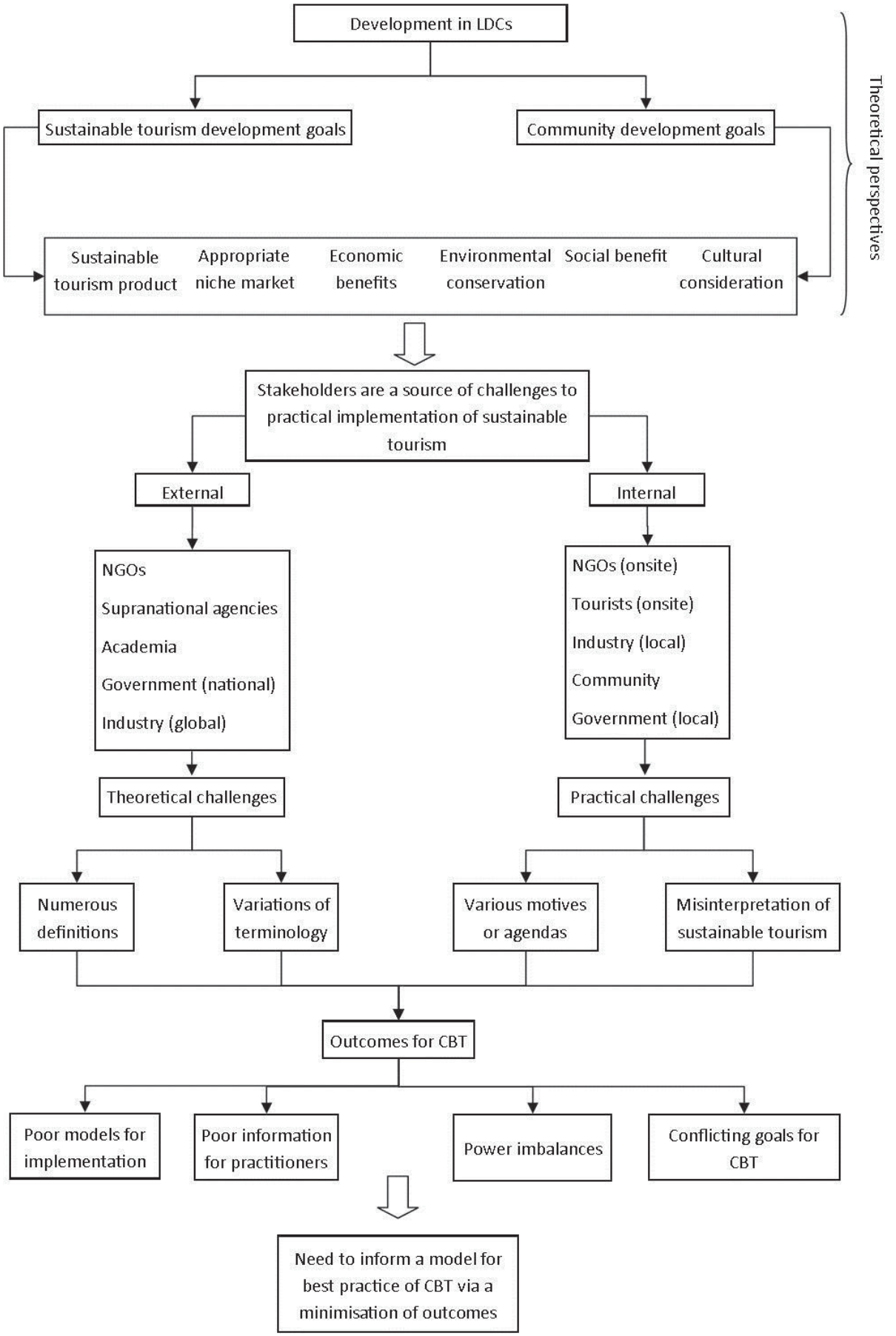


Figure 1.1 Theoretical framework for this research

Therefore, this research seeks to address these issues by informing a model for best practice of CBT, to minimise the role of the negative outcomes of CBT described above. From this, the research question can be formed.

Research Question

This research seeks to understand how the practical implementation of sustainable tourism development via CBT can be made more successful in LDCs. In doing so, this research seeks to understand the underlying factors which have contributed to the successful implementation of CBT in the subdistrict of Banteay Chhmar, Banteay Meanchey Province, Cambodia.

The research question is:

> *"How can the practical implementation of sustainable tourism development via Community Based Tourism (CBT) be made more successful in Least Developed Countries (LDCs)?"*

This research will incorporate a case study of tourism in the subdistrict of Banteay Chhmar, exploring how CBT was implemented in the subdistrict, and how the characteristics of the community and the individual residents have influenced the successful implementation of CBT. This is done through exploring the context of the Banteay Chhmar subdistrict, as well as understanding the perceptions of residents regarding tourism, community and self. This understanding will be underpinned by contrasting Banteay Chhmar to a second community in Banlung, Ratanakiri province, Cambodia, chosen for the lack of success of a similar implementation of CBT.

Proposed Research Outcomes

The intended outcomes of this research are to develop an understanding of what facilitates the successful implementation of CBT for sustainable tourism development in the Cambodian context as an LDC. The understandings developed from this research will have relevance for other implementations for CBT in the Cambodian context, but will also have non-culturally specific implications for sustainable tourism development in other LDCs. This will be achieved by identifying characteristics in communities that will enhance the successful implementation of CBT.

Limitations of the Literature Review

The relatively recent development of tourism in Cambodia, and the current focus of the Cambodian government on ecotourism, has limited the number of sources available in the literature specific to this research. The wider sustainable tourism literature also shows a deficiency of research in the LDC and Asian contexts (particularly South East Asia). This in

turn has limited the depth of this literature review, and identifies key limitations of the above theoretical framework, as the foundations in the literature most relevant to this research are not aligned with the south East Asian cultural context. However, with this theoretical underpinning developed from existing available literature, the exploratory nature of this research, along with a methodological approach incorporating grounded theory (see chapter three) will seek to address this deficit.

Chapter Summary

This chapter explored the historical foundations of sustainable tourism. Following this, was a discussion of the practice of sustainable tourism development, looking at the models of ecotourism and other niche markets, CBT and PPT. The challenges of the practical implementation of these processes highlight the weaknesses in the theoretical foundations of sustainable tourism development. In order to develop pathways for best practice, the theoretical foundations of sustainable tourism development and the dissonance with practical implementation must be addressed. This is captured in a pictorial representation of the theoretical framework informing this research. This chapter concludes with the identification of the research question, and the research outcomes to emerge from this research.

Note: To facilitate the reading of this work, a glossary is provided (page 198) which defines key terms and acronyms. All Khmer (Cambodian) terms (*italicised*) are defined in the glossary also.

Chapter Two: Identifying and Contextualising the Research Setting

Cambodia is a LDC, which has focused on tourism to stimulate development since 2001. There is little research conducted in Cambodia, with even less relevant to sustainable tourism development. Much more research is available in the African and east Asian contexts, where there is a higher concentration of LDCs. This research seeks to partly address this deficit and to explore the extent of the role of sustainable tourism development in Cambodia.

Firstly, this chapter will outline the physical and political characteristics of Cambodia to provide a basis for understanding the context of this research. Secondly, the preliminary study explores the notion of community, and the role of perception in understanding tourism in the cultural context of Cambodia. The preliminary study also identifies key factors important to the conduct of research in Cambodia which has been used to inform the methodological approach and research design for this project.

The Cambodian context

Cambodia is listed as a LDC by the United Nations. To be listed as an LDC, the country must meet three criteria (United Nations, 2002):

1. An average gross national income of less than USD$750 per capita;
2. A weakness in human resources, as identified by deficiencies in nutrition, health, education and adult literacy;
3. Economic vulnerability due to the instability of agriculture and the export of goods and services, the economic importance of non-traditional activities, concentration of merchandise exports, handicap due to economic smallness and the number of people displaced by natural disaster.

Figure 2.1 Map of Cambodia (Source: http://www.canbypublications.com/maps/cambodia-map-large.htm, retrieved 14 August 2011)

Land

Cambodia is a small country, approximately 181 035 km2, located in between Thailand, Vietnam and Laos in South East Asia. It has a humid and monsoonal climate (National Institute of Statistics of Cambodia, 2008).

Population

At the last census, conducted in 2008, Cambodia had a population of 13 395 682, growing at approximately 1.54% per annum. Ninety per cent of this population are Khmer, with the remainder of the population consisting of immigrants, and ethnic minorities. Over 80 per cent of the population live in rural areas, with an average household size of 4.7 persons (National Institute of Statistics of Cambodia, 2008).

Economy

In 2005, Cambodia's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was approximately USD$5.3 billion. It has been experiencing approximately nine per cent growth. Historically, Cambodia's primary industry has been agriculture, but strong industrial growth has reduced its importance. In 2005, agriculture represented 31.4 per cent of GDP. Now, the textiles and manufacturing

industry and tourism are experiencing growth, accounting for approximately 14 per cent and 36 per cent of GDP respectively in 2005 (National Institute of Statistics of Cambodia, 2008).

Tourism

Tourism in Cambodia has been experiencing high levels of growth since 1994. Since 2001, when tourism was officially recognised as a policy tool for growth, visitor numbers have more than doubled to 2 125 465 recognised international visitors in 2008. Despite the global economic downturn in 2007, visitor numbers are still increasing. The majority of visitors are traveling for leisure (85.4%), and travel to Siem Reap (gateway to the Angkor Archaeological Park) and the capital city, Phnom Penh. Primary international tourist markets are Korea, Vietnam, Japan, United States of America, China, Thailand, United Kingdom, France, Australia and Taiwan (Statistics and Tourism Information Department, 2008)

Culture

The official religion of Cambodia is Theravada Buddhism. The Cambodians also have strong animistic beliefs and traditional practices (National Institute of Statistics of Cambodia, 2008). There is a strong belief in spirits, ghosts and magic, particularly in rural areas.

Political

Cambodia is a parliamentary government, where the King is the Governor and Head of State and is primarily a ceremonial figurehead. There are three dominant political parties in Cambodia, the elected Cambodian People's Party (CPP) currently holds a significant majority, and the opposition, the FUNCINPEC Party and the Sam Rainsy Party (National Institute of Statistics of Cambodia, 2008). As well as nationally, the government operates at the provincial, district, and sub district level.

Security

Cambodia's security has improved in recent times. Several measures have been taken to ensure the safety of foreign tourists in Cambodia, an example of which is the creation of a specific tourism police force. However, years of prolonged civil war, high poverty levels and weak government authority continue to threaten Cambodia's safety and security.

During the fieldwork of this research, The Australian Government had numerous warnings regarding travel to Cambodia, and warned against travel to specific areas (including fieldwork sites). The warnings were against high risk of crime against tourists (including theft, mugging and violence), major health concerns (including a severe dengue and haemorrhagic fever outbreak), banditry, scams and landmines (Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2010).

Historical Overview

Modern day Cambodia can be traced back to the Funan dynasty which ruled from Ta Keo from 0 B.C. After six hundred years, the Chenla dynasty succeeded for a brief period before

the rise of the Angkorian Empire. The Angkorian Empire's 650 year reign constitutes the most well-known part of Cambodia's ancient history, as the kings from the period are responsible for the construction of the temples upon which modern Cambodian identity is founded. The capital was finally moved to Phnom Penh in the 15th century during the empire's decline. During this period, as the empire weakened, it became vulnerable to invasion from the Thai and Vietnamese, and the national Hindu religion was replaced by Theravada Buddhism (National Institute of Statistics of Cambodia, 2008).

Persistent territorial conflict continued until Cambodia signed a protectorate treaty with France in 1863. French occupation continued until independence was declared in 1953. Cambodia continued to develop and prosper until the Vietnam War began to threaten Cambodia's border. This led to a political coup by Lon Nol, Cambodia became deeply involved in the conflict. It was at this time that the Khmer Rouge emerged, in opposition to the new government. In 1975, Pol Pot, leader of the Khmer Rouge, overthrew Lon Nol's government, marking the beginning of what would become the most infamous part of Cambodia's modern history. Pol Pot's regime was characterised by forced labour camps, famine, and torture, with an estimated 2 million people dying as a result (National Institute of Statistics of Cambodia, 2008).

In 1979, the Vietnamese assisted the People's Republic of Kampuchea and liberated Cambodia from Pol Pot's reign of terror. However, recovery was so difficult, and marred by continued conflict with the Khmer Rouge, that only with Vietnamese and eventually United Nations intervention could democratic elections be held in 1993. Despite this, conflict still continued in isolated rural areas, and people in those areas still considered the war as ongoing as late as 1996 (National Institute of Statistics of Cambodia, 2008).

The significance of Cambodia's history to its people, and to tourism, is profound. The history of the Angkorian Empire is extremely important to the Cambodian people, and has become the symbol which unites the Cambodian people, and allows them to identify themselves as Khmer.

Subsequent historical events have shaped modern Cambodia. The influence of the French occupation has shaped the Cambodian language and its cuisine. However, more physical signs of the French occupations are fading, as re-development is slowly eliminating the French influence on architecture, town planning and other administrative structures.

The civil war in 1975 has had a profound effect on modern day Cambodia. The aftermath of the war itself included famine, the displacement of families and high rates of disease, which, when combined with the impact of the war and Pol Pot's genocidal policies, had a significantly detrimental effect on Cambodia's post-independence development. The length and ferocity of the conflict severely hampered the country's development, and prolonged the recovery period. As such a large proportion of the population has been directly affected

by the conflict; recovery is still ongoing at social, cultural, economic and environmental levels.

Overview of a Preliminary Study Exploring Tourism in Cambodia

The preliminary study of this project was conducted as the research component of an honours degree which was intended to form the foundations of the current project. It was completed in 2007, with field work in Cambodia also.

The aim of the preliminary study was to explore the notion of community and the importance of its role in tourism development in LDCs. Through the enhanced understanding of community perceptions relevant to tourism in the Cambodian cultural context, this research gave a practical understanding of resident attitudes to tourism. The research question for this initial study was:

What is the perception of tourism impacts and host guest relations of the resident community in sangkat *Boeung Keng Kang I, Phnom Penh, Cambodia?*

Subsequently, this was broken down into three sub-questions:

1. What is the general perception held by the local community of tourism?
2. What socio cultural impacts do residents perceive that the local community is experiencing as a result of tourism?
3. What is the nature and status of host guest relations as perceived by the community?

A mixed method approach was used in this research, incorporating a quantitative component consisting of 106 questionnaires, and a qualitative component of 15 semi structured interviews (five expert informants of the tourism industry, and 10 community informants) The research was conducted in the suburb (*sangkat*) of Boeung Keng Kang I, in the district (*khan*) of Chamkarmon, Phnom Penh, Cambodia, over a period of 10 weeks in 2007. During this time, the researcher lived within the community.

Boeung Keng Kang I is a suburb of comparatively high socio-economic status, despite a large financial distribution gap between residents. It has a high number of foreign residents and visitors, as a number of NGOs and embassies are located here. The Independence monument located on the northern border is a significant tourist attraction, and many international visitor focused souvenir shops, guesthouses and restaurants operate in the vicinity. The suburb is not heavily invested in tourism, but has significant exposure to foreign visitors.

The questionnaire utilised in phase one (quantitative) was based on the UNWTO Community Wellbeing survey (World Tourism Organisation, 2005), with adaptations to address the issue

of host guest relations. The questionnaires were interviewer completed in the local language, Khmer, and included a sample of 106 daytime residents of Boeung Keng Kang I. The research tool collected descriptive statistics about the respondents, as well as measuring their perceptions of socio cultural, economic and environmental impacts. The latter utilised five point Likert scales. Open ended questions included at the end of the questionnaire served to identify emergent issues to be raised in phase two (qualitative).

Phase two utilised semi structured interviews covering the same issues as the quantitative component, and included emergent issues uncovered in phase one. Five interviews were conducted with tourism stakeholders with a wider insight into tourism in the community, including local tourism NGOs, the national tourism school, the Ministry of Tourism, and tourism business owners. These were considered to be expert informants providing additional primary data. Further, ten interviews were conducted with members of the community, directly and indirectly involved in tourism in the community. Most interviews were conducted in Khmer and interpreted into English prior to transcription. Some expert interviews were conducted in English, where participants were confident to speak in this language.

Quantitative Results

The results from the quantitative component of the preliminary study revealed a very positive view of tourism in the community. Respondents perceived that tourism was beneficial for the community, with many perceiving a personal benefit directly from tourism. Overall, respondents desired more tourism in the community.

The perceptions of impacts as a result of tourism in the community were divided, according to the original layout of the UNWTO Community Wellbeing Survey, as sociocultural, economic and environmental impacts. The majority of sociocultural impacts attributed to tourism were considered to be positive. It improved the access of respondents to services, and did not hinder their access to public spaces, their participation in local activities, or prevent them from participating in tourist activities. Tourism also helped to stimulate culture and craft in the community, and did not decrease moral standards. Tourism did not have any impact on crime rates, and largely, the community perceived that they had control over tourism.

Respondents only perceived positive economic benefits from tourism. Tourism provided employment opportunities for all groups in the community, including youth. The income from tourism was perceived to mostly remain in the community, suggesting that there was minimum leakage from tourism. Tourism had a moderate effect on the prices of goods in the community.

The results for environmental impacts demonstrated that the respondents perceived that tourism did consume the community's resources but it had no perceived negative impact on the environment. Also, the consumption of resources was considered to be a natural part of

tourism, as the presence of tourists would inevitably have an effect of increasing resource consumption in the community.

The quantitative component included the issue of host guest relations, to evaluate the impact of tourists on the community's perceptions of tourism. The respondents perceived that tourists were welcome in the community, behaved appropriately and were friendly to residents. In return, tourists were respected by the community, and received special treatment. Tourists were not perceived to be exploited for money.

Once descriptive analysis was completed, bivariate correlations analysis was used to identify relationships between variables.

The key findings of the quantitative component of the preliminary study revealed a strong support for tourism in the community. Indeed, the only cause for dissatisfaction in the community stems from the anticipation of the development of tourism in the community in the future. This positive perception of tourism development includes both participants and non-participants in tourism.

The implication of this research is most important in terms of the theories of social exchange and economic dependency. These theories allow us to understand how resident perceptions of tourism and of tourists are formed. Social exchange theory posits that perceptions of tourism are formulated based on the collective experiences and knowledge of the perceiver, in this case, residents in the community (Ap, 1992). Perceptions are based on the overall attitude to tourism formed by residents as a result of an evaluation of their personal experiences and observations. Where their collective experiences are more positive than negative, an overall positive perception of tourism is derived. In this case perceived positive impacts are much greater than perceived negative impacts. This is in line with social exchange theory.

The role of economic dependency theory is particularly relevant to the LDC context of this research. Economic dependency theory posits that the perception of positive impacts will be overemphasised by the dependence of residents on these positive benefits (Haralambopolous & Pizam, cited Mason & Cheyne, 2000). In LDCs, this particularly refers to economic benefits, where residents are materially disadvantaged in the community. The very positive perception of tourism in the community certainly supports this.

The correlations analysis also highlights the importance of host guest relations on perceptions of tourism in the community. The interaction of tourists and residents is one of the primary interactions which contribute to the experiences that residents use to formulate perceptions of tourism under social exchange theory (Costa & Ferrone, 1995).

The key findings from the quantitative results formed the foundation upon which qualitative data collection was informed. It provided a broader understanding of the status quo in Boeung Keng Kang I, where the qualitative data provides deeper insight. Statistics and

further information for the quantitative component of this research are listed in appendix one.

Qualitative Findings

The qualitative findings of the preliminary study contributed to a more in depth understanding of how informants, as residents of Boeung Keng Kang I, perceive tourism and tourists. Firstly, tourism was perceived to be confined to international tourism, as there was little recognition of domestic tourists. Foreigners in the community were more visible as visitors.

Tourism was considered to be very important to the community, as it was perceived to provide sizeable benefits. This is in line with economic dependency theory, where the participants identified the importance of tourism as being linked to the positive impacts that they received personally from tourism. Perceptions were based on a collective evaluation of positive and negative knowledge and experience of tourism, with emphasis on positive impacts as posited by the influence of economic dependency theory on social exchange theory.

Tourism in the community was perceived to be instigated and controlled by the national government, including the tourism development strategies in place, and tourism marketing. This is in contrast to quantitative findings that residents perceived that the community had control over tourism. This could suggest that the residents perceived that they had control of tourism in terms of the effect that tourism in the community had on their daily lives, but the administration of tourism was the responsibility of the government as the higher authority. This alludes to the power imbalances which exist in disadvantaged communities where perceived lack of skills and resources influence the perceived superiority of authorities and external stakeholder groups.

Qualitative findings demonstrated that informants perceived a majority of positive impacts which were in line with the results from quantitative data collection, encompassing economic, sociocultural and environmental benefits. Negative impacts perceived in the community were concerned primarily sociocultural, as tourism was seen to be having adverse impacts on the Khmer language, leading to a loss of some words, and the demonstration effect, as more European styles were being adopted.

Negative impacts in the community were predominantly identified as potential impacts that may occur in the future as a result of the growth of tourism. These negative impacts included drug use, increased crime rates, particularly against tourists, sex tourism and child sex tourism. It is interesting to note that these impacts refer only to fear of potential impacts which may emerge in the future. These issues, although not visible in the community at present, were perceived so strongly as a risk that they coloured current perceptions of tourism. Thus, perception not only includes existing impacts, but also the

fear of potential negative impacts in the future. This is meaningful for the evaluation process of residents in formulating perceptions of tourism under social exchange theory.

Overall Findings of the Preliminary Study

The findings of this study highlighted the importance of residents' perceptions in evaluating impacts and assessing overall satisfaction with tourism. Overall, the respondents had very positive attitudes towards tourism, which provided personal and community benefit. The respondents desired further tourism development, and were satisfied with its progress in the community.

The positive perceptions of tourism were linked to perceptions of tourists and their behaviour. Positive attitudes to tourism were increased where participants perceived more personal benefit to tourism and had more positive social interactions with tourists.

Negative impacts to tourism were identified, but few were tangible. Instead, residents perceived an increased risk of negative impacts as a result of the development of tourism in the community. These included an increased risk of loss of culture, and criminal activities, such as sex tourism, and drugs.

The overall perceptions of tourism held by the participants were generally positive. The formation of these perceptions were in line with social exchange theory, where the perception of tourism is developed as a personal analysis of cumulative positive and negative impacts, and personal and overall observed experiences. As more positive impacts were perceived than negative impacts, the cumulative perception of tourism was positive.

This positive perception of tourism based upon this evaluation was further strengthened by the role of economic dependency theory on the social exchange process used to evaluate tourism. The comparative disadvantage of the community, being in an LDC, increases the risk of economic dependency on tourism. Economic dependency skews perceptions to be overly positive, causing negative impacts to be overlooked. As such, this may indicate favouritism based on this effect (Kayat, 2002).

More details regarding the preliminary study can also be accessed via:

Ellis, S., & Sheridan, L. (2009). *Host Guest Relations in a LDC Context: An exploratory study of the social dynamic of tourism in Cambodia*. Paper presented at the Council for Australian University Tourism and Hospitality Education 18th Tourism and Hospitality Education and Research Conference, Fremantle, Western Australia.

This reference is available at URL:
http://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=169225626580993;res=IELBUS

Implications for This Research

The findings from the preliminary study highlight three important considerations; the role of fear in the perception of tourism impacts, the role of community involvement in tourism development and understanding how perceptions of tourism and tourism impacts are formed. Firstly, the role of fear of potential future impacts indicates how Cambodians perceive themselves and the environment around them. The repeated theme of fear of potential negative impacts emerging in the future suggests a fear of how things will change. The emphasis placed on these potential impacts also suggests that despite these impacts not actually manifesting themselves in the community at the present time, the perception was just as strong as if they had indeed been present in the community.

This concept of fear is very important to consider, as the current methods for evaluating impacts fail to take into account the perception of potential impacts of tourism and the importance of the fear of these on perceptions of tourism. It can lead to the premature perception of the occurrence of those impacts and must therefore be considered in any assessment of tourism impacts on community.

Secondly, the findings highlighted the importance of community and its role in tourism development. The evaluation process used by residents to form a perception of tourism uses both personal and observed experience. Thus the continued support and positive perception is dependent on the residents' depth of involvement and awareness of tourism. The empowerment of communities to feel in control of tourism in their community, regardless of their actual level of direct participation is key to ensuring continued support of tourism.

Finally, and most importantly, this preliminary study helped to develop an understanding of how residents perceive tourism and tourism impacts. The support for social exchange theory, and the role of economic dependency as an LDC community, demonstrates the way perceptions are founded upon experience and awareness of particular concepts. Understanding this informs the research design, and also clarifies the role of community perceptions in sustainable tourism development.

Implications for the Current Research and its Design

The anticipated outcomes of the preliminary study differed from actual findings. The hypothesized outcomes of this research were founded upon an understanding of the existing literature regarding tourism impacts and host guest relations in the context of LDCs, as well as other key theories regarding tourism development. The findings from the preliminary study showed a much more positive and open opinion of tourism than had been anticipated based upon comparison to existing literature. It must be acknowledged that where researching involves the people of a community, it is important to allow the perceptions and ontology of the community in question to not be overshadowed by the

researcher's pre-existing beliefs. Thus, this research is approached with an emphasis on the point of view of the community, without (as much as possible) any other influences.

This preliminary study served to highlight a number of issues for the current research and its design. The mixed method approach identified that qualitative research methods were easier to use in the Cambodian cultural context, as illiteracy and a lack of familiarity with accepted questionnaire design (e.g. Likert scales) made quantitative research tools difficult to use. However, the use of qualitative interviews in Cambodia presents its own challenges, as it was difficult to encourage participants to express their opinions to outsiders. Thus, the research tools used in this present research were designed to compensate for these difficulties as much as possible, by keeping questions simple, and interviews were semi-structured, to encourage participants to respond without fear of being considered 'wrong'.

Also, the challenges in recruiting participants in the Cambodian setting were identified in the preliminary study. Cambodians are extremely reluctant to express themselves, and are unwilling participants as they fear repercussions in case their opinions conflict with others, particularly governmental policy - an outcome of the historical circumstances previously outlined. The research setting for this project included areas where the researcher was completely unknown, potentially making the recruitment of participants more difficult. It had become clear from the preliminary study that where written consent for participation was required, participants became extremely wary. The formal written documents which included the participant's name, suggested an official link, regardless of any explanation as to the purpose of the documents and the guarantee of anonymity that the documents provided. Thus, this research used verbal consent, and total anonymity (no names were collected, merely age, gender and occupation as identifying factors) to make participants more comfortable. In this way, the information letters could also be explained and issued without requiring written documentation of participant information, which also helped to put people at ease, by separating the research from government association.

Chapter Summary

This chapter began with a broad overview of Cambodia as the setting for this research. Following this, it outlined the outcomes of the preliminary study conducted as its foundation. The preliminary study explored resident perceptions of tourism and tourists in the urban LDC context of Phnom Penh. The findings highlighted the influence of perceptions on general attitudes towards tourism and tourism impacts. The preliminary also highlighted the challenges of conducting research in the Cambodian cultural context, which will inform the methodological approach and research design of this project. The next chapter will address the method to be used for this research.

Chapter Three: Method

This chapter describes the methodological foundations of this research, including the role of the researcher. This chapter also outlines the method and research design used, including the identification of the case study sites as Banteay Chhmar, Banteay Meanchey province, and Banlung, Ratanakiri province, Cambodia. The phases of the research are separated into two, phase one includes the initial information search and the first fieldwork phase conducted in Banteay Chhmar. Phase two includes the fieldwork conducted in Banlung, and the triangulation of phase one data in Banteay Chhmar. The chapter concludes with a description of the data interpretation and analysis process.

The Researcher Perspective

As the researcher in this project, it is important for me to share who I am, and where I have come from. It will help you to understand why I chose this project, and how I have approached it. It will also demonstrate the key skills and characteristics I possess, which, I believe, uniquely qualify me for this research.

My Cultural Heritage

I was born and raised in Perth, Western Australia, and I have always lived there. My father is an Australian, also from Perth, but my mother is Cambodian, from a farming village in Kandal province.

I consider myself Australian, with a strong awareness of my Cambodian heritage. My mother ensured that my Australian education was supplemented with learning about Cambodia. We celebrated Cambodian holidays in traditional ways (as much as the resources of Perth would allow), and my older sister and I had Khmer lessons, learning to read, write and speak Khmer before school. An understanding of Cambodian culture was an important part of our childhood education. It is still an important part of me today. This is recognised by the permanent visa I hold for Cambodia. The prerequisites for this type of visa are that its holder must have and be able to demonstrate an awareness of their Cambodian heritage. I hold it as a symbol of my connectedness.

My Research Ontology

As a person, I am analytical by nature. My research ethic is to be as objective as possible and to assess critically the information I find available to me, before drawing my own conclusions. Though I know this speaks to a positivist mind, I do not describe myself as a pure positivist. I cannot rationally justify purely scientific approaches to all aspects of understanding, because I do not believe that an accurate understanding of the complexities of human nature can be derived from a purely statistical approach – what can a number truly say about human behaviour, thought or feeling? A qualitative approach that continues to respect the scientific foundations of research are what I feel is required in this field.

Our lives and experiences will never fail to colour our judgement, even if we do our best to prevent it. By accepting this as a natural limitation of any research, our critique of the existing knowledge base in any field and the conclusions we draw will be that much more valid. In my research, I strive to be as objective as possible, and I critically examine the information that feeds and emerges from my research. It is part of an endeavour to produce research that reflects as much accuracy as possible, in a form that is practical, and useful to the development of our knowledge.

My Motivation

All of my family on my mother's side still live in Cambodia, in the capital city Phnom Penh, and in the rural areas of the same province. My family in Cambodia are average, which, in Cambodia, is very poor. My family, especially my younger cousins, have very limited opportunities to improve their situation. There are many obstacles, including lack of money, lack of infrastructure, poor quality education systems and poor health. We offer our family considerable financial support; we have contributed money to build better houses and helped my uncle to buy a taxi. We currently provide money to cover the educational expenses of all my school age cousins, to ensure they finish high school, and to give them the opportunity to go to university. This, however, can do little to improve their opportunities. It merely provides some short term security. We are helpless to provide any further assistance, or to ensure their long term future. The obstacles are too great, in terms of the resources Cambodia has, and the capabilities of our family to utilise the little available. This speaks to my motivation to help affect change in Cambodia as a whole. In improving Cambodia's ability to continue on its current path to recovery, and to provide better, sustainable job opportunities for its people, it is my hope that this will improve the resources and opportunities available for my family, hopefully offering them hope for their future which we currently can't provide.

My Role in My Research

My cultural history and the plight of my family show why this research is important to me. It also shows how I have a unique opportunity in conducting this research. I am always a subject of interest whenever I go to Cambodia. Very few children of mixed marriages outside Cambodia recognise their Cambodian heritage, even the children of Cambodian marriages outside Cambodia are not expected to understand Cambodian culture. Being the product of a mixed marriage is novel enough in Cambodia, where foreigners occupy higher status positions in the community. My ability to speak formal Khmer increases my uniqueness in Cambodia. This means that in Cambodia, I can be many different people. I am a tourist and a local. I am an outsider, yet I am family. This gives me a unique perspective, as I am able to see all these points of view, and have access to them. This allows me to bring a broad and inclusive view to my research few others can achieve.

Methodological Approach

The paradigm that forms the foundation of this research is constructivism. For the purposes of research in the social sciences, where data is gathered from the expressions of people themselves, constructivism is the paradigm which best accounts for the diversity of world views held by different groups of individuals.

Table 3.1 outlines the key characteristics of the constructivist paradigm. The primary research methods under this paradigm are ethnography, grounded theory and phenomenology. Grounded theory and phenomenology have the most relevance to this research project, and are discussed further below. Ethnography is excluded due to its impracticality for this project due to time and finance constraints.

	Constructivism
Inquiry Aim	Understanding
Nature of Knowledge	Exploration to reach a consensus
Ontology	Multiple realities based on individual perceptions (relativism)
Epistemology	Emic
Methodology	Predominantly Qualitative
Validity	Trustworthiness, authenticity and practicability of understanding produced
Method of inquiry	Ethnography, phenomenology, grounded theory

Table 3.1 The foundations of the constructivist paradigm (Jennings, 2001)

Phenomenology

Phenomenology is the study of a particular phenomenon, and is either a descriptive or explanatory method. Whichever aim is used in phenomenological research, this methodological approach is based primarily on interviews in which a description/explanation of the phenomenon is sought. By using this as the primary source of data, this methodology inherently accepts the relativist perspectives of the constructivist paradigm, accepting that a consensus of perspectives on a phenomenon is adequate to obtain a complete and valid understanding (Jennings, 2001). Moreover, there is a need to understand how the researcher thinks, and how others think, in order to discover the essence of a phenomenon. Therefore, this methodological approach considers the pre-existing knowledge of both the researcher and the research participants, as this influences perception of both parties (Holstein & Gubrium, 2005; Husserl, 1999).

In practice, the recognition of pre-existing knowledge and experience of the researcher in the formation of perceptions helps to compensate for the introduction of researcher bias in research. This is done by recognising that the presence of such bias is unavoidable. This is in line with the 'emic' perspective of the constructivist paradigm. As the effect of pre-existing knowledge and experience is also present for the research participants, the researcher still must be objective as possible in order to collect the research participant's perceptions as defined by their own knowledge and experience, with as little influence from the researcher as possible.

The philosophy of phenomenology is in line with the constructivist paradigm under which this research will be conducted. It is recognised that in understanding the phenomenon under study (in this case, the operations of CBT for community development in a LDC) such an understanding is dependent on the perceptions of the stakeholder groups involved. Therefore, the premise that phenomenology accepts the perceptions of participants as truth is appropriate. The rejection of universal truths that also includes an opportunity to identify emergent trends supports research in the constructivist paradigm and helps to improve the validity of the research (Goulding, 2005; Holstein & Gubrium, 2005; Husserl, 1999; Osborne, 1994). Also, by accepting the inevitability of bias on the part of the researcher, and incorporating the pre-existing knowledge and experiences of the researcher and the participants, phenomenology openly acknowledges and therefore counters the primary criticisms of qualitative research, thus improving its acceptance and validity through the use of this research design (Jennings, 2001; Neuman, 2006; Osborne, 1994). What is particularly relevant to this is the acknowledgement of the potential distinctions between western and other worldviews in the interpretation and explanation of the phenomenon.

Grounded Theory

The term 'grounded theory' in this case refers to Glaserian grounded theory, which refers to an intuitive and inductive process following a basic hermeneutics method approach (Neuman, 2006). This approach to grounded theory is more relevant to this research, as Straussian grounded theory is more closely aligned with symbolic interactionism, in which it diverges from the basic hermeneutics approach in favour of a deep deconstruction process in the data analysis phase (Osborne, 1994; Seldén, 2005).

Grounded theory as a process is differentiated from other research methods as it is inductive. This means the data is collected, and constant comparative analysis is conducted to present research findings which are used to generate new theory which adds to existing theories. The role of literature is restricted to informing the initial research gaps. Any comparison to the literature is conducted after the findings of the research have been revealed (Goulding, 2005).

By using a basic hermeneutics approach, grounded theory uses traditional qualitative research techniques, such as interviews, observation, focus groups, etc. Data collected is subjected to constant comparative and thematic analysis in order to uncover research findings (Jennings, 2001; Neuman, 2006).

The use of qualitative interviews allows for an exploration of the phenomenon under scrutiny, and allows for further understanding to be developed based upon a consensus of varied perspectives. As this research seeks to generate a description of a particular phenomenon, the notion in grounded theory in which the data is allowed to speak for itself allows this research to capture the different perspectives of the stakeholders to reach a trustworthy and valid consensus of information.

A key characteristic of grounded theory is that it allows the data to speak without the heavy influence of previous research and literature, and the conclusions drawn from the research in the form of new theories is compared to the existing body of knowledge. In the practice of grounded theory, it must be acknowledged that the researcher, in having to frame the research question, will have prior understanding and exposure to literature in the field of study. The onus is on the researcher to minimise this influence as much as possible by allowing the data to speak with minimal influence from this pre-existing knowledge (Willis et al., 2007). However, this potential for bias is accounted for as the researcher's perspective in grounded theory research is emic (internal point of view). This was deemed most appropriate due to the findings of the preliminary study and its limitations derived from being heavily embedded in theoretical literature.

The Methodological Approach for This Project

This research uses a (descriptive) phenomenological approach in which the basic hermeneutics approach of grounded theory is utilised. The utilisation of the basic hermeneutics approach in this research is validated in both grounded theory and phenomenology. Also, the incorporation of grounded theory is critical for the achievement of research objectives, as the phenomenon as a whole described in this research is to be compared to the existing body of knowledge to identify any variances.

This methodological approach allows the development of a simple, straightforward research process. It is kept free of as much of the researcher's bias based on their prior knowledge as possible, in order to produce an accurate, trustworthy and valid consensus of data which is descriptive of the phenomenon under study. These findings, based on the premise of grounded theory, will then be compared to the existing literature to build upon theory related to the achievement of the research outcomes.

This methodological approach is the most appropriate to this research, as it will allow for the development of an understanding of the phenomenon of tourism and CBT in each community. This will identify the challenges and successes of CBT implementation in the two sites identified (see below), which satisfies the proposed research outcomes and answers the research question.

Method

Identifying the Research Setting

Cambodia is an example of a LDC utilising tourism to stimulate development nationally. There is an increasing trend towards using sustainable tourism projects to facilitate community development objectives. Therefore, it was decided that the research setting of this project would include sites in Cambodia which were examples of sustainable tourism projects for the achievement of community development goals through the utilisation of CBT.

For this research, two sites were required. The first site would be the key focus of the research, with a second site providing a basis for comparison. In order to identify the two possible sites, it was necessary to define selection criteria for these sites. Sustainable tourism projects in Cambodia target niche tourism markets, such as ecotourism and cultural tourism. It is rare in the Cambodian setting that these occur independently, though the focus is usually defined within the scope of the project.

The criteria for the selection of CBT research sites were:

1. The site was part of an established CBT project;
2. The tourism project was established based on an existing natural or cultural tourism asset; and
3. The project must have identified community development goals.

Due to the nature of these selection criteria, the CCBEN (Cambodian Community Based Ecotourism Network) was identified as a useful source of sites and information on them. CCBEN is a local NGO whose role is to facilitate the development of CBT projects by providing networking opportunities with other NGOs who can provide skills and training for the development of these community tourism projects. Therefore, CCBEN has a list of community based ecotourism (incorporating cultural tourism) projects which have community development goals. These sites are listed below in table 3.2.

Site	Location (Province)	Key Assets
Ang Trapeang Thmor Community-Based Ecotourism Site	Banteay Meanchey	Wildlife conservation area with endangered birdlife Site of KR labour camp
Banteay Chhmar Community-Based Tourism Site	Banteay Meanchey	Banteay Chhmar temple complex
Chambok Community-Based Ecotourism Site	Kampong Speu	Kirirom National Park and surrounds
Chi Phat Community-Based Ecotourism Site	Koh Kong	Rainforest
Koh Pdao Community Development Tour	Kratie	Irrawaddy dolphin population
O'Russey Kandal Community-Based Ecotourism Site	Stung Treng	Traditional village in natural environment
Prek Toal Community-Based Ecotourism Site	Battambang	Mangroves and birdlife Traditional floating fishing villages
Prek Tnout Community-Based Ecotourism Site	Kampot	Bokor National Park
Tmatboey Community-Based Ecotourism Site	Preah Vihear	Traditional village in natural environment Angkorian ruins
Virachey National Park Community-Based Ecotourism Initiative	Ratanakiri	Forests Ethnic minority villages
Yeak Laom Community-Based Ecotourism Site	Ratanakiri	Volcanic lake Ethnic minority villages

Table 3.2 List of CCBEN accredited community based tourism projects (Cambodian Community Based Ecotourism Network, 2008)

The sites were further tested against more practical fieldwork criteria:

1. Accessibility of site;
2. Availability of accommodation;
3. Amount of information available regarding site (to inform this decision making process).

This limited the sites for selection to include:

1. Banteay Chhmar;
2. Chambok; and
3. Yeak Laom.

Of these sites, Banteay Chhmar and Yeak Laom were chosen, as these projects had similar characteristics which facilitated a comparison of the cases. Banteay Chhmar and Yeak Laom were utilising pre-existing assets (temple complex and volcanic lake) for tourism, and augmenting this with modern cultural tourism (traditional villages and ethnic minority

villages). Chambok was excluded as it did not have such a distinct pre-existing asset for tourism. These sites were also more easily accessible via existing transport networks and had existing accommodation infrastructure.

Banteay Chhmar and Yeak Laom met initial criteria in that each community had established tourism programs which could be examined, and enough information to facilitate the conduct of research in these sites.

Banteay Chhmar was selected as the primary site for the focus of this research due to the novelty of the site for the researcher, and the ease of access within the fieldwork site itself. The access to potential research participants was also anticipated to be easier at this site, which was deemed advantageous for the first exploratory phase of the research.

Yeak Laom was therefore identified as the second research site. However, upon arrival at this site, and following initial discussions with the tourism committee and research undertaken at the tourist office, it became obvious that Yeak Laom was not a standalone site. It was part of a series of attractions for the gateway town of Banlung. Therefore, Yeak Laom was not appropriate as a second site. Banlung and its attractions (including Yeak Laom) was considered a more appropriate site, as this would include the services, accommodation and tourism committee which would allow for better comparison to Banteay Chhmar.

Research Design

Following the identification of the research question and case study sites, research tools were developed. Primary and secondary data was collected in Cambodia regarding the context of CBT in Cambodia. Phase one data collection was conducted in Banteay Chhmar, in November 2009. Preliminary data analysis informed phase two data collection, via the review and finalisation of research tools. Phase two data collection was conducted in Banlung in March, 2010. Phase two also incorporated follow up data collection in Banteay Chhmar, which served as triangulation of phase one data. Following data collection, the data was interpreted, transcribed and subjected to analysis.

Figure 3.1 provides an outline of the research design.

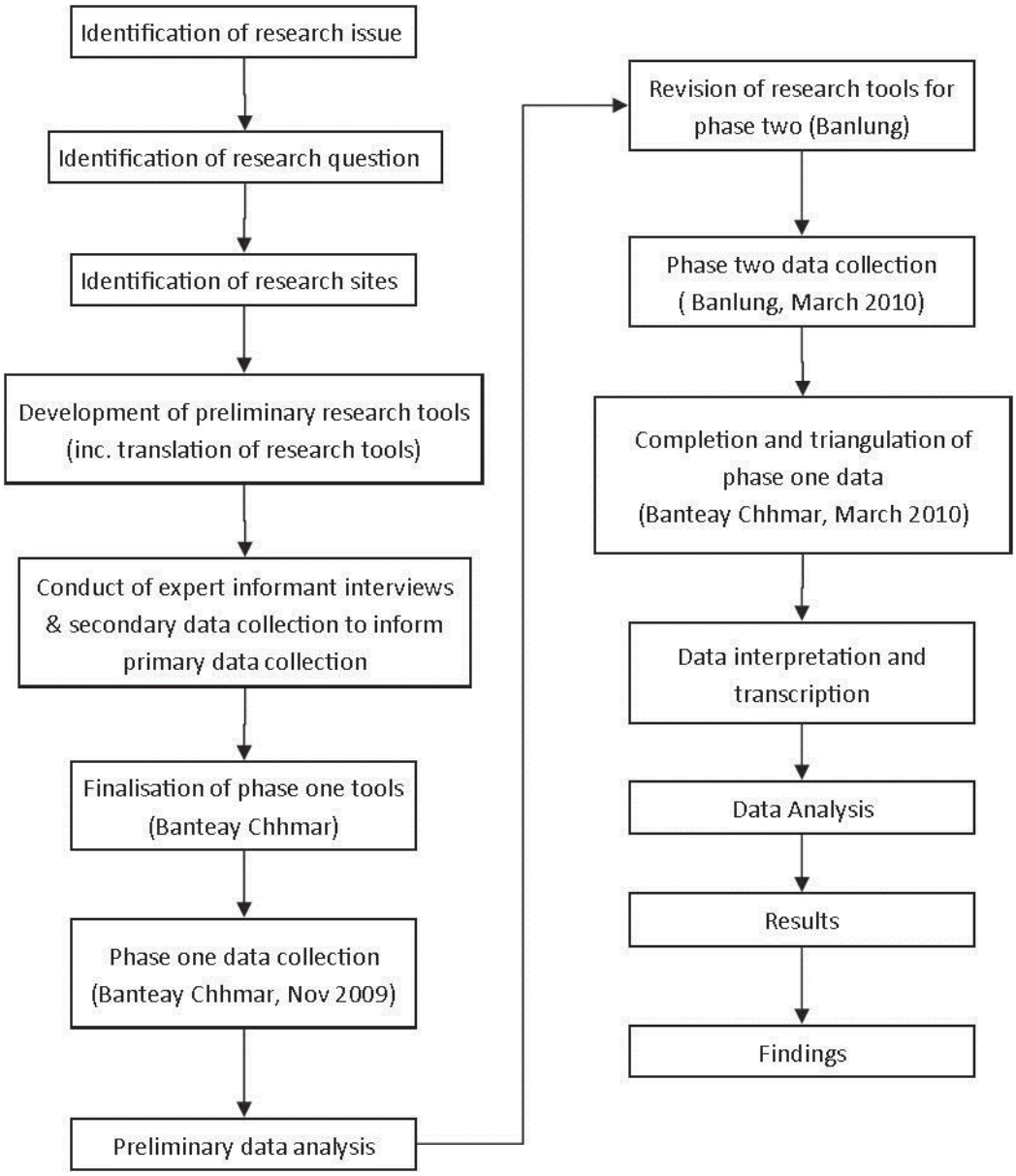


Figure 3.1 Research Design

Using a qualitative methodology, this research utilises semi structured interviews as the primary data collection tool. This method is the most effective for use in the Cambodian cultural context. Semi structured interviews were used to encourage participation, as they are perceived to be less threatening to answer. It is also the most effective method for interviewing where there is a limited amount of time allocated to data collection.

After the initial literature search and framing of the research question, the preliminary research tools were designed for the first research phase. This included sourcing additional information to inform the research. As the methodological process chosen for this project allows for a flexible and adaptive research process, the design of tools will be detailed in the

following sections which outline the fieldwork process in both phases, as they were changed to adapt to the emerging nature of the situation in Cambodia during fieldwork.

The initial sample was to include three core groups, expert informants that would further inform the research, the population at the first site (Banteay Chhmar) and the population at the second site (Banlung). The sample for the expert informant group included the Ministry of Tourism, CCBEN and the NGOs involved in the specific research sites. The sample for the research sites was to include members of the community, including those directly and indirectly involved in tourism and those not involved in tourism. Sampling was non-random purposive sampling, so specific groups could be targeted to participate, to ensure their inclusion. This ensured a diversity of responses necessary for achieving the research objectives. Data collection was continued until saturation was reached.

Ethical considerations

This research, including the research design and methodological approach, was approved by Edith Cowan University's Human Research Ethics Committee. It was conducted anonymously, with the informed consent of the participants. This was done with the provision of an information letter (in Khmer) which outlined the following:

- The purpose of the research;
- What was required of the participant, including what information was sought and how long the interview would take;
- The potential uses of the information given by participants were identified;
- The use of recording equipment and an interpreter;
- The rights of the participant to refuse to participate, or withdraw from the research at a later date (prior to analysis) without penalty, or to withdraw any personal information at any time;
- The security of the information gathered, including the access to information by the researcher, supervisors and interpreter as necessary, and the length of time before destruction of information;
- Assurances of anonymity, as no names were recorded; and
- Contact details of the researcher, principal supervisor and independent research ethics committee were given for any queries or complaints.

To ensure the integrity of the research, no incentive was offered to participants. When issued, the letter was verbally explained to each participant to ensure that the participants had an opportunity to ask questions or clarify points, and to prevent any discrimination based on illiteracy.

As a result of the learnings from the preliminary study, verbal consent was obtained from all participants as written consent discouraged participation as it impacted on the anonymity of the study by having to sign a consent form. Also, the fear of authority based on Cambodia's history (one of the key implications of the preliminary study for this research) made it

necessary for verbal consent to be used, to communicate that this project was not associated with any governmental authority.

Due to the nature of the research, all research tools were translated into the local language, Khmer. The initial translations were completed by the researcher, and validated by a Level 3 NAATI (National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters) translator. Also a Level 3 accredited interpreter (the translator) was also present for all interviews as an additional resource as required.

Phase One

Design of the Research Tool

The purpose of this research is to explore how the practical implementation of CBT can be made more successful. Phase one research was designed to explore community perceptions of CBT. The primary research tool is an interview schedule for use in semi structured interviews.

The research tool was designed to have open ended questions that would encourage a response from the participant. However, it was important that the questions were not too open, as the cultural context discourages the open expression of opinion without a point of reference. Questions were framed to overlap topics slightly to ensure key research topics were addressed comprehensively.

The research topics addressed by the interview schedule were:

1. Awareness of the community based sustainable tourism project in their community;
2. Support for the project (or lack thereof);
3. Perceived positive and negative impacts of tourism and the tourism project; and
4. Perceived achievements of development goals (framed in terms of key potential benefits to the individual and the community).

Refer to appendix two for a sample of the research tool.

Participant Selection

Initially, general background information on the sites and of the research setting of Cambodia was targeted. This involved targeting expert informants in this field, and constituted the CCBEN and the Ministry of Tourism, the Cambodian Committee for Cooperation (CCC). The National Institute of Statistics (NIS) were targeted as sources of secondary data to support the research.

An interview was conducted with the director of the CCBEN to better inform the research by providing background information on the operation of tourism in Cambodia, the role of CCBEN and information specific to the research sites. A specific research tool was designed for this interview to allow for the collection of expert information (see appendix two for the expert informant interview schedule).

The Ministry of Tourism was approached to participate in this research, but did not respond to any requests for information and thus did not agree to participate in the research. However, secondary data was collected after a visit to the Ministry of Tourism offices. This data pertained to the general state of the tourism industry of Cambodia.

The CCC and NIS were targeted for the collection of secondary data sources on Cambodia, the tourism industry and also the operations of NGOs in the country.

Fieldwork (November 2009)

The researcher spent some time in Phnom Penh prior to entering the fieldwork site, in order to culturally acclimatise, and to conduct the initial research required, including sourcing primary and secondary data from the expert informant group. Travel to the fieldwork site was via bus to Sisophon (Svay), the capital of the Banteay Meanchey province from the country's capital, Phnom Penh, then by chartering a taxi to the township of Banteay Chhmar. The researcher travelled with the onsite interpreter (her mother), and her aunt. It was beneficial to travel as a group, for safety reasons, as well as to encourage participation by travelling as domestic tourists, where encountering a group of Cambodians for the purpose of research would appear less threatening to potential participants. The preliminary study revealed that the more the researcher resembled a local rather than an external party, the more likely it was for informants to participate in an open dialogue and give fuller responses.

Upon arrival, observational data was collected as a part of the process of familiarising the researcher with the case study site. The first point of contact was with the committee at the CBT office. Here, information was gathered on the structure of the tourism committee and the size and diversity of the wider community.

Identification of the Participants

In the case study site, non-random purposive sampling was used. This was directed by the aim to collect data from specific community groups, to ensure a range of views. This targeting divided the community into two main groups. The first group included those directly participating in tourism via their participation in the CBT project, including the committee and its participating members. The second group consisted of those not directly participating in tourism.

The first group of informants included the tourism committee and at least one member of each tourism subcommittee (homestays, activities, cooking and transportation), and included the head of the subdistrict and Global Heritage Fund (GHF) liaison as key informants participating frequently in the activities of the tourism committee. The second group of informants were members of the community who do not directly participate in tourism through the committee, and included shopkeepers, farmers and other local residents.

Data Collection

Data was collected via interviews in the local language, Khmer, using the research tool to guide the interviews as necessary. The interviews were recorded and notes were also collected.

Data collection from the first sample group was facilitated by the tourism committee. A member of the committee organised meetings with other committee members and subcommittee members, and for the most part, escorted the researcher to locations for the conduct of these interviews. Information of the presence of the researcher was quickly disseminated throughout the community, which encouraged participation. Figure 3.2 shows the structure of the tourism committee in Banteay Chhmar.

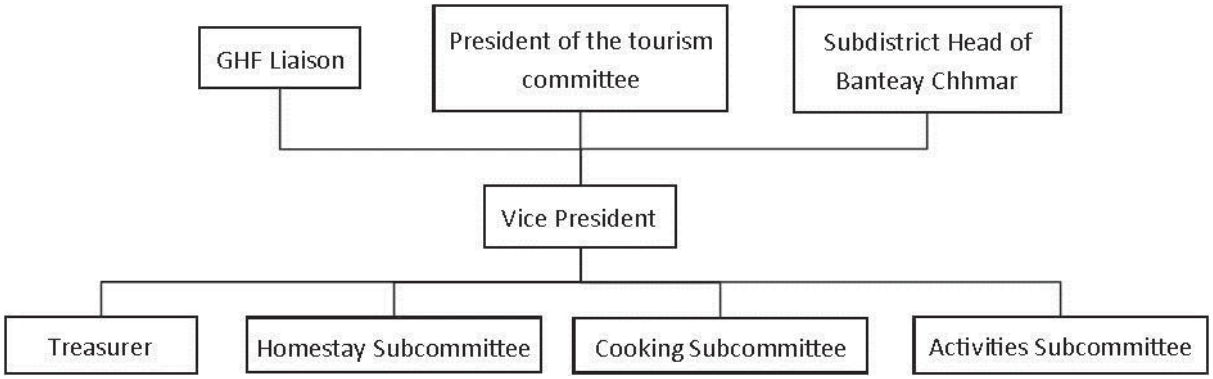


Figure 3.2 Structure of the tourism committee in Banteay Chhmar

Data collection from the second group was conducted by the researcher, who approached community residents and invited them to participate in the research. Following data collection from the first sample group, the researcher was familiar with the members of the tourism committee and could therefore target non tourism committee members effectively.

The size of the sample was based on saturation of data collected. Twenty two interviews were conducted. At which point, no new themes were being identified, and all relevant subgroups had been targeted.

Table 3.3 lists the participants in Banteay Chhmar for phase one of the research.

Identification Code	Gender	Occupation	Role in Tourism Committee
IBCJM02	Male	Teacher	Homestay
IBCTM03	Male	Farmer	Homestay
IBCSHLF03	Female	Shopkeeper	None
IBCJM04	Male	Teacher	Homestay
IBCSIF04	Female	Silk Weaver	None
IBCGHFM05	Male	GHF Liaison	GHF Liaison
IBCCKF05	Female	Farmer	Cooking
IBCVPM06	Male	Electrical supplier	Vice President
IBCKF06	Female	Farmer	None
IBCPM07	Male	Electrical repairer	President
IBCLF07	Female	Farmer	None
IBCLM08	Male	Farmer	None
IBCLF08	Female	Street seller	Cooking
IBCJM09	Male	Farmer	None
IBCLF09	Female	Silk weaver	Cooking
IBCOCM10	Male	Farmer	Activities
IBCACCTM012	Male	*Motodup* driver	Treasurer
IBCSCM013	Male	Farmer	None
IBCBKTM014	Male	Subdistrict Head	Subdistrict Liaison
IBCSIM015	Male	Water company	None
IBCJM015	Male	Craftsman	None
IBCMUM016	Male	Electrical repairer	Activities

Table 3.3 Phase one participants from Banteay Chhmar

Note: It must be noted that research was conducted prior to the start of the peak tourism season, to ensure that the tourism committee would have time to participate in research. However, that time also coincided with the rice harvest, which meant many people were very busy, and/or not at home, because they were living in the rice fields outside of town.

Preliminary Analysis

Upon return to Phnom Penh, and Australia, preliminary analysis identified key themes in the data. These key themes identified the importance of perception and role of the community in CBT. These were used to inform phase two of data collection through the development of research tools. Comprehensive analysis was conducted after the conclusion of all fieldwork.

Phase Two

Further Design of the Research Tool

Based on the preliminary analysis of phase one data, including the initial collection of primary and secondary data from expert informants, the research tool used in phase one was amended. It was simplified to include some closed questions as well as open ended questions which covered the same themes, but also focused on the key issues which emerged from phase one data collection, which were perception and the role of community.

Ratanakiri province (location of Banlung), with its ethnic minority population, gave some cause for concern about the original research tool based on the cultural differences which could be anticipated. The language was simplified, and structured questions (which gave clarity to the question and reduced risk of misinterpretation) were developed to account for the high likelihood of participants not being as fluent in Khmer, as some ethnic groups still have their local language as their first language, with Khmer being their second language. This was also done to build rapport encouraged open communication.

The structured questions were intended to address more fully the dominant themes which emerged from phase one data collection, which were perceptions of community and perceptions of self. The open ended questions were taken directly from the original research tool to facilitate data comparison.

Refer to appendix two for an example of the research tool in English.

Fieldwork (March 2010)

The researcher spent time in Phnom Penh prior to travelling to the second case study site in order to culturally acclimatise. Banlung is accessible directly by bus from Phnom Penh, the trip taking approximately 13 hours. The researcher was accompanied by the onsite interpreter.

The initial location of the second case study site was Boeung Yeak Laom, just outside Banlung. Upon arrival in Banlung, it became immediately apparent that Boeung Yeak Laom was not a suitable second case study, as it was considered to be part of the tourism attractions offered by Banlung, and was not a separate site. Therefore, the case study site was amended to encompass Banlung, which included several small attractions and tourism infrastructure which could be more effectively compared to Banteay Chhmar. This was necessary, as the tourism committee in Banlung also shared this viewpoint. Also, the insular nature of the ethnic communities would have made collection of significant data at any one attraction impossible due to a lack of cooperation, and cultural differences, including language.

The first stage of fieldwork was familiarisation with the site. Having revised the case study site to include Banlung as the township, with smaller attractions, each of the attractions in Banlung was visited. These included the waterfalls and the volcanic lake at Yeak Laom.

The tourism committee in Banlung was dysfunctional. The only active member helped to facilitate the research by escorting the researcher to each of the tourist attractions to conduct interviews with direct participants in tourism. This was done through his primary occupation as tour guide.

Identification of the Participants

The sample was intended to be the same as had been used in the first case study site. The sample consisted of two groups, those directly involved in the CBT project and those not participating in CBT.

The first sample group consisted of the single member of the tourism committee willing to participate in the research, and the people located at each of the tourism sites. These people were not necessarily involved in CBT, and included community volunteers, guards, and stall holders as well as CBT participants. The second sample group included residents of the community not directly involved in the CBT project.

Data collection was conducted until saturation of each group occurred, where no tourism site had been neglected, or no new themes emerged. A total of 26 interviews were completed. The informants are listed in table 3.4.

Identification code	Gender	Occupation	Locale	Role in tourism committee
FGOCM01	Male	Farmer	Cha Ong Waterfall	None
FGOCF01	Female	Farmer	Cha Ong Waterfall	None
FGOCM02	Male	Farmer	Cha Ong Waterfall	None
FGOCF02	Female	Farmer	Cha Ong Waterfall	None
FGOCM03	Male	Farmer	Cha Ong Waterfall	None
FGOCF03	Female	Farmer	Cha Ong Waterfall	None
FGOCM04	Male	Farmer	Cha Ong Waterfall	None
FGOCM05	Male	Farmer	Cha Ong Waterfall	None
IKTM01	Male	Souvenirs/Sculpting	Katieng Waterfall	None
IBLF01	Female	Laundry/Restaurant Worker	Banlung	None
IBLTCM02	Male	Tour guide	Banlung	Secretary
IBLF02	Female	Laundry/Restaurant Worker	Banlung	None
IKCM03	Male	Ticket Sales Waterfall	Kachang Waterfall	None
IYLF03	Female	Food Vendor	Yeak Laom Lake	None
IKCM04	Male	Local Govt Official	Kachang Waterfall	None
IYLF04	Female	Souvenirs and Farming	Yeak Laom Lake	None
IYLM05	Male	Ticket Sales/Farmer	Yeak Laom Lake	None
IYLF05	Female	Souvenirs	Yeak Laom Lake	None
IYLM06	Male	Farmer	Yeak Laom Lake	None
IBLF06	Female	Hotel Receptionist	Banlung	None
IYLM07	Male	Farmer	Yeak Laom Lake	None
IBLF07	Female	Jewellery & Gem Sales	Banlung	None
IBLM08	Male	*Motodup*	Banlung	None
IBLM09	Male	*Motodup*	Banlung	None
IBLM010	Male	Director of Provincial Education Dept.	Banlung	None
IBLM011	Male	Student	Banlung	None

Table 3.4 Phase two informants from Banlung.

It is important to note that the failed operation of the committee meant that no additional members of the committee could be contacted for their input. Also, the research was conducted just prior to a trade fair being hosted in the community. This made local government officials unavailable as they were too busy to participate in the research.

Phase Two: Return to Banteay Chhmar (March 2010)

Following the conclusion of research in the second case study site, the researcher returned to Banteay Chhmar. Following the preliminary analysis of phase one and phase two data,

gaps were identified in phase one data. Further data was collected by inviting the tourism committee to participate in a meeting to address these issues. Due to the timing, two members attended the interview.

The research tool designed for use in Banlung was intended to address emergent themes in phase one data. This research tool was also tested in Banteay Chhmar, as a form of triangulation for the data collected in both sites. Thus, a further 15 interviews were conducted using this structured interview schedule. The informants included members of the community, both tourism and non-tourism participants. Table 3.5 identifies the informants from phase two data collection in Banteay Chhmar.

Identification Code	Gender	Occupation	Role in Tourism Committee
I2BCM01	Male	Farmer	None
I2BCF01	Female	Farmer	None
I2BCM02	Male	Farmer	None
I2BCF02	Female	Farmer	None
I2BCM03	Male	Farmer	None
I2BCF03	Female	Farmer	None
I2BCM04	Male	Shopkeeper	None
I2BCF04	Female	Farmer	None
I2BCM05	Male	Shopkeeper	None
I2BCF05	Female	Student	None
I2BCF06	Female	Shopkeeper	None
I2BCF07	Female	Farmer	None
I2BCF08	Female	Beautician	None
I2BCF09	Female	Silk weaver	None
I2BCF010	Female	Farmer	None
Committee meeting attendees			
I2BCCOMMM01 (IBCACCTM012)	Male	*Motodup* driver	Treasurer
I2BCCOMMM02	Male	Farmer	General member

Table 3.5 Phase two informants from Banteay Chhmar

Data Analysis

Following the completion of all data collection in the field, the raw data was analysed to identify key themes which would inform the findings of the research. The analytical process is outlined briefly below.

Interpretation of Language

As the interviews were conducted in Khmer, the interviews were interpreted from Khmer to English by a NAATI level 3 accredited interpreter prior to transcription. Once the interviews were interpreted, the interviews were then transcribed.

Analysis

The transcripts of the interviews were subjected to iterative and thematic analysis. The qualitative data management program NVivo 8.0 was utilised for the purposes of cross referencing the data once analysed. The key themes for analysis were perception, expectation and value. These key themes were further broken down into subthemes of perception, expectation and value of self, tourism, and community. Figure 3.3 shows the breakdown of the key themes used in the analysis of the data.

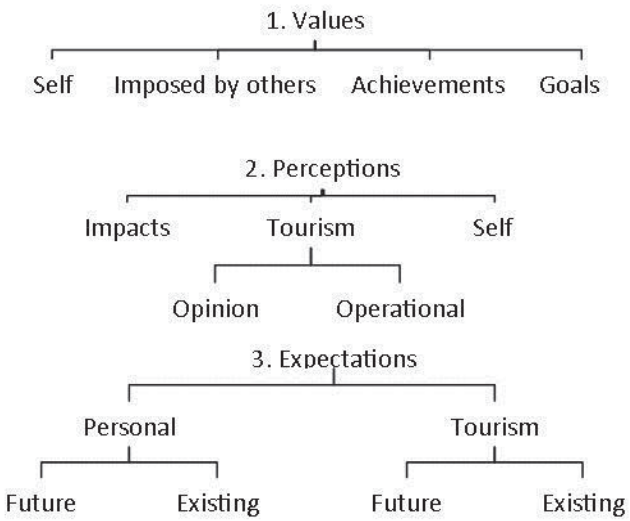


Figure 3.3 Key themes used in data analysis.

These key themes were used as a basis for organising data. It helped to build an understanding of how participants formed perceptions, understood tourism and its development in the community, and also provided insight into the community, its operations, relationships and residents. Once the data had been coded using these themes, the emergent themes which represented the findings of this research could be identified. These findings highlighted the aims and progress of tourism and CBT in the community. Key findings related to perception of self, community and tourism committee.

The structured components of the phase two interviews were analysed as a collective sample to identify key trends and meanings which contributed to the understanding of the richer data sourced from the open ended questions. For illustration purposes, basic descriptive statistics of this data is available in appendix three.

Chapter Summary

This chapter established the researcher's ontology and epistemology. The dual position occupied by the researcher in the Cambodian cultural context, as a foreigner capable of entering and engaging with Cambodian communities represents a good foundation for this research. The methodological underpinnings of this research were identified as utilising descriptive phenomenology, using a basic hermeneutics approach to grounded theory for the study of a particular phenomenon that accounts for researcher bias in the emic perspective. The chapter also detailed the research design and identified the case study sites selected for this research. The ethical considerations for this project were addressed. The chapter concludes with an outline of both phases of fieldwork and the data analysis process undertaken.

Chapter Four: Research Findings

This chapter outlines the findings of this research, which are presented as the individual study sites. Having established the research setting for each site, the emergence of tourism, and the aims of CBT in the community are described. The findings identify the impacts the informants perceive as being attributable to tourism. It also looks at the way in which the community perceives tourism, themselves collectively and individually, and the tourism committee. In addition to identifying the impacts of tourism as predominantly positive, the findings show that despite the similarities in the implementation, the perceptions amongst participants show some differences regarding how tourism, self and community are perceived. Each case is concluded with a SWOT analysis overview of each case.

Banteay Chhmar, Banteay Meanchey Province, Cambodia

Banteay Chhmar is a subdistrict in the North Eastern Province of Banteay Meanchey, Cambodia. It is isolated, approximately 50km from the provincial capital, Sisophon (Svay), accessed by an unpaved military road only recently constructed in 2006. The subdistrict is close to the Thai border, and the access road to Thailand is also unpaved, but rather than a limestone sand road, it is a gravel road. Figure 4.1 below is a map of Cambodia indicating the proximal location of Banteay Chhmar.

Figure 4.1 Map of Cambodia showing location of Banteay Chhmar (Source: Polla Hawkins)

The subdistrict of Banteay Chhmar consists of a small township, surrounded by 14 small villages. Five of those villages are considered to be included in the central township. The subdistrict is named after the main temple complex located in the very centre of town, *Wat* Banteay Chhmar. The five central villages are called the Eastern, Western, Southern, Northern and Sras Chrey villages based on their orientation around the temple complex. Figure 4.2 illustrates the layout of Banteay Chhmar temple complex and surrounding town site. The location of sites and homestays are indicated on this map.

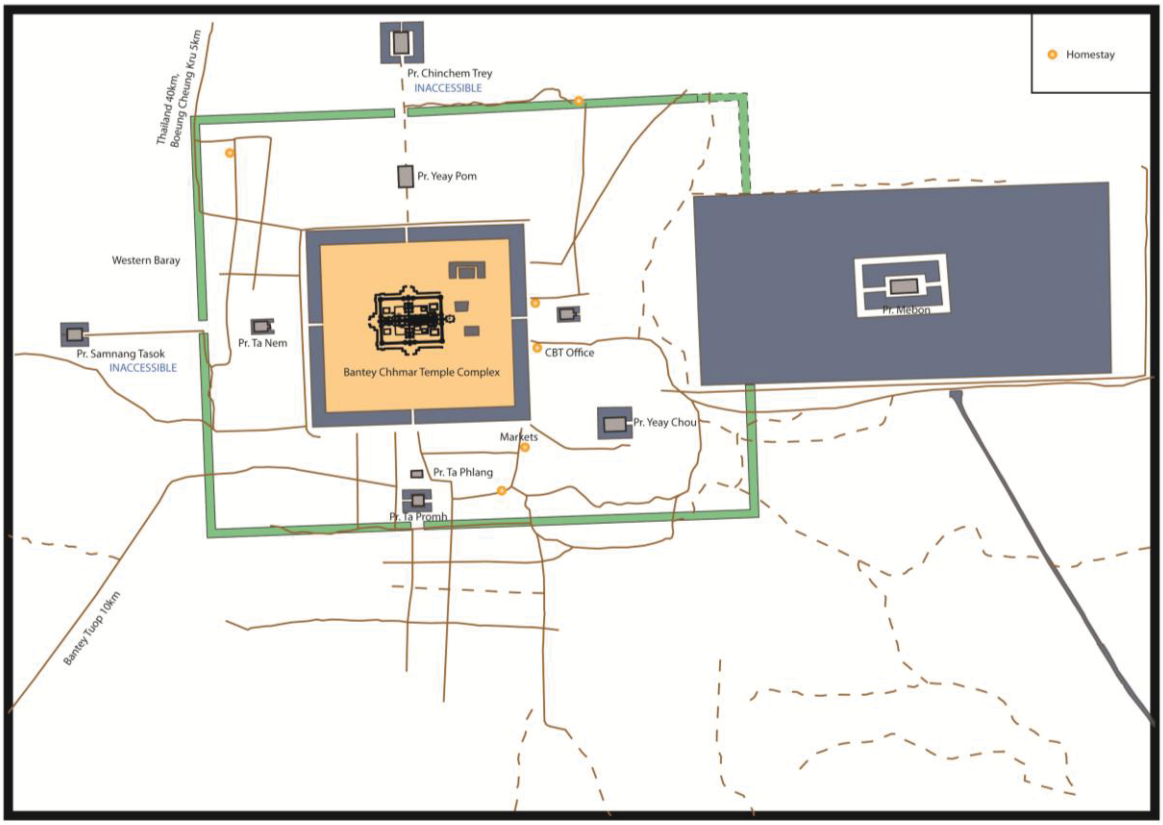


Figure 4.2 Map of Banteay Chhmar, Banteay Meanchey province, Cambodia (Source: Polla Hawkins)

The main temple complex is approximately one square kilometre in area. Four lakes surround the inner perimeter, forming the temple's moat. Each lake is connected via channels through the causeways which give access to the main complex, and still retain water in different amounts. Within the inner boundaries of the complex is *Wat* Banteay Chhmar and the remains of libraries. Much of the temple is in ruin, with large trees and bushes shading the scene. No large structures remain standing, but many walls and galleries still remain, some of which are covered in some of the rarest and most complex carvings from the Angkorian era. Paths run around and through the temple, as its central location makes the temple a vital thoroughfare for the community.

There are two main entrances to the temple, on the southern and eastern sides. It is in this south eastern quadrant that the main township is located, including the market, restaurants and the majority of shops. The pagoda and its school are also located in this area. The highest concentration of residents is found in this area. To the west of the temple is the secondary school and the orphanage. Not far to the west is a *baray*, a large manmade lake that is part of the ancient temple complex, though it no longer contains much water. There are some fields in the western village, as well as grazing land. To the south, there are more fields beyond the main concentration of houses. The five main villages in Banteay Chhmar are within the outer perimeter of the temple complex, so smaller satellite temple sites are located around the villages and in the fields.

The facilities in Banteay Chhmar are very limited. There is no running water in the area. Most houses rely on the collection of rainwater in traditional water pots, which, if necessary, is supplemented by water from the temple moat. There is a single provider of purified spring water that sells high quality drinking water cheaply, though few households utilise this. Electricity is available only to the central township area between 6pm and 10pm from a private provider operating generators, making electricity very expensive. Most households and businesses use batteries to power limited electronic equipment, such as radios, televisions and lights. Outside the central township, ownership of a private generator is a luxury.

The people of Banteay Chhmar are predominantly Buddhist. Many traditional practices and beliefs are still strong in Banteay Chhmar, such as the celebration of particular spiritual festivals and the performance of traditional ceremonies. There are many beliefs and practices regarding spirits, ghosts and angels, including the use of fortune tellers, traditional medicines, and witchcraft. However, the belief systems of the Banteay Chhmar community are not very different to the rest of the country, with the exception of some unique ceremonial practices which have evolved due to the isolation of the community, and its proximity to Thailand.

An Historical Overview of Banteay Chhmar

The temple of Banteay Chhmar and the satellite sites were constructed under Jayavaraman VII at the end of the 12th century, and are similar in construction and design to the iconic Bayon temple in the Angkor Archaeological Park. It was a formal outpost of the Angkorian empire, constructed on an older 9th century site (Banteay Chhmar Conference 2009, 2009; Ray, 2010). However, much of the historical meaning of the temple of Banteay Chhmar has been lost.

The modern history of Banteay Chhmar identifies it as part of the last remaining Khmer Rouge stronghold. It is widely accepted in the community that the civil war which ravaged the country from 1970 to 1975 did not officially end in Banteay Chhmar and its surrounds until 1995 to 1996. It was during this time that the temple fell to ruins through neglect, as

well as looting and destructive behaviour. It also increased the isolation of the community, slowing its post war development as the government had no access to or authority in the community. This means that many of the residents recall their experiences during the war quite clearly, and the effects are still prevalent. The most important are a lack of education, including poor literacy and numeracy in the older generations and increasing land shortages resulting from poor town planning.

The Economy of Banteay Chhmar

Banteay Chhmar is primarily an agricultural community. Due to its isolation, most people are subsistence farmers. People grow their own fruit and vegetables and raise livestock, all of which is traded within the community. The main crops are rice and cassava. The majority of the rice is traded within the community, whereas all the cassava is exported to Vietnam. Most families participate in other work alongside farming. This includes having roadside stalls selling food or goods, operating market stalls or providing goods and services in the main township.

Land is the most valuable commodity in the subdistrict. Those who own land large enough to farm are considered wealthy in the village. Much of the farming land is within a 10km radius of the village. Many residents lack the security of owning the land on which their houses are built, and are either renting the space from others or squatting on public land.

This chapter now proceeds to tell the story of tourism and CBT in Banteay Chhmar. It is important to note at this stage that due to the apprehension of Cambodians to openly communicate with 'outsiders', some participants were unwilling to respond openly to the questions posed. This challenge was highlighted as an outcome of the preliminary study, and despite efforts to design the research tool to make it easier for questions to be interpreted easily by informants, some participants were reluctant to speak openly. The members of the tourism committee, with more experience with communicating with external parties, were far more communicative. This is reflected in their responsiveness, as will become clear.

The Banteay Chhmar Tourism Product

Tourism in Banteay Chhmar was originally proposed as an idea by the French NGO Agir Pour Le Cambodge (APLC) in 2006. The presence of the main temple site and surrounding satellite temples provided the assets Banteay Chhmar would need to establish a tourism industry in the township. APLC were seeking a means of stimulating community development in Banteay Chhmar, and providing opportunities for everyone to benefit equally from any project. Thus, a CBT project was selected.

Initially, APLC began to investigate the viability of tourism in Banteay Chhmar through conducting research in the community. Numerous meetings were held to see how the

community responded to this proposal, whether residents would be willing to participate in tourism and if unwilling participants would be willing to tolerate it in the community:

> "The aim of community tourism in this area is that we understand that our community has the historic potential for tourism. Tourists have known about this area previously, but before we advertised it, the visitor numbers were small. So the organisation, Agir Pour Le Cambodge, made a plan. They surveyed the region to find people who would get involved, and after the survey, they asked these people to come, in order to know how many people wanted to be involved, and how many people didn't want to be involved. The findings were that there was a majority of people who wanted to be involved in tourism. That is why we had a trial and tried to create CBT. At first it was just a temporary scheme, there wasn't a committee with a president….After a short trial, we decided the community could operate this program, so we took up the job. We trialled ourselves, and we organised our community to have services. Eventually, our community was able to provide these services." (IBCVPM05, Vice President, CBT Banteay Chhmar)

Tourism for Banteay Chhmar had been advocated as a possible development plan by APLC, because the village had existing assets which could be utilised, and used the existing skills in hospitality and services training possessed by APLC. The proposed advantage of using a CBT model was the empowerment of the community through capacity building programs and training in the operation of tourism, which in time, would allow the community to operate tourism independently. However, the continued financial and physical support of APLC would be required until CBT was fully operational.

CBT meant that the community would actively participate in the production of tourism, as well as being casual observers. The community would have to be actively involved in the development process, and be required to participate in a range of learning activities and fully engage in tourism. The benefits would be the long term sustainable development of an economic activity which would have direct and indirect benefits for the whole community. The use of the CBT approach by Banteay Chhmar and APLC emphasised the long term plans for tourism over immediate short term benefits. It is interesting to note that the long term sustainable approach used in Banteay Chhmar led to community members volunteering a considerable amount of time for CBT, which actually limited their already disadvantaged short term economic situation.

Along with APLC, the community looked to CCBEN for assistance in establishing a CBT project in Banteay Chhmar. This organisation supports NGOs and communities implementing sustainable tourism programs throughout the country, by providing access to a network of NGOs who can provide training and skills to areas still developing tourism. The training required for Banteay Chhmar as identified, included capacity building, language skills and education in sustainable tourism practices. APLC provided specific hospitality

training in the development of the accommodation and food and beverage services for tourism.

The product that was created is in line with CBT, in which the community is the central focus of the tourism product. The main attractions are the temples, as well as the typical rural lifestyle of the community. Support services are provided entirely by the community.

Accommodation is in the form of community homestays. Food and beverage services provided for tourism use local cooks making meals from local seasonal foods. Other food and beverage services which are available include a single restaurant, street and market stalls. The tourism committee have tourist activities which showcase local traditions and practices, such as silk weaving, *dal ombok*, ox cart and *kuyon* rides, traditional music and dancing. The services and activities provided by the people of Banteay Chhmar attract a fee payable to the tourism committee. These funds are then distributed to various parties. The service providers receive a direct income, with the remaining portion being used to fund operational costs, and to contribute to a collective fund for community development projects. Table 4.1 outlines the way income from tourism is divided between stakeholders in a small range of available activities. The entry fee to the Banteay Chhmar temple site is also shared with many other stakeholders, including the Ministry of Culture, local temple guards and the local government. This entry fee is not considered an official income stream for the tourism committee, as it is part of the standard entry fee collection system common to temple sites in Cambodia, though the tourism committee receives just fewer than ten per cent of the fee as a stakeholder.

Activity	Cost of activity	Amount retained by service provider	% retained by service provider	Amount retained by tourism committee	% retained by tourism committee
Homestay (per night)	USD$7	USD$4	57%	USD$3	42%
Meals	USD$3-USD$4	USD$1	25-33%	USD$2-USD$3	66-75%
***Kuyon*/Ox cart ride**	USD$6	USD$2	33%	USD$4	66%
Tour guide	USD$5	USD$2	20%	USD$3	60%

Table 4.1 Examples of the distribution of tourism income in Banteay Chhmar

The promotion of Banteay Chhmar is predominantly done through CCBEN, as a part of its CBT program. CCBEN have a main website listing all CBT members and their details. APLC did much work in promoting Banteay Chhmar in Europe, and printed brochures in English and French. Other promotional efforts have led to the inclusion of Banteay Chhmar in the Lonely Planet guide, as well as in the Rough Guide for Cambodia, though these sources are not very detailed. Business to business promotion has led to packages being sold in tour companies in Cambodia.

With positive community feedback in relation to the proposal for CBT in Banteay Chhmar, a trial began for the operation of the CBT project in the community, with homestays being established, and activities being organised for tourists. The purpose of the trial was to evaluate and improve the capacities of the community in relation to operating tourism. After seven to eight months, the trial was completed, and an official election was held to elect the members of the tourism committee.

In 2008, APLC was forced to withdraw from the project due to a lack of funds. APLC withdrew from all but one of their projects in Cambodia. This withdrawal from Banteay Chhmar was unexpected, and the support that the committee required in its development was no longer available. The committee was made independent much sooner than planned.

At the time, a second NGO, Global Heritage Fund (GHF), was running a conservation and part restoration project of the main temple complex. This organisation was not directly involved in tourism in the community, but the conservation program had positive implications for tourism by restoring the main tourism asset, despite short term negative impacts as works restricted access to the site.

The APLC community liaison officer, upon the withdrawal of APLC from the region, became the community liaison for GHF and their projects. Having been involved in the development of CBT in Banteay Chhmar, the liaison was familiar with tourism in the area, and had been involved in the development of the tourism committee. This relationship meant that GHF began to financially support CBT in Banteay Chhmar. GHF has no specific skills in developing tourism, but recognised the common goal of the committee to conserve the temple site. The financial support they provide is for ideas proposed by the tourism committee which GHF agrees are valid:

> "At the time when APLC left, there happened to be another organisation [GHF] running the Banteay Chhmar temple conservation project. They realised, that despite this project, the community were unable to benefit from the temple site, and they thought something needed to be done about that. The organisation then thought of the tourism committee, because the organisation could help to support the tourism committee to do their work. So in May 2009, GHF began to support the committee…They help with operation costs and the development projects which need to be done." (IBCGHFM05, GHF Liaison, Banteay Chhmar)

Currently, the tourism committee in Banteay Chhmar operates independently, with some financial aid from GHF, with the option to utilise the skills network provided by CCBEN. In the near future, the NGO USAid will begin to support the development of tourism in the community through financial and skill support, along with their partner, Worldwide. This support was earned, as the tourism committee won a competition, 'Hidden Treasures' in which the Banteay Chhmar CBT project was judged on its current achievements and future

potential. All funding and support received (or will be received) by Banteay Chhmar will be the product of the independent work of the tourism committee in sourcing it. The support will help the community to produce its own souvenirs and support the training of local guides. This was illustrated by the treasurer of the tourism committee:

> "We entered the Hidden treasures competition, and we won! They plan to help us for 2 years…They provide help relating to crafts, there will be a teacher hired by that organisation to teach craft to people…and Worldwide will help with training guides." (2IBCCOMM01, Treasurer, CBT Banteay Chhmar)

The structure of tourism in Banteay Chhmar centres on the tourism committee, consisting of five key members, the president, vice president, secretary, treasurer and the GHF liaison. The subdistrict head of Banteay Chhmar is involved in committee activities, but is not an official member. There are 77 other people in the community who are associated with the committee and regularly participate in its activities. Each of the activities operated as a part of CBT in Banteay Chhmar have a subcommittee with its own head, including cooks (11 members), homestays (5 members), *Dal ombok*, oxcart rides, *kuyon* rides and cultural activities (including silk weaving and traditional music).

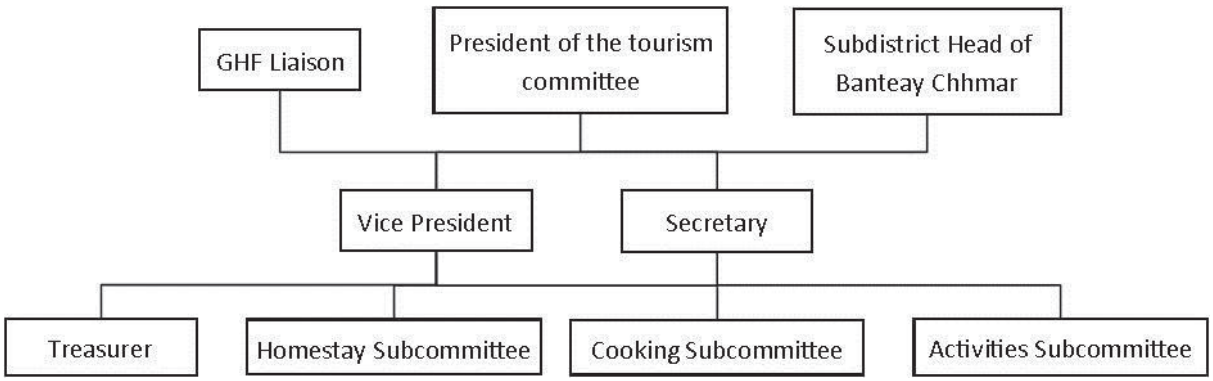


Figure 4.3 Structure of the Banteay Chhmar tourism committee

The subdistrict head and the local village heads are also closely involved with the committee. All contact with external parties, such as NGOs, tour companies, and government agencies is made through the tourism committee.

The Banteay Chhmar temple site, including the satellite temples are currently being prepared in order to submit an application for the site to be listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. To this end, federal funding from the Department of Conservation and the Ministry of Culture has been provided to clear some of the satellite temples, and new signs have been posted for these. Many temples still remain inaccessible, with clearing continuing.

The Aims of Tourism

In line with the goals of CBT, tourism in Banteay Chhmar has the primary aim to help community development through the utilisation of existing physical and human resources. It is understood that tourism in the community does provide direct personal benefit to the participants, but this is not the primary goal of tourism. Tourism is the tool which the community uses to earn money which can be used to fund community projects, ensuring that the benefits of tourism are for participants and non-participants alike. This will help reduce poverty in the community as a whole. The benefits are also critical in the development of a sustainable CBT program, to ensure the longevity of community benefit via the conservation of resources as described by the committee's vice president:

> "It is only CBT that could preserve and conserve the region. We had to create our committee to govern the existing resources. We don't have any funds to create new attractions, we only embellish the resources that we have…We are doing this, based on a majority support." (IBCVPM05, Vice President, CBT Banteay Chhmar)

Community development to be supported by CBT involves social and environmental benefit. Recent projects undertaken have included clearing of the moat around the temple and establishing a rubbish collection service for the community. This has improved the access of the community to clean water, and will help improve the cleanliness of the environment and minimise pollution, through the proper removal and disposal of waste. This will improve the local environment and health of the community. Also, it will have benefits for tourism by improving the quality of the tourist product, being the temple and its surrounds.

Tourism in Banteay Chhmar is being developed using the financial benefits already received from tourism and support from NGOs. The tourism committee office was extended to include a dining and leisure area for the use of visitors to the community. Also, homestays have received funding to improve the facilities for tourists at each house, including bedding, furniture, candle holders and western style bathrooms. These are also available for the use of the homestay families.

The tourism committee also helped to sponsor the local water festival in 2009 by providing some prizes for the event. This served to promote the CBT program in the area, as well as engaging with the community and encouraging community unity:

> "Our last aim is to have people in the community know each other, and become unified, in order to make progress, to develop what people want. So recently, we decided that we would like a water festival to be held here, but we did not have a lot of funds. So the committee put up US$30 for the prize. The villagers who came, thought that if the committee could do that, they could do it too, by contributing to it…in the end, we created a water festival…It was not a competition to have winners and losers, it just showed that we were unified to other regions…we showed them that we could help one another." (IBCVPM05, Vice President, CBT Banteay Chhmar)

Another aim in tourism is to unite people regarding supporting tourism and community development. The products of tourism provide widespread community benefits, so even non participants in tourism are encouraged to engage in and support tourism. This increases communication between residents, and by using existing assets, tourism unites the community through the pride for these assets. The president of the tourism committee described this aptly:

> "Tourism in this area teaches us how to care and conserve our culture in our community. It helps to care for the temple and surrounding area, so that it is in good condition. This will help to teach the people to love their culture, especially their heritage from the past." (IBCPM07, President, CBT Banteay Chhmar)

Perceived Positive Benefits of Tourism

Perceived Economic Benefits

Tourism in Banteay Chhmar, as a CBT project, has provided benefits for the community in addition to the goals of the tourism committee. The most important benefit has been economic. Those participating directly in CBT have been able to supplement their main income through tourism: "Tourism helps to develop the economy in our community in a small way. Even though it is not a big income, it is a supplementary income besides people's ordinary income" (IBCPM07, President, CBT Banteay Chhmar).

One homestay owner described how meaningful the supplementary income was to his circumstances, despite the deliberate emphasis the tourism committee places on 'supplementary':

> "Now I have all this [homestay], I feel that I am very lucky, and I am happy. I have the ability to send my children to school, and I have food for my

> children to eat…I am very pleased with the committee, that they have organised themselves and made my house into this homestay, and then I earn some money from this homestay that the committee created. It helps quite a bit."(IBCJM09, Farmer, Banteay Chhmar)

There are others who are not direct participants in CBT, but are directly involved in tourism in the community. These people include market and street vendors, and people supplying CBT with goods and services. These people are able to sell their products, and when sold directly to tourists, at better than standard market prices. In Cambodia, it is generally expected that tourists pay more for goods than locals, even though no one considers it to be inappropriate:

> "With the money from tourism, the people in the village can get some work. The stall holders as well, when the visitors come, they can sell their products better, so they can earn some income." (IBCJM09, Homestay owner and farmer, Banteay Chhmar)

Perceived Social Benefits

Social development in Banteay Chhmar is one of the key aims of CBT. In addition to the availability of clean water and sanitation, people in the community are benefitting from tourism as new jobs are available for people to participate directly in CBT for additional income, as described a local resident: "Tourists come, which helps the villagers. Some people wash their clothes, their towels and their mosquito nets, wash blankets for them, and wash everything that needs to be washed." (IBCLF08, Street seller, Banteay Chhmar)

Also, there are opportunities to improve education, as the Peacecorps volunteer teaching English at the local high school also runs voluntary English classes for the members of CBT. Training in tourism areas is also planned for members of CBT, including hospitality training and guide training. One farmer identified the opportunities this provided for his family:

> "Some of the young people have been given the opportunity to learn English, like my son, to learn English at the committee office. When the visitors come, they will be able to talk to them." (IBCLM08, Farmer, Banteay Chhmar)

The opportunities tourism provides and the decreased isolation of the community has led to a decrease in the number of people leaving the community to work in Thailand or the textile factories in Phnom Penh:

> "The aim is to help to prevent people from leaving the area, so people don't leave to work in the rice fields in Thailand. They can find jobs with the committee, and we can build our human resources in the region…We try to explain to the public about receiving benefits from tourism. If they don't understand, when tourism has a lot of influence over the subdistrict, the result will be an exodus of villagers…If people think that they can benefit from CBT, then they would stay." (IBCVPM05, Vice President, CBT Banteay Chhmar)

Perceived Cultural Benefits

CBT promotes the conservation of traditional cultural practices as well as the ancient sites in the community. The activities which make up the tourism product in Banteay Chhmar are all traditional activities, including some which have been disappearing with the advent of new and better practices. This conservation of traditional activities does not hamper the development of the culture of the community. GHF's role in conservation is reflected in the GHF liaison's perspective of CBT:

> "Tourism helps to develop our culture. Not just our culture alone, but even our traditional practices are revived and conserved. For example, traditional music, we wanted to revive it, to show the visitors, so that they know that this is one of the aspects of Khmer culture. Another thing is the making of flattened rice. This is part of our culture, we need to preserve it…As for the homestays, the wooden house is another aspect of our traditions. Our culture is also important, like the use of ox carts. Travelling by oxcart is an activity that allows us to show the visitors that previously, when the Khmer travelled, we used oxcarts as transport…As I understand, the key aims of the committee are to reduce poverty and develop and preserve culture and traditions." (IBCGHFM05, GHF Liaison, Banteay Chhmar)

The tourism committee do not perceive development and conservation as being in conflict. At this stage, the opportunities tourism presents for development in the community also promote conservation. This is articulated by the vice president of the CBT committee:

> "There isn't any conflict between tourism and culture. They are in cooperation with one another. We would like conservation as well as development. The two disciplines are working side by side, neither impacting on the other. If a particular area is for conservation, it is not for development, and if a particular area is for development, we are not prevented from doing so." (IBCVPM05, Vice President, CBT Banteay Chhmar)

Traditional food is prepared for tourists using only local produce, and using traditional methods. Some of the foods in Banteay Chhmar, as a result of their limited resources, are very different to cuisine elsewhere in the country. There are few ingredients which can be

used to prepare western style dishes, so the focus is left on Khmer food. Key differences is a lack of large river fish, and the availability of different varieties of wild vegetables which are regularly used as an alternative to others which cannot be grown in the Banteay Chhmar environment. The focus on local food and produce ensures that traditional foods are still being made, over convenience foods or imported ingredients.

Transport options for tourists include oxcart rides and *kuyon* rides as tourist activities. The oxcart was the traditional form of transport in the community until recently. Prior to the reconstruction of the road, oxcarts were the only way to transport anything off road. Oxcarts have been a part of Khmer tradition for centuries, and the design of the oxcarts and harnesses are an important part of Khmer craft. By offering an oxcart service, the community still possesses oxcarts and keep oxen, instead of replacing them entirely with modern machinery. The *kuyon* is a tractor motor which is attached to a long trailer, and is the modern equivalent to the oxcart, being able to transport large volumes of goods and people on the rough dirt roads. The *kuyon* appears to have originated in Thailand and has been adopted by border communities. This service allows tourists to see how the community has evolved since the oxcart and improves the speed of transportation around the village.

CBT also offers traditional music performances for the tourists. With the advent of television and modern media significantly changing the music in Cambodia, this activity encourages the conservation of traditional music, as well as traditional musical instruments. Younger people in the community have learnt to play these instruments as a part of the music group of the CBT, effectively conserving the music and instruments for future generations.

The final core activity of CBT is *dal ombok*, which is the process of making *ombok*, a dish where rice grains are roasted over coals and flattened using a very large mortar and pestle. This is a traditional activity which large groups participate in during the rice harvest. Prior to the introduction of CBT, *dal ombok* was not widely practised by the community. Now, it is a part of the tourist product, where tourists can observe and participate in its making, ensuring its continued practice in the community. A resident describes how some traditional activities are being revived:

> "Usually, the villagers don't make flattened rice much these days. Now visitors have come, we have tried to revive it, because our packages say that we can show tourists how to make flattened rice traditionally. So we went to the villagers and we asked them to please show the visitors how to make flattened rice, and people have started to do it." (IBCJM04, Homestay owner and farmer, Banteay Chhmar)

Tourism is also encouraging the conservation of cultural heritage sites, at the temple sites. The support of tourism means that the community understands that the temple is a cultural asset, and is central to the tourism product. This has reduced the number of stones

removed from the temples for domestic use, where previously, the temple's laterite stones were the preferred base for coal stoves in the community. This is explained through how the village has changed their understanding of the value of the temple as an asset:

> "At first, the villagers did not understand the value of the temple stones at all, like the laterite stones that are found around the village, which form part of the temple. They would take them and make them into stoves for cooking. Now they understand, and they are forbidden to use these stones for that purpose again. It was explained to them about the value of these ancient stones which form our Khmer heritage. Most of them understood, and they feel very happy about conserving them. They are going to cooperate with the conservation of the stones." (2IBCCOMM01, Treasurer, CBT Banteay Chhmar)

The community perceives that the presence of international tourists will increase the amount that the community communicates with the external environment, as they are quite isolated. Most perceive that learning about and interacting with different people and different cultures is positive, increasing the community's education and widening their breadth of knowledge. One resident commented: "I like visitors to come and stay here. I like to observe the way they live, what they do." (Farmer, Banteay Chhmar). This is further emphasised by the recognition that cultural exchange represents a form of education for the community: "The benefits of tourism are the income we receive, and the knowledge, education and the experience we get from tourism." (IBCPM07, President, CBT Banteay Chhmar)

Another tourism committee member expressed this in more detail:

> "We would like them to come and we would like the villagers to understand about the culture and the exchanging of cultures. Like greeting, or 'how are you?', there is an exchange of culture happening. The villagers would understand that is how the French speak, and maybe, they will learn some other languages…To exchange with them some of the aspects of Khmer culture, what we like, and between them, they could understand each other." (IBCVPM05, Vice President, CBT Banteay Chhmar)

Perceived Environmental Benefits

The environmental benefits of tourism in this context also constitute social and cultural benefits. These include the aforementioned cleaning of the moat, establishment of rubbish collection and conservation of temple sites. Environmental benefits support other areas, as it improves the living environment of the people, as well as enhancing the attractiveness of the community for tourism.

Residents demonstrate a keen awareness of these benefits and their derivation from tourism:

> "When they do anything around the temple, there are funds for that, because that money is for cleaning up the moat. The committee shares part of the income from tourism for clearing up around the temple. The committee spent that money to help restore part of the temple, helping with sanitation, making the surroundings of the temple cleaner." (IBCJM09, Farmer, Banteay Chhmar)

Also, another commented:

> "I know that the committee has cleaned up the *baray* and helped with sanitation around the village, like rubbish. I have heard that in the near future they are going to have a site for the rubbish, and they have cleaned the moat." (IBCSCM013, Farmer, Banteay Chhmar)

This shows that residents in the community perceive positive environmental impacts from tourism and how they have been derived from tourism. The tourism committee specifically target these environmental objectives for both the community and tourism:

> "We are in the process of making the site look better. We have organised a sanitation system to clean up our area, because before this, the villagers didn't understand. They throw rubbish everywhere. But we have to educate them. This is a plan to preserve our culture. To keep the area clean. If there is rubbish, and someone looks at it, it is not good." (IBCVPM05, Vice President, CBT Banteay Chhmar)

As tourism development improves, and benefits become more widespread, it is possible that through its provision of economic benefit and education regarding conservation, tourism will discourage the illegal clearing of forests and use of land for farming, particularly where that land is part of a conservation zone.

Perceived Negative Impacts of Tourism

The community of Banteay Chhmar do not perceive any significant negative impacts of tourism. The majority of the community perceives no negative impact, but have some concern about what may emerge in the future, as tourism development progresses. There is also a perception that negative impacts of tourism are those seen from the point of view of tourists and not by the community itself.

Perceived Negative Social Impacts

The community has some fear of potential future threats of tourism. These perceived threats are sex tourism and the introduction of drugs and a drug culture as a result of having

a large number of international tourists with different cultural values that conflict with their own enter the community. Tourists may also use the isolation of their community to engage in illegal activity. The CBT committee are committed to preventing this:

> "We don't want sex tourism, we don't want drug tourism, we don't want child exploitation and human trafficking in young people. Tourism in Banteay Chhmar is historic and cultural tourism…if they come and we show them beautiful girls, it is not our tradition. This is an impact we should consider. Our people should understand and be aware of all of this. Sometimes visitors appear to be okay, but in the house, they smoke drugs. When the villagers find out, they should inform the committee or the authorities. We don't need money from these kinds of visitors. We don't need it. It is illegal. We shouldn't let it happen. It shouldn't happen here. If we let it happen, it could close down our program." (IBCVPM05, Vice President, CBT Banteay Chhmar)

Perceived Negative Cultural Impacts

Some residents see the interactions with people from different cultures as a threat to the cultures and traditions of the community, as the power imbalance between tourists and the community increases the community's desire to imitate and adopt these different cultures and practices, such as language, dress and possession of particular material goods:

> "I cannot see many problems so far, but there is a small thing. The foreigners bring with them their civilisation and their culture to show the local people. Especially the younger ones, when they see other cultures, their habits and traditions, they are quick to pick them up, the foreign culture that is not their own. They imitate those foreign cultures, very fast too. This is not good for Khmer culture and tradition." (IBCPM07, President, CBT Banteay Chhmar)

Another resident specifically identified changing fashion as the manifestation of acculturation:

> "I think that they [tourists] impact on Khmer culture. These days, you can see that foreign culture has permeated into the Khmer culture here, like the way the young people are wearing skirts, and the young men have their ears pierced, wearing tight shorts and pants, following the European style." (IBCJM018, Craftsman, Banteay Chhmar)

Perceived Negative Environmental Impacts

Tourism in the community is seen to benefit the environment through promoting conservation. However, there is awareness that opening the temple to visitors will cause more wear on the temple and the surrounding area. This is a concern they have for the future, as they perceive current visitor levels to be acceptable. This is reflected by the views of the residents of this issue: "When they bring visitors into the temple, they don't want

people to walk on the stones, because it can wear them down. "(IBCTM03, Homestay owner and farmer, Banteay Chhmar)

The tourism committee shows a keener awareness of the potential impact this has for tourism, and therefore, on development goals in the community:

> "Receiving many visitors can erode the stones of the temple. The more visitors to the temple, the more the stones are worn from people walking on them…We would like a million visitors, but if we don't think of the impacts of tourism on the stones, if a million came, how much damage would there be? The plan is to build a boardwalk, so that the visitors will not walk directly on the stones. If we don't do anything, if visitors keep coming, in a hundred years or so, the temple will be gone." (IBCVPM05, Vice President, CBT Banteay Chhmar)

The increase in visitor numbers has led to increased road use. At this time, the roads leading to and within the community are unpaved. The dust from these roads is feared to have negative health implications that will increase as tourist numbers grow. This problem is not however, being attributed solely to tourism. One resident expressed this emphatically:

> "I wish we could have a good road to travel on…At present, I see this as quite important. It can affect people's health. With all this dust, I don't know how many bacteria or viruses could infect people, countless I think. Potholes are not the most important thing to fix, but water to stop the dust, which can affect your health, that is important." (IBCJM02, Homestay owner and teacher, Banteay Chhmar)

The informants in Banteay Chhmar perceive a range of positive impacts from tourism that correlates with findings in the literature, and demonstrates that many of the practical challenges of maximising benefits from tourism have been alleviated through the emphasis of CBT on community education and awareness, and the focus on creating local linkages. There are few negative impacts being perceived, but there are fears for the future in terms of negative impacts which may emerge over time. This fear of potential negative impacts is evidently part of the cultural context of Cambodia, as this was also found in previous research conducted on perceived impacts of tourism in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. However, the few negative impacts perceived as occurring or potentially occurring are considerably outnumbered by the perceived positive impacts of CBT. Therefore, overall perceptions of tourism in the community are positive and optimistic.

Perception of Tourism

The way tourism is perceived by participants is that tourism is beneficial, to direct participants in tourism, and also to those in the wider community, regardless of their role in

tourism in the community. It is seen as the only source of funding for development projects, as their isolation reduces the input from other stakeholders. Tourism has also been the only activity in the community which has attracted NGO support, despite their troubled experiences.

The general perception of tourism in the community is very positive, and tourism is perceived to include only the tourism activities that are operated by the tourism committee. There are direct benefits for the active participants in tourism, but community wide benefits are also recognised. The most important benefits of tourism are economic. Tourism does help social, cultural and environmental development to a lesser extent also. These benefits are visible to the residents:

> "I have seen a lot of benefits. First, the guidance of the visitors, second, the cooking group, and third, the activities group, like the oxcart group who takes visitors for a ride and the *kuyon*, who take people out to visit places. From that, the committee uses those funds to buy food to cook, and then the rest goes to help the community directly." (IBCTM03, Homestay owner and farmer, Banteay Chhmar)

Participation in tourism is perceived to be for more privileged members of the community. The committee occupies a position of respect, and some of the members are very wealthy compared to others. Also, the relationship between the tourism committee and the subdistrict head reinforces its perceived authority. Also, those who directly participate in tourism are those residents with more resources than many members of the community. For example, those with larger houses and land with gardens are able to offer their homes as homestays and people with new *kuyon*, or the resources to raise and keep livestock for oxcart rides can use these resources for tourism. This does not exclude others from tourism, but restricts their activities to less lucrative ones, or those activities which are not used regularly by tourists. "[The people involved in tourism are] the people who can speak English, and the people who have bigger houses, and the people who drive the *kuyon* and the oxcarts." (IBCLF09, Cooking group and farmer, Banteay Chhmar)

However, the structured interview findings show that the informants' awareness and understanding of tourism is comprehensive. The informants also perceive that despite the lack of resources of the community, they believe Banteay Chhmar does have the potential to succeed in implementing and maintaining CBT.

Also, in line with the way that tourism was perceived to represent a secondary opportunity for the community, participants showed an enthusiasm to participate in tourism. People were willing to sacrifice time to attend committee meetings or to participate in the supply of tourist activities. Despite this enthusiasm, the commitments that informants were willing to make were realistic in terms of considering the number of activities they could participate in, and the time they had available from their primary income occupation to spare for

tourism. This reflects a realistic perception of tourism in terms of the role it has in supporting development goals. The community is the priority, and tourism is not expected to replace existing livelihoods entirely.

The Role of Community in CBT

This thesis proposes to develop an understanding the role of the community and its individuals in the successful implementation of a CBT project. The community, whether active participants in tourism or not, is essential to CBT projects. Banteay Chhmar seems to be special in how it functions to enable the CBT project to operate independently following the unexpected withdrawal of APLC, the primary NGO involved in the establishment and implementation of the CBT project.

To understand the role of the community in tourism, we must understand the community and the people within it. This will be done by looking first at the individual, then at the community. The tourism committee will be considered separately.

Perception of Self

Though the perception of self is highly subjective, common themes emerged which suggest some similarities in how informants perceive themselves. These perceptions highlight the poverty experienced by the community. These perceptions are founded on their current life circumstances, as well as being influenced by their individual experiences in the past. Residents see that their lives have been shaped by the harshness of their environment, its isolation, and the suffering they have endured living in this location. The climate of Banteay Chhmar is much drier than other areas of Cambodia, and is not as fertile. This restricts the variety of crops that can be grown, and reduces crop yield. The climate also makes cultivation a more labour intensive task. The isolation of the area means that it is difficult to access fertilisers, or to supplement their diets with imported foodstuffs. The isolation of Banteay Chhmar means that infrastructure development is slow, and government funding is lacking. Banteay Chhmar lacks many basic services, including access to running water and public electricity. This substantially increases the cost of living, as water and electricity, when in deficit, must be bought privately at inflated prices. Thus, the process of survival in Banteay Chhmar is a daily hardship for people in the community, which is seen as a suffering.

The history of Banteay Chhmar and the experiences of the individual residents as a result of the civil war also inform the way the community sees itself as individuals. Banteay Chhmar is acknowledged to be one of the last locations of conflict with the Khmer Rouge. Though the war was declared over in 1993, the residents of Banteay Chhmar report that the war was still ongoing in the region as late as 1996. During the war, many of the residents of Banteay Chhmar were forcefully evacuated and sent to work in the nearby labour camp, digging the reservoir now known as Ang Trapang Thmor. Many residents lost family members in the conflict, or had family members die as a result of the conditions in the labour camp. Upon

their return to the village, conflict was still ongoing, and their safety was compromised. Some left to become refugees across the Thai border, before returning to the community later. It is interesting that many long term residents of Banteay Chhmar chose to return to the village after the war, despite the hostility of the environment and the persistence of the conflict in the region. The residents who have moved to Banteay Chhmar after the war have their own experiences, including loss and famine. This is touched on by a long term resident:

> "I think the problems are because our country was at war. When there is war, the government couldn't pay attention to us, neither could the local subdistrict authority. The war finished last in our district. It started here first, and ended here last…we have been affected by too many wars. We have a lot of damage to our resources and our heritage." (IBCJM02, Homestay owner and farmer, Banteay Chhmar)

The ongoing animosity between the Thai and the Cambodian people continues to threaten the perceived security of the residents of Banteay Chhmar. Historically, there has been border conflict between Thailand and Cambodia for centuries. However, in more recent times, the conflict has escalated as a result of the conflict over the ownership of the Preah Vihear temple site. Though Preah Vihear is an Angkorian monument, Thailand has had sole access to this site for tourism. As Cambodia's focus on tourism has grown, development has opened up a Cambodian access road to the temple site. The land upon which the temple stands has always been believed to be Cambodian, though there is dispute in the formal documentation. The value of this asset has both countries competing for ownership, leading to an escalation of conflict between the Thai and the Khmer, especially along the border. The proximity of Banteay Chhmar to Thailand has meant that many residents have crossed the border to find work in the rice fields. The escalation of the border conflict has made this more dangerous. This means that residents of Banteay Chhmar have experienced major hardships through the civil war, and also live with the threat of conflict in the present. The proximity of the Thai border to the community has created more opportunities for the Banteay Chhmar people, but also exposed them to the direct effects of the conflict between Thailand and Cambodia: "This season, there hasn't been as many tourists because of the trouble at the border [conflict at Preah Vihear]" (IBCTM03, Homestay owner and farmer, Banteay Chhmar).

The people in the community see themselves as disadvantaged because they do not have high levels of education. Their isolation and poverty also contribute to the perception of disadvantage. Many residents attribute their lack of education to their circumstances. Their experience in the war deprived many of any education. Firstly, under the Khmer Rouge, schooling was neglected as people were forced to work on the construction of the reservoir. Also, the hardship suffered during and after the war deprived many younger people of a quality education, as families, having experienced severe loss, and fighting for survival, could not afford to send their children to school full time, because they were required to

work to support the family. The isolation and the poverty of the community means that the quality of education in Banteay Chhmar is perceived to be very limited, and residents cannot afford to leave the community for the purposes of continuing their education (secondary or tertiary) in Sisophon, or Phnom Penh.

The isolation of the community continues to a perception of disadvantage. Their isolation, as noted, deprives them of opportunities for education, and the receipt of support from government and NGOs. This isolation also prevents the people in the community from sharing experiences and improving their practical knowledge through these interactions. This is reinforced by the recent availability of new forms of media in Banteay Chhmar, which has introduced new fashion and lifestyles, on a domestic and international scale.

As individuals, the people in Banteay Chhmar perceive themselves as lower than most other people they encounter. This is the result of their perceived lack of education, ignorance and isolation from those they consider superior to themselves. This is founded on the understanding of the individual members of the community that their experiences and the effects of the war have put them in this disadvantaged position. The residents themselves are keenly aware of this disadvantage:

> "Do you know where poverty stems from? Ignorance. That is why we are poor. We are very poor. When I think about the past, I was so poor. My parents were so poor. I had one sibling, and my parents, they all died during Pol Pot times. I was the eldest. I have suffered too much." (IBCJM09, Farmer, Banteay Chhmar)

Residents also undervalue their own skills and experience. They therefore rely on others within and external to the community to have the knowledge and experience to do things for the community. External parties in particular are perceived to be possessed of skills, money and power which is evidence of their superiority over the individual members of the community. This means that typically, their actions are overvalued by the community, and not questioned as to their appropriateness, or any consideration given as to whether the actions are in line with community wants and needs.

The poverty of the community makes people feel disadvantaged due to their lack of resources. They attribute their poverty to the isolation of the community, their lack of education and their lack of experience. They perceive that this is why they are poor, and this will not be able to change without resolving these issues. This is further enhanced by the harshness of their environment and the threat of conflict. This perception supports the notion that poverty is not measured purely on the lack of financial resources alone. It is also influenced by their social disadvantage also, resulting from the physical and social environment of the community.

This concept of disadvantage and advantage based on the possession of skills and resources creates a power imbalance within the community, as well as outside it. Individuals, with their hardships, lack of education and resources, perceive themselves as disadvantaged in comparison to external groups. Foreign people in the community, usually affiliated with NGOs, are perceived as superior, because they are seen to have financial resources, good education, and worldly experience. These are necessary for these people to have reached the community. Cambodians from outside the community, in government roles, or from larger cities, are seen to have suffered less hardship, and have better experience and education, thus elevating this group. The ability to gain employment in government roles requiring travel, or having the time and income to travel for leisure, identify Cambodian visitors to the community as superior in this way. So, external interactions with community individuals are extremely imbalanced, due to the way residents value resources and educational experience.

Within the community, there are also minor power imbalances, as land owners and those with more livestock are seen as having better resources. As these people are better positioned to participate in the more lucrative tourism activities (e.g. homestays), they are perceived to be better resourced and to have better opportunities. This is supported by the view that tourism is for the participation of local elites. Also, those who can actively participate in the tourism committee are seen to have better understanding and experiences, elevating them as they are perceived to have improved skill set.

Their perceived lack of value of self has led to a power discrepancy between the individual members of the community and external parties. This includes NGOs and the government authorities. The people in the community are dependent on their acceptance by all external parties. This reinforces the perceived superiority of these groups and their actions. One resident was desperate to attract help from outside to change her circumstances:

> "I would like tourists to come and help the orphans in this community. This is my child, and she is an orphan, without a father. I would like someone to adopt her as a mother overseas, because her mother is very poor." (IBCFL08, Street seller, Banteay Chhmar)

Another resident acknowledged the challenges of developing tourism in the community without strong partnerships at the industry level:

> "If there are guests, the economy of the people around the village will improve…I wish that the organisations in Siem Reap and Phnom Penh, when they hear this, they would help and bring tourists to this area…If the community has a lot of partners, or if there is a tourist organisation in Phnom Penh, if they knew about this, they could bring some visitors to Banteay Chhmar." (IBCTM03, Homestay owner and farmer, Banteay Chhmar)

There is a perception that the community is dependent on external help for success, and were keen to solicit this help. This was repeated by many participants, particularly the members of the tourism committee:

> "I thank you for this interview, and would you please take this information to pass on to different areas about our CBT program here, especially overseas….if they could help with materials or send someone, we could acknowledge their donation in writing for them and we would save the proceeds of their donation and declare to all the authorities how much CBT has." (IBCVPM07, Vice President, CBT Banteay Chhmar)

Another resident commented:

> "My last request is to [name withheld], to ask for their support for this CBT we have created which is operating smoothly. Could you please tell other developed countries about us so that they can come and visit our area, we are at peace, we have security and we have our committee to receive them." (IBCJM04, Homestay owner and farmer, Banteay Chhmar)

The people of the community of Banteay Chhmar have few expectations of themselves. They do not realise their potential to be involved in tourism, but have hopes that tourism will yield direct and indirect benefits in the future.

Land is valued so highly in Banteay Chhmar that it is central to the people in the community and their perception of self. Those with land are perceived as more wealthy, and have more opportunities than those that don't. People without land consider themselves inferior to those who have land, and feel that they have no opportunities in their future at all. One farm labourer spoke of the challenges he faced:

> "I have four children. Three stay with me, the other is married, and they live in the area. We don't have any land at all; even my children don't have any land. It is very hard" (IBCSCM013, Farmer, Banteay Chhmar).

Perceptions of Community

It is interesting to note that the participants perceive community differently to how they perceive the individuals that make it up. This is a key part of understanding how the community operates with regard to tourism. As a unit, the community does not demonstrate the powerlessness of the residents. As a group, these disadvantages can be overcome through community pride and commitment, and understanding what is best for the future.

This community, as a collective unit, has a lot of pride in how it has survived under harsh conditions, and its achievements. This is a result of its ancient and modern history. In having

the temple as a central part of the community, both physically and metaphorically, the community's history is significantly tied to Angkorian times. Its darker modern history in relation to the civil war has unified the people through their experiences in surviving those events. This community pride encourages people to work together and to support its goals. It supports development goals and participates widely in communal activities. The community also looks after the residents within its boundaries. One resident expressed his commitment to the community over the personal benefits from tourism he could perceive:

> "I will help the community all along. I will gain some income from it, and I will help the community so that the community will prosper. I want this community to develop further to gain income." (IBCJM01, Homestay owner and farmer, Banteay Chhmar)

The role of community is emphasised over the potential direct benefits from tourism, as outlined by another resident:

> "This is just an additional job to our occupation. It is not a priority job, or only for the livelihood of the group to do this… Our group has been working for a while now, we don't think about our salary or our renumeration or anything like that. The most important thing is our goals, so that our local area develops and progresses further. Before we can become developed, you have to make sacrifices, like time, to participate for the benefit of the community." (IBCJM02, Homestay owner and farmer, Banteay Chhmar)

The community, with its sense of 'greater good' has a keen interest in helping each other. This friendly openness allows for easier communication and equality in the treatment of the people participating in tourism. This willingness to help encourages volunteering to support tourism and other activities which support the community, which is unifying. One resident demonstrated a strong desire to help tourism:

> "When there are visitors coming, and they need to go places, and the committee needs us to show them places, I help them out through the community. Sometimes I have the pagoda committee asking me to be involved in pagoda matters, so I help them once in a while. After that I return to work as usual…The committee works well because the members of the committee work very hard. I haven't been involved as much. I only get involved when they need transport for the visitors. I don't mind if it's night or day. I do what the committee needs me to do." (IBCMUM016, Activities group and farmer, Banteay Chhmar)

This was also supported in the findings of the structured interviews, where participants described a long history of voluntarism in the community for reciprocal benefit. It is

recognised that helping the community and the people within it will lead to the derivation of personal benefit.

The community recognises the sacrifices being made for the development of tourism to help the community also:

> "For the members who have no salary, struggling and working hard, I would like to keep a special fund to help the committee members when they meet with emergencies. Like if someone is ill, or if there is a death in the family, then we can use the fund to help, so that they have the feeling that the community has supported them." (IBCVPM05, Vice President, CBT Banteay Chhmar)

This is a result of the small scale of this community, where communication between all members is free flowing. It also follows traditional cultural practices in rural Cambodia, where people help each other out, which is reciprocated later. This is common in rice farming communities, where other households contribute labour during seasonal peaks in return for rice or labour on their own land. The small scale of the community also enhances the power of the local religious traditions, where volunteering to help others, particularly the disadvantaged, is a key part of the practice of Buddhism in the modern temple.

The cohesiveness of the community and the openness of communication has enabled successful education of the people regarding tourism. This education, to identify the aims of tourism for the community, as well as the risks and benefits, has encouraged support for tourism, as they have been able to form an attitude of tourism based on an assessment of the facts, which at this stage, are mostly positive.

The system of communication in the community ensures the involvement of all people living there. It also shares the responsibility of minor authority roles with many members of the community, which enhances pride and a personal sense of achievement.

Communication is also facilitated by the small size of the community and its unity. Structured interview findings suggested that the participants are keen to know about all occurrences in the community, whether the events are personally relevant or not. This demonstrates that there is a well-established and effective communication network operating.

This tendency to gossip about everything and everyone in the community means that any information is spread quickly, without the need for much follow up or work on the part of the tourism committee. However, there are still official communication pathways as described by the committee:

> "We spread information by inviting the villagers to participate in our meetings…the invitations are for the five heads of the villages, and through the heads of the villages, they spread the information to the villagers in their respective villages….in the villages, they have groups. The village heads give out the information to the groups. Within the groups, there are subgroups as well…The head of the groups, because the villages aren't that big, will go to each house to tell them the information." (2IBCCOMM01, Treasurer, CBT Banteay Chhmar)

The helpful attitude within the community also encourages people to volunteer in tourism as a way of contributing. People are more willing to share, making the establishment of tourism, where resources are particularly scarce, easier, by reducing the need for immediate investment. This inherent assumption of reciprocation also makes it easier to communicate the long term potential benefits of CBT for the community, as people readily accept that their contributions will likely return a benefit in the future. This increases willingness to participate.

The level of community pride also helps the community to be more successful in its common goals. Their negative experience with external stakeholders (such as the neglect of the government and untimely withdrawal of APLC), and pride, enables the community to recognise that their actions for development will have a long term benefit. There is an expectation that collaborative efforts will be successful, reducing the dependence on non-financial aid. This is very different to the perceptions of informants regarding themselves as individuals, where individual powerlessness prevents any individual acting because they lack the resources and skills necessary to succeed.

Safety and security is perceived as being very important. It is essential for the community to be perceived as safe from crime. This view is extended to tourism, as it is very important that visitors, as part of the hospitality of the community, can trust that they are safe travelling within it, and that its members can be trusted: "It is like you live in the family [the homestays], so that the visitors can know that there is nothing to be afraid of" (IBCVPM05, Vice President, CBT Banteay Chhmar).

The community collectively values its safety and security. The community's modern history and current threat of conflict have undermined its perceived image, as its reputation prior to tourism development focused on it being the last site of the war. The community, in its

commitment to tourism development, is keen to change this image, and are concerned with communicating the safety and security of Banteay Chhmar as a destination. It shows that the community supports tourism, as participants are concerned with changing the marketable image of the area to improve its potential for tourism. It also demonstrates how the community communicates effectively to educate the residents regarding the aims and importance of tourism for the community as a whole.

The community's pride in its successes thus far has reinforced a sense of ownership of tourism. This is a point of empowerment which helps to minimise the effects of the power imbalances perceived at the individual level within the community. However, this is challenged by the community perceiving a threat from the potential takeover of CBT, in this case, by *APSARA*, the Angkorian conservation authority. This suggests that there is still fear in how participants perceive the community, as not being empowered enough to prevent takeover. However, this illustrates the importance of community ownership and control of tourism, as this is the only tangible fear in the community as a whole. The community sees this control as their only option to ensure that tourism continues to serve its needs.

Despite this perception of control, there is an underlying fear that the community will not be able to operate the CBT project in Banteay Chhmar sustainably. In this case, it would mean that if they fail to support tourism, private owners and investors would buy tourism from them, thus losing the community's control of the profits of tourism and even the tourism assets which possess important cultural value for the community. It is feared that this takeover is inevitable, because such a small community, regardless of its abilities and its progress, will not be able to fight the large private companies, which are vastly more financially powerful. Takeover would be the ultimate sign of the community's deficiencies, real or perceived, which would signify the failure of CBT and of the community, as the core supporters of CBT:

> "If we don't do anything for tourism in this community, we don't gain anything. And if we don't do it, the big investment companies will come, and what then? We would only be able to stand and watch. It would mean that we, as the traditional owners of this ancient temple - if some company came in to operate in this area, we wouldn't gain anything, they would benefit and take all the benefits away. By doing this [CBT], we try to access this income, and because we are doing this, the income will stay in the community and benefit the community too…If we didn't have all these services, the private companies would come and invest in this area, and then they would benefit from our heritage." (IBCJM04, Homestay owner and farmer, Banteay Chhmar)

The threat of takeover by *APSARA* is important in terms of what this would mean for CBT in the community. One member was certain that it was inevitable:

> "In this area, the *APSARA* authority hasn't come and taken power yet. In our area, we only have the heritage police, so everything is normal and easy. But I expect this to happen in the future. I don't know when it is going to happen; I know that this area will be taken over by the *APSARA* authority." (2IBCCOMM01, Treasurer, CBT Banteay Chhmar)

The isolation of the community has led to a self-sufficient attitude. With the end of the civil war being only recent, the government's role in the region has been minimal. This is due to the persistence of the experiences of war in the region, and the poor accessibility and lack of services in the region as a result of this enforced neglect. A resident described how Banteay Chhmar was neglected:

> "In this area, in the past, there were never any officials or government representatives who came to visit. During Sihanouk times [1953-1970], there was a little road, but it was damaged…it wasn't until recently, the end of the war, that it was rebuilt. Before, there was no road to go anywhere, except from Svay [Sisophon] to here. The past government never thought of us. They didn't know about the poverty in this area." (IBCJM09, Farmer, Banteay Chhmar)

As the rest of the country has proceeded with its recovery process, Banteay Chhmar has been left behind. Despite promises from the government for assistance, infrastructure development and funding, there is no evidence yet of anything being undertaken with the exception of a military road being constructed to link the capital of the province to Banteay Chhmar. Thus, locals do not expect any help from the government authorities. They seek solutions to their problems for themselves, and favour the use of NGOs to facilitate this. In addition to its sense of the 'greater good', locals understand that it must facilitate its own development, without relying on the government. The tourism committee have noted the minimal role of the government in the establishment of tourism:

> "We do [have support from the national authorities]. But it is only moral support. They haven't provided us with any money so far…The authority helped us to find a location for our rubbish tip. That land, we don't have to pay for and that land belongs to the subdistrict. It means that the national authority owns that land, but we don't have to pay for it. They gave us that land for the benefit of the community." (2IBCCOMM01, Treasurer, CBT Banteay Chhmar)

Despite this neglect from the government, representatives of the community perceive this as a minor setback only:

> "There are small obstacles that we have come across. The government has already promised that they are interested and will give attention to our project and our area, but they have not realised any of their promises yet. There is a discrepancy between their support and aid for us and our community, the actual help has not been much… As a tourism organisation, we haven't been registered at the Ministry yet. It means that legislation regarding the community is not in place yet. In August/September, tourism legislation was enacted, but it does not include CBT…So we have to ask for help from overseas. But, in getting help from overseas, the NGOs like to know if we are recognised as an institution through the Ministry of Tourism." (IBCGHFM05, GHF Liaison, Banteay Chhmar)

The people understand the role of tourism and believe that its potential to create a sustainable tourism product with sizeable community benefit is a reasonable expectation. Despite this widespread support for tourism, the desire to participate in tourism is limited. The people understand that tourism is not intended to be the primary industry in the community, and treat it as such. One resident illustrated how tourism must compete with his primary occupation:

> "Yes, I know about [tourism in the community]. Not a lot though, because I am not involved in it. I am a member but I haven't been very often, only once in a while I go to the meetings…Once a month I go to the meetings at the office, that is because I am busy with my work, I haven't got much time." (IBCJM018, Craftsman, Banteay Chhmar)

However, tourism is seen as a symbol of the progress following the war. It demonstrates to the community that after such hardship and disadvantage, they have the strength to pursue tourism as a means of continuing that progress independently.

Perceptions of the Tourism Committee

The foundation for the success of tourism in Banteay Chhmar is the functionality of the tourism committee elected by the community who agreed to support tourism. One tourism committee member theorised why tourism was successful at this stage, in comparison to other parts of Cambodia:

> "I think that this community tourism project operates well because it is not under any organisation, political party or company's influence at all." (IBCGHFM05, GHF Liaison, Banteay Chhmar)

The way informants perceive the tourism committee in the community is a key factor in the success of CBT in Banteay Chhmar. It occupies a position of authority in the community. The goals of tourism are reflected in the actions of the committee. Its transparency and trust that it communicates to the community encourages support for tourism.

The participants' perception of the tourism committee reflects how the committee wishes to be seen in the community. The committee is concerned with being trusted by the community, and also by those external groups they deal with, including potential sources of funding, local government, and the tourism industry. This trust is established primarily through the equity and transparency of their operations. Corruption is a systemic problem in Cambodia, and it is vital that the tourism committee is not seen as corrupt. This is particularly important as the CBT development goals it pursues requires it to control the funding received to finance the development projects.

The tourism committee's interactions with external stakeholder groups demonstrate a charismatic quality of its members that is extremely useful in empowering stakeholders to achieve the committee's goals. It is adept at targeting communication with external groups to maximise benefit and to avoid dangerous situations which could undermine the perception of trust it possesses (e.g. corruption).

The trust in the tourism committee perceived by the informants is the result of its intensive work. It strives to be impartial and objective, and concerns itself only in tourism matters. It is clear that the tourism committee is not affiliated with any government agency, NGO, local government department or private enterprise. The committee is made up of volunteers, so there is no potential for corruption through financial incentive.

The role of the tourism committee is to develop tourism in line with the goals of CBT previously identified. In order to ensure support for tourism in the community, the committee is responsible for tourism related communication. The activities of the committee also support the maintenance of community cohesion for the benefit of CBT.

The characteristics of the committee allow them to operate well in the community. It is responsible for setting the goals for the development of tourism and for the community development projects it funds. The goal setting done by the committee is realistic and within the capabilities of the community. Such goal setting makes them achievable, which also helps gain the trust of the community, as commitments are upheld. It is also done with participation from the community, where suggestions and input are received, but goals are not selected based on majority vote.

The committee members are solely responsible for final decision making. This is very important to the success of CBT and the maintenance of community support. The GHF liaison describes how goal setting is undertaken:

> "We are an independent committee which helps develop the local area and we operate on consensus. When we decide to spend money on a project, we call a committee meeting and when we get a majority decision, we access our funds and spend it on that project. We don't just make decisions based on a majority vote, no, we look at people's sentiments and facial expressions. Sometimes, if we have made a decision and have a majority greater than 51%, but there is someone who disagrees very strongly, we have to facilitate that." (IBCGHFM05, GHF Liaison, Banteay Chhmar)

The committee has faith in itself and its people to achieve the goals that they have set themselves. This strength serves to empower the committee to continue with their projects and encourage tourism development in the community: "I believe that our committee in Banteay Chhmar will succeed…The community also hopes that we will be able to stand on our own two feet into the future" (2IBCCOMM01, Treasurer, CBT Banteay Chhmar).

Along with strong community support, the commitment of residents to the community enhances the efficacy of development via CBT:

> "I have something to say regarding my participation in this committee. My heart has been in it for three years….It is a big sacrifice for me and for the rest of the group to give up our time from our usual jobs to take up duties as tourism committee members. By participating in tourism, we know we have to learn more, in order to attract more visitors to earn more income for Banteay Chhmar and to develop our community…We don't boast or think that people should be grateful to us or anything, it is just our way, sacrificing our time for our community. No one in our group will receive any substantial personal benefit. Sometimes we have to abandon our own work, when we are told visitors are coming, we cannot decline by saying we are too busy. We can't say we can't receive guests until we have finished our work. We have to set our jobs aside to do our community work. This is a necessity…This is to show that we are happy and ready to do our jobs to gain income to develop our local area. This is our feelings and thoughts as to why we serve on the committee." (IBCPM07, President, CBT Banteay Chhmar)

Therefore, the committee has the trust of the community through the recognition of their sacrifice. As the committee is in control of the finances for tourism and earned by tourism, the community must trust them not only to set appropriate goals, but to manage the

money. The committee is committed to open and transparent actions in all its dealings. A homestay owner emphasises the importance of this:

> "Our method is follow the transparency model. This is very important. If we decide what we are going to do, we have to finish it…If the meeting makes a decision to do something, we carry it out. We don't do it secretly, anybody, young and old, can come to the meetings and participate. We will hear any ideas. When we receive those ideas, we need to hear the reasoning behind it. We select the ones that are going to help us meet our goals. Anyone can give an idea. They don't have to be afraid that their idea might not be good, or some might be better. All ideas should be heard at the meetings. If leaders don't listen to the community, you can't lead them." (IBCJM02, Homestay owner and farmer, Banteay Chhmar)

Corruption and bribery are widespread problems in Cambodia. Banteay Chhmar is unique in not recognising this problem in the community, potentially a contributor to their success:

> "No, we have never met [bribery]. I think it has not existed so far because our community is not a private organisation, and because it is a cooperation between the villagers, the local authority and the police. It is a cooperative." (2IBCCOMM01, Treasurer, CBT Banteay Chhmar)

The committee has gained the trust of the community, as it has proved itself during the trial period and in its current action. Their wider involvement in the community through actualising development goals has led to them being trusted by the community in roles that goes beyond tourism. The openness of the committee and their dedication is seen as a positive role model, and the community has faith in their abilities. One resident explained the role of the committee in the community: "The committee helps people to know how to live according to the rules. They help the community to know their culture and way of life, and to let people know how to share our own traditions" (IBCJM02, Homestay owner and farmer, Banteay Chhmar).

The committee actively tries to use tourism and their activities to support community unity, as it is key to the success of CBT in Banteay Chhmar. This is also facilitated by their transparent operations and the respect they have earned through their personal sacrifices made for the community.

The vice president identified the importance to protect the committee to ensure their commitment to the community:

> "It would be a very good idea, my idea for the future, to look after the columns that support the house. To keep them in good condition, so they supports the whole house …If we don't look after ourselves, and we are weak, other people from the outside could come and beat us up….Without some support and help for too long, maybe some people would lose heart in the future…Our last aim is to have the people in the community know each other, and become unified, in order to make progress, to develop what people want…People in Phnom Penh cannot look after Banteay Chhmar. Only people in Banteay Chhmar are able to look after their own region."
> (IBCVPM05, Vice President, CBT Banteay Chhmar)

SWOT Analysis of Banteay Chhmar

Strengths

Banteay Chhmar's key strength for tourism development is the quality of the primary cultural heritage asset and its accessibility in the village. The central temple, Banteay Chhmar, forms the centre of the town, with each of the five key villages being located around its inner perimeter, which makes it readily accessible on foot from anywhere in the subdistrict. The temple of Banteay Chhmar is unique, as it possesses pictorial carvings of exceptional quality not found on any other temples in Cambodia.

Other satellite temples and sites of historical significance are found within the surrounding villages, also accessible on foot, or by *moto*. Additional assets, including Banteay Tuop and Mebon (with *baray*), are more distant from the central village but are still accessible by *motodup* or *kuyon*.

The villages surrounding the primary temple site are laid out traditionally, with use of traditional building techniques and architecture. There are only two 'modern' houses in the village, which mimic modern Thai architecture. The majority of houses are traditional wooden Khmer style houses on stilts, or thatch houses. Though the houses are close together, larger houses have some garden and land in the village is utilised for the cultivation of vegetable and fruit crops, with traditional irrigation systems and small fishing pools. Beyond the central concentration of houses, there are rice paddies interspersed with small forested areas. This creates an environment which reflects the culture of the community and their agrarian lifestyle, as well as an opportunity to observe and explore the natural Cambodian environment.

The size and layout of the village around the Banteay Chhmar temple complex makes the village extremely accessible. The markets and commercial area to the north of the temple is easily accessed on foot. Smaller shops are also located in each village along the roadside. This makes seeking information and buying local products easy for visitors. The tourism committee further facilitates this by enabling delivery of food and drinks as well as the provision of some services.

The strength of the tourism committee is critical to tourism in Banteay Chhmar. It has authority in the community that facilitates their activities, and engenders community support, including in areas outside their tourism role. The committee has strong communication within itself, and in the community at large. The committee is perceived to be equitable, trustworthy, transparent and confident in its operations. It has a strong sense of pride, and collectively, this improves confidence in its actions and optimism for its future successes.

Supporting the strength of the tourism committee is local leadership in the subdistrict. The subdistrict head cooperates with the tourism committee and supports its goals. Also, the subdistrict head also pursues activities which support other tourism goals. With good communication and transparency in his actions, he is able to facilitate tourism activities and others in the community without corruption, and with the support of the government at higher levels. This legitimises all activities, which minimises threats to the operations of the subdistrict head and the tourism committee.

The isolation of Banteay Chhmar, which will also be described as a weakness, has in fact strengthened the community. The isolation of the community, and the corresponding neglect by government policy and NGO activity, has served to make Banteay Chhmar independent, and self-sufficient. In its everyday activities, Banteay Chhmar is not dependent on external funding, and imports minimal products from Sisophon (Svay). The survival of Banteay Chhmar is not dependent on any external actors, they only serve to enhance livelihoods.

Weaknesses

Banteay Chhmar, as mentioned, is isolated, being 50km from the provincial capital, and several hours from the capital of Phnom Penh. Though this has led to a self sufficiency of the subdistrict, it has its disadvantages. Government policy is rarely relevant to Banteay Chhmar, and infrastructure development is a low priority. Access to services is low, such as quality secondary and tertiary education, hospitals and imported goods. Employment opportunities with Banteay Chhmar are limited beyond farm labour.

For tourism, access to Banteay Chhmar is difficult. It is possible to travel by bus to Sisophon (Svay) from the major cities in Cambodia, but access to Banteay Chhmar is available only by private taxi. Proportionally, the private taxi is expensive, and the service is poor, as taxis serve as goods couriers as well as passenger carriers. The result of this is poor quality cars

being driven on poor roads overloaded with both people and goods. Though functional, it is not of an appropriate quality for international tourists.

The access road to Banteay Chhmar is an unsurfaced military road. In the dry season, it is extremely dusty, reducing visibility and making it hard to traverse by *moto*. As it is the only access road, it is used extensively in the wet season, which degrades the quality of the road in all seasons, as it becomes rutted, potholed and has considerable water damage.

Roads within Banteay Chhmar are in worse condition due to their constant use and poor construction. They are dusty and uneven and many roads can only be travelled on by foot or *moto*, because of the hazards caused by use of the road in the wet season and erosion. Some low lying roads are prone to flood in the dry season also, making roads dangerous even on foot due to the silty mud.

Tourism in Banteay Chhmar and its development is dependent on external support. Initially, tourism was developed by APLC, who provided skills as well as financial aid. Upon their withdrawal, tourism in Banteay Chhmar is significantly funded by GHF, whose primary project is in the reconstruction of the temple. Also, other development goals are dependent on externally provided skills training, at this stage, the provision of English classes by Peacecorps, and in the future, guide training. Financially, Banteay Chhmar is unable to support tourism development itself, with all projects being majority funded by GHF. The tourism committee only contributes a minor percentage of project funds, and its financial responsibility is limited to the daily operations of tourism. The rent for the office is paid for by GHF.

It is difficult for the tourism committee to access additional financial capital, as there are no local microfinance institutions, as they are all located in Sisophon (Svay). Isolation is also detrimental in this case. The focus on CBT by the community also eliminates private sources of funding, as it conflicts with the community interests of the project.

Another weakness of tourism in Banteay Chhmar is the perceived powerlessness of the individuals in the community. This undermines community activities and threatens tourism development, as it creates a power imbalance between residents, visitors and other stakeholders. It may lead to exploitation of the community by private companies, and exacerbate negative social impacts from tourism in the future.

The education of residents in Banteay Chhmar is low, on average. Many people in the community are illiterate, or do not have education beyond middle primary school. Also, understanding of tourism is limited. This prevents residents from being aware of both benefits and disbenefits of tourism in their community. It stunts the planning process and makes the community vulnerable to negative impacts from tourism in the future. Community awareness of the reality of tourism is essential for the realistic development of tourism and the minimisation of negative impacts.

The isolation of the community also hinders its ability to communicate with external stakeholders. It is difficult for the tourism committee to access services and to promote the destination effectively. It restricts sources of funding and contact with new markets also. This does not simply refer to physical access, as committee members do travel to trade fairs and seminars when required. However, the global reach is limited, as there is no accessible internet in Banteay Chhmar to allow them to control their own email and online bookings, as well as promote their destination globally. It also restricts their access to information regarding other potential funding sources and promotional services.

Sanitation is a major weakness for tourism in Banteay Chhmar. As yet, there is no sanitation service in Banteay Chhmar, and no alternate means of rubbish disposal. This causes a lot of rubbish to be dumped in areas all over the village, and littering is a common and accepted practice. This causes a lot of environmental damage, as it is unsightly, and smelly. Where rubbish is collected, it is burnt in piles which pollutes the atmosphere, and is unsightly in its own right.

The quality of accommodation to support tourism in Banteay Chhmar represents a weakness. Though it is a signature part of the tourism experience, as local homestays, the facilities are extremely basic. The appointment of the rooms and facilities are adequate, but the services available will only appeal to a small market segment. The key areas for concern include a lack of running water and western bathroom facilities and a lack of electricity. Security is also an issue, as the houses are open, and rooms cannot be secured. The open style of the houses, though traditional, can make the accommodation less hospitable, as insects and vermin can have ready access to accommodation areas.

Another weakness in the community is that its members cannot communicate effectively with tourists. Second languages in the community are Thai, English and French, but the two latter languages are extremely limited. Homestay owners have no second language skills. This means that it is extremely difficult for tourists to communicate with residents in trying to access services and information, and diminishes the interpretive value of tourist sites. This also affects the efficacy of tourist control measures, as they cannot communicate with guards at temple sites. With no current ticketing system, this can become a point of conflict. However, at this time, few independent travellers visit, so tourists would normally be accompanied by an interpreter as part of an organised tour group.

Banteay Chhmar is challenged by public perception of its location. It is perceived to be the last location of the civil war, and was considered to be dangerous due to ongoing conflict for many years after the official end of the war. This has bred a public perception that Banteay Chhmar is an unsafe destination, in terms of the uncleared landmines, risks of crime and banditry, the result of the war and the neglect of Banteay Chhmar in terms of recovery.

Opportunities

Banteay Chhmar, being a young destination, has many opportunities. There are opportunities to improve marketing, domestically and internationally. This could include promotion in print and television media, accessing services available on the internet and through NGO networks. Targeting these markets would lead to a natural improvement in communication between the tourism committee and external stakeholder groups. The initial effort should be made in accessing the internet to improve cost effective international communication, as well as improving English language skills to facilitate this process.

There is also an opportunity to improve the education and understanding regarding tourism in the community. Increased awareness and understanding amongst residents would facilitate the development of tourism and community goals. Through a better understanding of tourism, they can be better prepared to meet tourists' needs, where they differ from their own as a result of cultural differences.

As has been identified by the tourism committee, sanitation services are about to be implemented. This will improve the quality of the environment in Banteay Chhmar.

There is also an opportunity to develop the quality of tourist products and services in Banteay Chhmar. This would include the improvement of existing tourism products and services, as well as diversification to include other activities and the range of services available for tourists. For example, this may include the improvement of the quality of accommodation to appeal to wider market groups, as well as creating additional tourist sites by improving accessibility to satellite temples and areas of cultural interest. Tourist activities could also be increased.

The improvement of basic services infrastructure in Banteay Chhmar would help to empower the community and reduce the vulnerability of community members to negative impacts of tourism. This may include the improvement of education, health services and housing for the poor. This would also improve the amenity of the destination, enhancing visitor experience.

More effort needs to be made to communicate the safety and security of Banteay Chhmar as a destination. Persistent perceptions that Banteay Chhmar is still adversely affected by the war could be minimised through effective promotion. This would encourage visitors, including domestic tourists, to the site. It is also necessary to do this to make tourists feel secure in the village and in their accommodation, where there is little physical security.

Communication with tourists is also important. By improving this ability, tourists will be able to have access to information and interpretation, which will enhance visitor satisfaction. This will also provide an avenue for collecting feedback from tourists to further guide tourism development. It also improves accessibility when initial enquiries are being made.

Revenue generation could be improved in Banteay Chhmar by better regulation of tourist movements. As yet, there is no official ticketing system for accessing the temple sites. Better policing would result in more revenue from ticket sales.

The tourism committee of Banteay Chhmar has a big opportunity to increase income and linkages to the community through the manufacture and sale of souvenirs. There are no souvenirs available in Banteay Chhmar. The assets already exist, as there are many craftspeople and a silk weaving cooperative in operation. Also, as the community is almost self-sufficient, many traditional crafts could also be utilised. Souvenirs could include locally weaved silk products, clothes, textile crafts, baskets, metal craft, and woodcraft. This would increase supplementary income of those making souvenirs, and provide additional income to the tourism committee.

Threats

The dependence of the tourism committee on GHF for financial aid makes the committee extremely vulnerable. If, like APLC, GHF was to withdraw support, financially, the tourism committee would be destroyed. They would not be able to continue their operations or development projects without sourcing additional financial support.

The committee is currently is very strong, as its members have characteristics that allow the committee to function effectively. Currently, the members are volunteers, and act in the best interests of the community. They are effective communicators, and are respected in the community. They maintain excellent relationships with residents, the subdistrict heads and NGOs. The equity and transparency of operations engenders trust and support from the community, even in areas outside tourism. It is possible that a change in the leadership of the committee, to members with different values, priorities or characteristics, may detrimentally affect the committee's successful operations.

Currently, awareness and support for tourism in the community is high. A threat to tourism in the future is this loss of support from the community. This support includes tolerance of tourism by non-participants. A loss of support will detrimentally affect tourism in Banteay Chhmar, as the residents form a key part of the product. Also, if awareness were to decrease, as would be the case if communication with the community by the tourism committee was lost, community support would be negatively affected.

The current subdistrict head is a supporter of tourism, and does so through his own initiative. Also, his dedication to transparent management and use of proper protocol facilitates the activities of the committee in terms of tourism and community development. A change in the leadership of the subdistrict to a person with different goals may affect the operations of tourism and the committee in the community.

It is intended for Banteay Chhmar to increase visitor numbers to improve income from tourism into the community. However, the dependence of Banteay Chhmar's tourism on the environment and historical cultural assets leaves it vulnerable to environmental degradation. More visitor numbers will increase the damage to sites, which affects the quality of the assets for tourism. This would include excessive wear to the temple site due to foot traffic, and decreased stability of the ruins. Also, the growing need for local resources would impact the wider environment, as forested areas would be threatened by the need for trees for charcoal. Also, these public areas supplement food resources in the community, as food is collected from forests and lakes. An increased demand will have a substantial impact on these public food sources.

A key part of development involves a degree of change. Increased income from tourism into the community will allow for the finance of development projects. This threatens the living cultural asset of the community, which is the traditional architecture and design of the village, and the use of land around the villages for growing food crops. Development may reduce the number of traditional buildings in the village, in favour of the Thai style houses which is considered preferable to traditional wooden ones. Also, increased income may lead to a decrease in subsistence farming in favour of intensive cash crops, like cassava, which is already becoming a dominant crop in Banteay Chhmar for its monetary value. This will change the landscape of the villages away from the current 'authentic' rural lifestyle of the village.

The continued neglect by the government threatens tourism in Banteay Chhmar. Without improvements to infrastructure, it will not be possible for tourism to grow and attract wider market groups. Public electricity and water services would be beneficial, and would improve services available for tourists. Also, if the main access road was sealed, access to the site would be improved, and buses could travel directly to Banteay Chhmar. Improved road networks in Banteay Chhmar would improve access to alternate sites and considerably reduce travel time to tourist sites further away from the community, making them more appealing. A reduction in the dust from the road would improve the environment and health of residents.

The current enthusiasm for utilising community tourism, ecotourism, sustainable tourism and cultural tourism in Cambodia and other LDCs for development increases the competition of other destinations with Banteay Chhmar. Though Banteay Chhmar has unique assets, the increase in the number of similar programs in Cambodia and elsewhere that attract the same target market will increase competition. This can negatively affect visitor numbers and reduce the income potential of destinations.

Another threat to Banteay Chhmar is the intervention of the government to allow control of the temple site to be administered by the *APSARA* authority. This is likely in the event that Banteay Chhmar grows as a destination and global awareness improves. The threat of the *APSARA* authority to tourism in Banteay Chhmar would be the loss of community control of

tourism and loss of access to revenue from the temple sites. This would negatively affect development goals and income for the tourism committee.

All tourism is vulnerable to external threats which affect visitor numbers. Such threats can include terrorism, armed conflict, foreign exchange, natural disaster, travel trends and economic fluctuations. Any of these can affect how people travel, and reduce demand for a destination in ways beyond the control of the community.

Table 4.2 represents a brief overview of the Banteay Chhmar SWOT analysis.

Strengths	**Weaknesses**
Central asset of cultural heritage significance with unique features	Isolation of destination
Other cultural heritage assets in villages and surrounds	Quality of access roads and accessibility
Traditional village development and architecture	Dependence on external funding
Environmental assets	Isolation from government support
Orientation of village and accessibility of support services	Lack of financial assets and access to financial capital
Strong tourism committee	Long term effect of the civil war
Good cooperation with local leaders	Historical experience with abandonment by NGOs
Self-sufficiency and independence of villages	Perceived powerlessness
	Low levels of education
	Communication with external groups
	Sanitation
	Quality of products and services
	Language difficulties preventing communication with visitors
	Perceived security of destination
	Processes for tourist control
Opportunities	**Threats**
Improved marketing and funding opportunities	Loss of funding through withdrawal of NGO
Improved external communication	Change of committee affecting its strength
Improved education and understanding of tourism	Loss of community support for tourism
Sanitation services provision	Change of local leadership affecting cooperation
Quality and diversification of products	Damage to environmental assets and primary cultural heritage assets
Education, health and housing	Village development away from the traditional
Development of additional assets	Continued neglect by government, esp. regarding infrastructure
Perceptions of security and effects of war	External threats to tourism industry (demand)
Communication with visitors	Competition with other destinations
Control of tourists and tourism processes through ticketing and temple access control	Takeover by the *APSARA* authority
Souvenirs	

Table 4.2 SWOT analysis summary of Banteay Chhmar

Banlung, Ratanakiri Province, Cambodia

Figure 4.4 Map of the location of Banlung in Cambodia (Source: Polla Hawkins)

Banlung is located in the North East of Cambodia, sharing its border with Thailand and Laos. It is located in one of few mountainous regions in Cambodia, and is isolated from the rest of Cambodia by its remoteness, and the difficulty in travelling to the area.

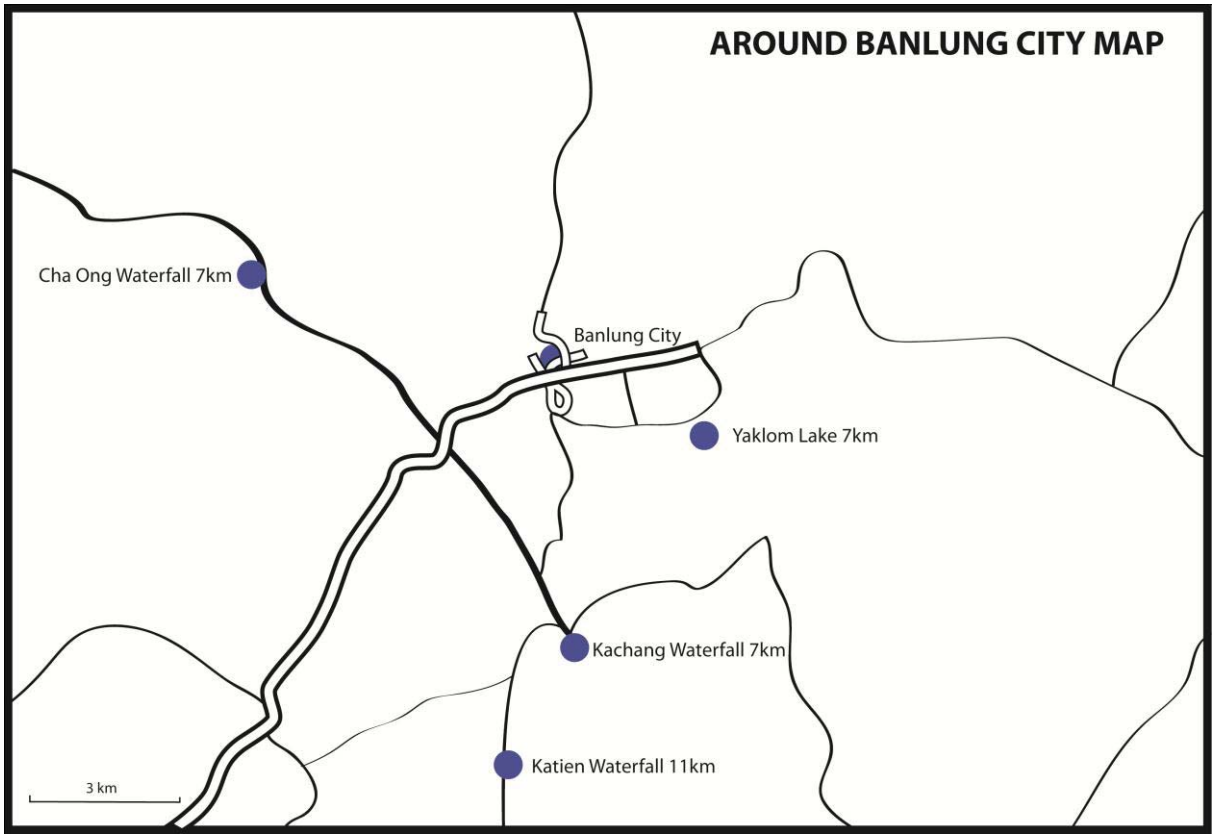


Figure 4.5 Map of Banlung, Ratanakiri province, Cambodia (Source: Polla Hawkins)

The subdistrict of Banlung is the primary destination of tourists to Ratanakiri, and serves as the provincial capital. Commonly, Banlung is used to refer to the town site and its surrounding area, but as a destination, it is also commonly known as 'Ratanakiri'. Banlung is a small town, though larger and with superior infrastructure to Banteay Chhmar. Within the subdistrict, there is a small township, with markets, shops, a few guesthouses and other services. Specific to tourism, there are restaurants operating in and around the market, and souvenir shops which sell the unique semi-precious stones that are mined in the province.

The attractions in Banlung and its surrounds are natural and cultural. The first of the natural attractions is Boeung Yeak Laom, a volcanic lake located seven kilometres out of the town site. There are also Katieng, Kachang and Cha Ong, which are three waterfalls located close to the town site. Culturally, Ratanakiri is the province where the majority of ethnic minority groups live. In Banlung, the *Kreng* people are the most common minority group, with some others, such as Mon-Khmer, and *Phnoung* also co-existing in the area. The cultural differences between the Khmer and the ethnic groups, including unique architecture, lifestyles, language and crafts are a popular attraction for the area, as are the geographic features of the lake and waterfalls. However, to the North of Banlung, in the Virachey national Park, this cultural asset is more highly valued than in Banlung, where natural assets are enhanced by their unique cultural attributes.

The subdistrict of Banlung has more infrastructure compared to that of Banteay Chhmar. The town site has electricity and running water. As the provincial capital, there are also more medical and government services available, and there is limited internet service.

Ratanakiri, due to its isolation, is a poor and underdeveloped province. Due to the challenges of having many ethnic groups, with different cultural practices and languages, Ratanakiri is one of the most poorly educated provinces. There are also very poor overall standards of living in the province, with many villages being remotely located in the forests without access to any services.

The dominant religion in Banlung is Theravada Buddhism. The presence of the ethnic groups influences this dominant religion with animistic superstitions. The cultural practices of the different ethnic minority groups are markedly different to the dominant Khmer population, particularly regarding courtship and marriage practices.

A Brief History of Banlung

The history of Ratanakiri does not share the same meaning as the rest of the country. Its ancient and modern history relates mostly to the ethnic groups that live there. Being a more remote and inaccessible part of the country, mountainous, heavily forested and with poor access by road, the experience of the civil war in this region has not been given the significance of the events occurring elsewhere in the country. However, this isolation has led to the belated development of the area, as its inaccessibility have led it to be considered a very unsafe part of the country, with bandits, drugs and criminals, and little access to authorities.

The Economy of Banlung

The primary industry in Banlung is agriculture. The primary crops are rubber and cashews, which are exported entirely to Vietnam and Thailand. There are some fruit orchards and rice crops also, which are used to supply the region. Previously, the province of Ratanakiri was renowned for the mining of precious and semi-precious stones, such as rubies, sapphires, aquamarine, onyx and peridot. All the mines in Banlung have been exhausted for some years, but some jewel wholesaling still continues selling the remaining semi-precious stones (all precious stone mines are now exhausted) from areas around Banlung.

Having described the context of Banlung, the following sections look at the findings from the interviews conducted in Banlung. Due to the dysfunctional nature of the tourism committee, information regarding the operations of tourism in the community was given by its sole representative. Other informants in the community were open and willing to communicate, but the additional language barriers encountered at some sites restricted the breadth of some informants' responses.

The Banlung Tourism Product

The Banlung tourist product consists of small destinations around the provincial town site of Banlung, with Banlung operating as the gateway to these destinations. The attractions in Banlung are primarily environmental assets, in the form of three waterfalls (Cha Ong, Katieng and Kachang) and the volcanic lake (Boeung Yeak Laom). Though this is the main focus of tourism in the area, the unique cultural assets represented by the ethnic groups provide an attractive secondary asset for tourism.

Tourism has been established in Ratanakiri for ten years, starting with the development of Boeung Yeak Laom in 2001. However, there is still poor access to the area. Many years previously, Banlung had an airstrip, so people could fly in and out of the region. This was the only option as there was no road. During the war and for some time after, travel by air was stopped, due to attacks on flying craft, and eventually due to the deterioration of the equipment. The airstrip has been out of commission for over 10 years. There is a single road access to Ratanakiri, paved up to the border of the neighbouring province of Stung Treng. From there, there is a dirt road to Banlung, which is impassable in the wet season, and extremely hazardous and dusty in the dry season.

Tourism in Banlung has been developed based on CBT as has Banteay Chhmar, also with the support of CCBEN. CBT in Banlung includes the three waterfall sites and Boeung Yeak Laom as its attractions. The idea was proposed and developed by the Cambodian Ministry of Tourism, and a tourism committee was established. Support is mainly from the government, as NGO activity in the area is primarily involved with ethnic groups in remote areas outside Banlung. Tourism activities are allegedly operated by the tourism office, representing the provincial office of the Ministry of Tourism. In reality however, the guesthouses in the area offer their own tourism services, using their staff or subcontractors. Thus, there is no collective financial support for tourism, as all tourism services in the town itself are privately owned. The income derived from tickets to attractions is considered an income stream for the individual community municipalities.

The primary tourist market for Banlung is ecotourism. By attracting ecotourists to Banlung, CBT can ensure the sustainability of the community and the tourism industry as these tourists are presumed to have some interest in environmental and cultural conservation. This will minimise the impacts of tourism on the physical and cultural environment in Banlung. A resident of Yeak Laom identified the calibre of tourist required for the benefit of the community:

> "I think that tourism is good, because visitors, ones that respect the area and respect the culture of the people in the area, are very good. I feel that the benefit is that tourists haven't done anything bad to the community."
> (IYLF04, Resident Yeak Laom, Banlung)

Aims of Tourism

Tourism in Banlung was established by the government. There are no clear aims for tourism in the community itself, apart from the broader goals of the Ministry of Tourism. These goals broadly describe the intention to use ecological assets to create ecotourism markets to increase national tourism revenue, which will, it is assumed, have a flow on effect to regional areas and communities, including those implementing CBT projects. This is supported by cooperation with supranational tourism bodies and international groups. There is no indication of any small scale ecotourism goals (see Ministry of Tourism [Cambodia], n.d.; Vellas, 2001). Tourism in Banlung was established based on the principles of CBT, and like Banteay Chhmar, Banlung is a member of CCBEN with access to their network of partners. Tourism is designed to be an industry that utilises Banlung's existing natural and cultural assets for tourism, so as to encourage and finance community development, and aid in conservation to retain these assets for future generations, with minimal community impact. The secretary of the tourism committee outlined the development of tourism in Banlung:

> "The idea [for CBT] came from the Ministry of Tourism. The Ministry organised the regional office, and the regional office forms partnerships with organisations to help develop this region in relation to tourism. At present, tourism is in the best interest of the people in this area." (IBLTCM01, Secretary CBT, Banlung)

The potential for tourism to encourage development in Banlung is important. However, the community recognises the need to approach tourism development sustainably: "I would like tourism to develop further in this area. To make it bigger and better, so that can be for the future generations as well, so they can benefit from what was created for them" (IBLM08, Resident, Banlung)

There is a lot of NGO activity in Banlung, but few are directly related to tourism, but they support broader development goals which will facilitate tourism in the future, such as education programs and environmental conservation programs. CBT is designed to ensure that the community retains control of tourism in Banlung, without excessive government control and private ownership of the environments which contains tourist assets.

Perceived Positive Impacts of Tourism

Perceived Economic Benefits

Tourism in Banlung is perceived to create many opportunities for the people in the community to earn money. It is perceived that those who participate directly in tourism will earn better income compared to other work. The entrepreneurial opportunities provided by tourism are seen to be inexhaustible.

Perceived Social Benefits

In addition to the entrepreneurial opportunities that tourism presents, tourism also increases employment opportunities in tourism related businesses, which offers an alternative to manual labour jobs, or leaving the district to work in the textile factories in Phnom Penh. This is described by the secretary of the tourism committee:

> "Tourism brings income and progress to the area. It reduces poverty and unemployment. When students finish their studies, they have to try and find work. If they have some skills, even if they can't get government work, and they know another language, they can use that skill for the service of tourists…For ordinary people, if they have skills in weaving, if they can make things, when visitors come, and they like it, they will buy it. That is an income for those people." (IBLTCM01, Secretary CBT, Banlung)

Interaction with international visitors is perceived as a positive and educational experience. The exposure to different cultures is considered to improve the experiences and knowledge of the community. One resident listed the benefits of the interactions with tourists:

> "The ethnic communities benefit from tourism in the area because they can sell their crafts and goods. Another thing is that they can change their concepts and ideas they have from the past. They can gain knowledge from their encounters with tourists." (IBLF02, Resident, Banlung)

The international visitors are also considered a source of information that aids in the development of the community, by the advice they give regarding tourism: "Some visitors have provided us with some ideas about what we should do about certain areas of the environment here…for example, having more seats around for visitors to rest on" (IYLM05, Resident Yeak Laom, Banlung).

Tourists encourage development of tourism in the community, and they challenge the power imbalances in the community between residents and tourists:

> "We have a challenge when it comes to safety around the water [Boeung Yeak Laom] here, because this lake is very deep….some visitors have suggested that we put up warning signs and they told us that we don't just have to satisfy visitors all the time, we have to tell them what is good for them as well. It is the welfare of the visitors we have to look after." (IYLM06, Resident Yeak Laom, Banlung)

Tourism has helped to improve infrastructure, such as the roads within Banlung, and the main road entering the area. Previously, Banlung was isolated from Phnom Penh, and access within Banlung was restricted. One long term resident described how the landscape had changed since tourism was started in the community:

> "Where we are now, previously, there were no roads…There were so many little houses around the place, no roads, only footpaths. Fifteen years ago, we didn't have a road to Phnom Penh. We would have to go through Vietnam." (IBLM010, Resident, Banlung)

Tourism infrastructure around individual sites has also improved, including stairs to access sites, public toilets and kiosk stands, as identified by a resident at the Cha Ong waterfall: "Some results we have seen are the toilets, the kiosk, some signs and money to help maintain them." (FGOCM01, Resident, Cha Ong, Banlung)

Tourism has also benefited the society in Banlung, as tourism funding has been used to support social community activities. This funding is also used as a form of social security, which is not available from the government. Funds from tourism can be used to provide one off emergency payments for community members, for example, following a death in the family:

> "A benefit is that the money [from tourism] is used to help the village members who have problems in the community…When there is a death in the village, they can provide some money to help out. This is the ability of CBT to benefit the community" (IYLF04, Resident, Yeak Laom, Banlung)

Perceived Cultural Benefits

Tourism in Banlung is perceived to help preserve the cultures and traditions of the ethnic minority groups in the community. In particular, tourism is using ethnic groups as a cultural asset, by creating attractions to support natural tourist sites and conserving traditional craft practices by marketing them as culturally unique souvenirs. The tourism committee identifies the value of these assets:

> "For example, the village would like to preserve the weaving and the single male/female houses that exist here, and people can do weaving and make other artefacts like they used to. By preserving and doing all that, tourists will come and see what is here…It is like [the visitors] help to preserve their crafts…So if you want to preserve this area for tourism as an area with a different culture, then there has to be tourists who come and visit them, and buy things here and there so they can earn an income… If they don't earn any income like that, they would walk out and make other kinds of living, they wouldn't preserve their crafts anymore." (IBLTCM01, Secretary CBT, Banlung)

Having tourism in the community has also helped to enhance the perceived value of the community and its environment. Positive progress and development through tourism gives its participants a sense of pride and achievement, which is beneficial for the continued operation of CBT in Banlung.

The interactions of international tourists with residents are perceived to be a positive cultural interaction. The educational value of these interactions has already been noted, but these interactions make the people of the community happy.

Perceived Environmental Benefits

The most important benefits of tourism are perceived to be environmental. Tourism is helping to conserve the natural environment of the area, as the areas around tourist sites are protected and looked after by the community. One resident expressed the importance of the role of tourism in protecting the community:

> "If we didn't create this tourism attraction [Kachang waterfall], this area would not be preserved. People would really destroy this area…Since the creation of tourism in our community, we have created boundaries for this area…we have preserved about 9ha around this waterfall for the future. We have planted many more trees along the boundaries so that we can look after the attraction and prevent people from coming and clearing the area." (IKCM04, Resident, Kachang waterfall, Banlung)

Through tourism, there is increased awareness of the value of natural assets for tourism, and the benefits for the community that result. Tourism has helped to reduce the clearing of forest, in protected and non-protected areas. In line with CBT, some areas in the community have further restrictions to reduce damage to the natural environment, including limits on fishing in Boeung Yeak Laom. Only local ethnic groups can fish in the area, and the catch cannot be used for sale. One resident described this:

> "Tourism in this area benefits conservation of the forest. These trees here [Boeung Yeak Laom] are forbidden to be cut down…As for the fish in the lake, the ethnic community can come and do some fishing, to get fish to eat for themselves, no one else is allowed to fish in the lake. They can't take many either, they can't fish for fish to sell in the market. The fauna, you cannot shoot them for sale, because, if we keep doing that, they would be lost for the future generations." (IYLM05, Resident, Yeak Laom, Banlung)

Tourism has also highlighted the importance of sanitation and hygiene in the community. The issue has become more important to residents. Tourism has helped to improve the cleanliness of the environment.

Perceived Negative Impacts of Tourism

The informants did not identify many negative impacts form tourism. Only some minor economic and social disbenefits were identified.

Perceived Negative Economic Impacts

The perceived negative economic impact perceived by informants is the way tourism has excluded residents from sites now being used for tourism. The introduction of tourism in Banlung has led to visitor fees being imposed at tourist sites that were previously free for residents. This has been done to fund maintenance and support CBT related development. The impact of this is that now, it is no longer affordable for some people in the community to visit these areas, despite the public nature of the sites. One resident with reasonable employment noted that the cost of visiting the sites prevented her from doing so:

> "I think there is some conservation, but I don't know about actual things, because I don't visit the places. I can't afford to do so." (IBLF02, Resident, Banlung)

Perceived Negative Social Impacts

The negative social impacts of tourism in Banlung are primarily related to the behaviour of domestic tourists at particular sites. This makes the management of tourism by the community more difficult. Tourism in Banlung also attracts many Khmer tourists, and this group is perceived to behave poorly and not respect the principles of CBT. The community perceives that many Khmer tourists behave badly at the tourist sites, including drunken and anti-social behaviour. They also disregard the controls placed on tourism sites for its protection, such as the ticketing system for all vehicles to prevent theft. All visitors receive a ticket that must be returned on leaving the site which is matched to an original. According to one resident, this is the source of these problems:

> "The difficulty is that some Khmer visitors come and lose their tickets. Some drink a lot and get drunk. When they are drunk most of them lose their tickets. And when they lose their tickets, they come and yell at the people responsible for the area" (IYLM05-06, Resident, Yeak Laom, Banlung)

Also, some policies have been instituted for environmental protection, and signs are posted around the site. However, among domestic visitors, this is proving ineffective:

> "There are some visitors to Yeak Laom who do not respect the rules and regulations. There are warnings not to use soap around the water, but some still do…we have rubbish bins around the place, and they don't use the bins, they just throw their rubbish away anywhere, even in the lake. This impacts on us because we also have to keep the area clean and look after this place." (IYLF04, Resident, Yeak Laom, Banlung)

There is a fear in the community regarding possible increases in negative social impacts in the future. These negative impacts include increases in crime, sex tourism and the introduction of drugs into the community. The only reports of actual incidences of tourism related crime in the community are related to crimes against tourists and anti-social

behaviour. The seriousness of the impacts of crime, drugs and sex tourism is related to the fear of the continued growth of these negative impacts as more tourists visit the community. The risk is heightened as the community perceives that the isolation of the community from authorities will encourage sex and drug tourists to choose their destination, and that increased social interaction with such tourists will encourage the same behaviour amongst the people in the community.

This issue of fear in relation to negative impacts will be discussed further below.

Perceived Negative Environmental Impacts

The negative environmental impact of tourism in Banlung is minor. Informants acknowledge that the increase in visitor numbers to the sites puts more pressure on the environment. However, the dearth of positive environmental impacts outweighs this perceived disbenefit. Thus, tourism in Banlung is not perceived to be having any negative effect on the environment.

Perception of Tourism

Residents of Banlung support tourism and have expectations that tourism development is positive for the community, and will be sustainable in the long term. The structured interviews revealed a high awareness and support for tourism, where the potential for sustainable tourism in community was a point of concern for some participants. But, overall, perceptions of tourism were positive. The government has a significant role in tourism, as the initiators and controllers of CBT at the national and district level.

Refer to Appendix Three for further details regarding the findings from the structured interviews.

Overall, tourism is perceived to be vital to environmental protection in the community, and provides many opportunities for employment and economic development.

The community perceives itself to be committed to the development and operation of CBT in Banlung. However, it is recognised that there is a concern as a result of poor channels of communication between the varied ethnic groups that make up the community. There is strong commitment from those directly involved in tourism. But, non-participants are perceived to be uncommitted and unsupportive through their actions, despite their verbal support.

The perception of tourism in the community is focused on the positive impacts. The focus of these positive impacts is mainly economic, in terms of tourism's ability to improve income and livelihoods for people in the community. Also, informants emphasise the value tourism has for conservation. This narrow focus on positive impacts reflects the assumption that economic gains will contribute to other development goals, and also the emphasis on environmental conservation. This suggests that informants in Banlung perceive tourism as a

sustainable tourism development tool, and have only a basic understanding of the concept. This may be the result of difficulties in communicating CBT goals to the community during implementation, challenges to education in the community, or it may suggest that the original understanding of the theoretical concept used to formulate CBT in Banlung also reflects this narrow conceptual definition.

Tourism in the community is supported by the informants, but some are more pessimistic regarding its long term sustainability. The strongest and most optimistic supporters of tourism are those who are currently receiving direct benefits from tourism, through economic benefit, or employment opportunities. This means that support for tourism in the community is most prolific in residents who have an incentive to do so.

The support of tourism, however, does extend beyond those participating in and directly benefitting from tourism. This support can be attributed by the dominance of perceived positive impacts of tourism in the community over negative impacts. Support for tourism from participants directly benefitting from tourism is logical. However, non-participants are also supporters of tourism, as they are deriving benefit from indirect benefits from tourism, in the form of social development and environmental and cultural conservation.

Perceptions of Self

The people of Banlung perceive themselves as disadvantaged, with a poor standard of living and education. This had led to people perceiving themselves as not good enough to be able to drive their own development. One resident noted that her lack of education and personal capabilities were holding her back:

> "If I was going to do it myself [create and maintain a tourism industry], I don't think I could, because I do not have the capabilities to make it work…If I could, I would like to be elected as a president, because I like this area and I am interested in tourism. But I don't know foreign languages." (IBLF02, Resident, Banlung)

The higher education and money of others, whether it is the government or other outsiders, is seen as superior, as are those who possess it, compared to the people in the community.

The poverty and isolation in Banlung has led to the people of the community to strive for survival over all else. Most individuals are primarily concerned with their own situation, and work towards improving it using any opportunity they can find. The problem which arises from this is that such opportunities are not necessarily legal, or harm other people, or have long term consequences that are disregarded over short term benefits. The people of Banlung have little understanding of the long term consequences of their actions for others, or even themselves. The goal of most individuals is to secure their own immediate future.

Individuals rarely set long term goals for their long term prosperity. One resident at Katieng expressed frustration at this:

> "I would like this community to wake up. To do something for themselves. To help themselves. To develop things around their village to help themselves. To not think of themselves all the time. They should think of public benefits as well. They think that CBT doesn't benefit them, so every day, they go to collect cashew nuts instead, planting the fields, doing other things for themselves more than the community." (IKTM02, Resident, Katieng waterfall, Banlung)

The meaning of this point of view for tourism is that it is not a collective priority for the people of the Banlung community. Though the majority of people support the ideas and theoretical goals of CBT, as individuals, their actions do not support CBT, and ultimately damage its potential, particularly in respect to the existing natural assets. The opportunities tourism provides for personal growth means many individuals are enthusiastic about participating in the tourism committee or standing for election to the committee, as a means of enhancing the opportunities for themselves through tourism.

The responsibility that the people in the community have for securing their own future encourages entrepreneurship by each individual. This is further demonstrated in the structured interview findings where informants were eager to participate in a range of tourism activities as their primary occupation. Despite their perceived disadvantage due to a lack of education, they do have higher aspirations for themselves through their own hard work. One resident expressed hope for her future:

> "Personally, I would like to work in a tourist organisation... Sometimes I think I am not capable, but it's alright, I think. I think I will only do this temporarily. When another job comes, I will try and do my best. "(IBLF02, Resident, Banlung)

The government has had the key role in tourism development in Ratanakiri. Their role in the Banlung community is significant. However, years of isolation, their experiences during the war and widespread corruption has led to deep mistrust of the government authorities. The tourism committee showed actual fear:

> "You are going to write about tourism just to increase awareness, so other people can read and know about it? There is no problem then. But if I start talking about anything to do with politics, I do not want to touch that area." (IBLTCM01, Secretary CBT, Banlung)

This makes the people in the community refuse to express their own views or opinions in case of conflict. This is not helped by the government failing to follow through on

commitments made to the area, which only serves to increase mistrust of the government. The fear expressed by the tourism committee is reflected also in the wider community:

> "I don't think people can do anything, because people are afraid of authority. When important people come, they seem to be afraid of them. Even me, I am just a guide, a normal person. I haven't got a rank or anything…they are even afraid of me." (IBLTCM01, Secretary CBT, Banlung)

This deep seated fear also extends to the people in the community not wanting to fail the government by not succeeding in CBT. It is clear that residents fear the takeover of CBT in Banlung because this would be seen not only as a loss of opportunity, benefit and independence, but failure due to their own inability to keep it functional. One resident expressed this:

> "There are some people with power and money who would like to take over this area to organise it and develop it for themselves. They argue that the community does not have the capabilities to do it. They also said that it has been many years now and there has been little progress." (IYLM06, Resident, Yeak Laom, Banlung)

Perceptions of Community

The community perceives the natural environment to be very valuable, as a natural asset for the community, as a living environment, and also as a tourism asset. One resident at the Katieng waterfall expressed the love he had for his living environment: "This place, it is a natural resource, a beautiful place. You can't compare it to another" (IKTM02, Resident, Katieng waterfall, Banlung).

The natural unbuilt areas around the waterfalls and the volcanic lake are considered to be extremely important to conserve, and tourism development should be done to preserve the natural aspect of these areas, to enhance the value of the asset, and to protect the living environment. Conservation only includes the preservation of existing sites for the future, and does not include the rehabilitation of cleared or built areas. One of the residents at Yeak Laom expressed a desire to preserve the environment as it is:

> "I don't want the developers to come and develop big hotels here. I support the community wholeheartedly because I want this place to be kept as natural as possible…Here, there are forested areas, so it should be kept natural, so that tourists will come and have a look at the different aspects of the country." (IYLM07, Resident, Yeak Laom, Banlung)

The community is made up of more than one ethnic group, which makes building a sense of community unity very difficult. Also, as individuals are invested in protecting themselves and

improving their situation, it is rare for these personal goals to align with the goals of the wider community or CBT.

The community, as suggested by the research informants, is collaborative, but the lack of community unity and the lack of a cultural history of voluntarism for reciprocal benefit limit physical collaboration. The structured interviews revealed that participants were willing to help others, but that they also had no incentive to do so. This limits the community's collaborative spirit.

The diverse ethnic groups within the community have led to it being divided along these cultural lines. The ethnic groups separate themselves from the Khmer people. This presents a challenge in having open communication in the community, and to have active participation in CBT, as some sectors do not interact fully with one another. The expressions of the tourism committee secretary hints at the ethnic differences in the community, and the difficulties this diversity represent for functionality:

> "The ethnic people, sometimes their knowledge is low, even the head of the village. I am not talking badly of them, he is a civil servant. Their human resources are used, because in their community, they can speak their own language… They can communicate between themselves using their own language. So they select the people who can read and write the language as workers in the community." (IBLTCM01, Secretary CBT, Banlung)

The division of the community has meant that particular areas of the community attract aid from NGOs where other areas don't. Therefore, education programs regarding tourism which have been conducted in the ethnic groups within the community, has developed an understanding of tourism that is potentially very different to other parts of the community. There is no common understanding of tourism and its potential for the whole community, either positive or negative. The ethnic groups have been singled out as part of a tourism education program designed to prevent negative social and cultural impacts of tourism through awareness. This is described by the secretary of the CBT committee:

> "At the community level, there are organisations that come and teach them about the negative impacts of tourism. They try to prevent the bad things from happening first, because tourism can bring in drugs. People could come in and bring problems about sex tourism… In relation to drugs sometimes and people or organisations take sweets to the villages…the visitors took some cakes and sweets to the village, and some books. As for the cakes, they didn't want to accept it, and the reason we were told was that they were afraid that they could be drugs, they were told by an organisation who was teaching them that tourists could bring drugs." (IBLTCM01, Secretary CBT, Banlung)

With the poor education of the ethnic groups and the perceived superiority of the outsiders, the ethnic groups have developed a fear of tourism because they fear the negative impacts they have been warned of, discouraging participation in CBT.

This division in the community and its large size makes communication between people extremely difficult. The community is also less interested in the everyday activities of the people, as they are focused on their own. Structured interview findings suggested that the lack of community cohesion contributed to poor communication, as there was no collective concern for others in the community.

The community has no faith in its abilities or skills. The role of the government in creating tourism in the area and the prevalence of foreign aid, along with the community's perceived feelings of inferiority has created a strong dependence on others, the most obvious being the government. The community does not take any responsibility for its actions or progress, leaving that to the government and others, as expressed by a resident of Banlung: "I would like the head of the village or subdistrict, with the help of an organisation, to create a tourism attraction in these places, and to attract visitors, so the villagers can sell their artefacts and other goods." (IBLF02, Resident, Banlung)

Another resident at Yeak Laom indicated that development was the responsibility of the government: "I would like the government organisations to support this community to make it so the community can progress and make this community grow better" (IYLM06, Resident, Yeak Laom, Banlung).

The community as a whole does not see tourism as a priority in their community. Though the benefits and potential of tourism are understood, its lack of unity, and no sense of 'greater good' means that there are too few people in the community to encourage tourism to meet development goals and encourage long term sustainable community growth. Those wishing to support tourism must seek outside help:

> "I would like any organisation to come in and help our community of Boeung Yeak Laom, because a few years ago, there was an organisation who came to take over Boeung Yeak Laom. But most people [in the community] would like to forfeit our right to Boeung Yeak Laom. Only a small percentage of us disagree, most of the members of the community would like to lease this area out, but some of us do not want that. If we agree to that, we won't have anything…we will have nothing left." (IYLF04, Resident, Yeak Laom, Banlung)

Despite the perceived value of the community, residents perceive limited commitment to tourism itself. One resident was frustrated by this:

> "The tourism authority has a lot of conservation in mind, but this community is very lazy. They can't help themselves… The community doesn't do anything much towards tourism. The tourism office provided all the signs in the area, not the community… They would like the villagers to come and participate in selling tickets to tourists, to collect the fees, so that the proceeds can be used in the village itself. But the villagers in the community don't want to come and do it. Like today, I have not seen them come, it's been four days now." (IKTM02, Resident, Katieng waterfall, Banlung)

Despite tourism not being a priority for the community, tourism is perceived as a pathway for development. The potential for tourism to help with environmental development goals is well understood. Where CBT promotes tourism as a facilitator for community development, in Banlung, this understanding is not recognised by residents. Tourism supports the everyday activities of the community instead of infrastructure or development goals.

The community perceives safety and security as extremely important. Being able to offer this to tourists is a very important part of tourism in the community. They seek to gain the trust of visitors, where, in the past, safety and security in the community and in the country has been poor. One resident made this very clear:

> "Twenty years ago…there were more difficulties. Especially safety and security. Now the security is very good, even if you come at midnight, you won't have a problem." (IBLM010, Resident, Banlung)

There is a perception that public awareness is important for the success of tourism in the long term. The community has expressed a desire to publicise their destination and its attributes, in order to attract more tourists and assistance from international organisations. This desire for increased public awareness is also based on their desire to have more tourists in the community, which will increase the benefits of tourism. At Cha Ong waterfall, the residents were keen to encourage publicity efforts: "We need information to be spread around out there. So could you please help by spreading information about tourism in our community soother people will know about tourism in this area "(FGOCM01, Resident, Cha Ong waterfall, Banlung).

Residents also identified the lack of communication and follow through on the promotion of tourist attractions which has disadvantaged tourism development:

> "This waterfall [Katieng] was developed with the help of an organisation…In doing so, they didn't contact any local authorities or government authorities at all…There is no system of advertising, or giving out of information at all…The organisation that developed this area developed it without any consultation with any authorities in the area. They just developed it directly with the community, so it lacks advertising to the outside world." (IKTM02, Resident, Katieng waterfall, Banlung)

Perceptions of the Tourism Committee

The committee in Banlung is made up of five members, president, two vice presidents, secretary and treasurer. The committee has no general members, and does not function effectively. Participation in the tourism committee is voluntary, and each member has other work, predominantly as tour guides, in the community.

The committee meets irregularly, and does not have a formal plan for tourism in the community. This is considered the responsibility of the tourism office. There is little commitment to develop CBT, as they are reluctant to take a controlling role in tourism. Their primary role in the community is as advocates for tourism in the community, by being active participants with an awareness of the principles of CBT. As guides, they have the opportunity to mediate the meetings between tourists and residents, and also to observe the way in which tourism is developing. They monitor these developments and report any activities which may contradict the government's aims for tourism.

Tourism provides employment for the members of the committee, as freelance guides. However, their role in the committee is voluntary, and has therefore not been a primary concern for members. With limited powers, no support and no financial gain from their involvement, the activities of the committee are limited. Any contributions made by the committee are arguably part of their primary occupation, rather than part of their role on the tourism committee.

Without this commitment to CBT and development, the committee has not had any major achievement. The committee members give priority to other aspects of their lives, as noted by the secretary:

> "In our association, we have a president, two vice presidents, a secretary and a treasurer. Five of us, but there are no members…We had a meeting and a constitution was written and an election was held…I voted as well, but I didn't stand for president, because I haven't got many resources and I have to support myself ….If I had a good livelihood, I could stand for president. My wife could have a business and I could work for the association, organising and planning and making projects…Even the president doesn't do much. If he has guests, he still takes them around, but if he has no guests, he organises soccer games to earn money." (IBLTCM01, Secretary CBT, Banlung)

The committee is involved in some programs where they are educated in CBT, and how its operations. This improves members' skills for their primary employment as guides, but does little to serve the development of CBT in the community.

Informants revealed a strong willingness to participate in the tourism committee, and also to participate in the provision of tourist activities. However, many of the informants demonstrated that this desire was linked to the financial opportunities linked to tourism, willing to participate full time in tourism in a wide range of roles. In the capacity of serving on the tourism committee, many informants preferred higher ranking roles to best exploit the opportunities presented by tourism.

In addition to the tourism committee in Banlung, many small groups have their own community committees. The ethnic groups located at each of the attraction sites have a community leader, and members that advocate for the general needs of the group. Where these needs overlap with tourism, the community leaders have some control over the benefits received from tourism, such as income. With different leaders of different ethnic groups being involved, and no central committee to take responsibility for goal setting or communication between groups, there is no committee to represent all individuals in the community regarding tourism.

The majority of these individual community groups are not effective in looking after the group's interests in regards to tourism. The only clear exception to this rule is the ethnic minority group at Kachang waterfall, where the councillors have an important role in tourism in the community as they volunteer their time to supervise the daily operations of tourism. At other sites in the community, only a few committed people volunteer their time for tourism, with the rest of the people in the community neglecting their roles.

However, the small numbers of committed volunteers are able to sustain CBT to some extent. One resident described a more localised attempt to initiate CBT:

> "In 2008, when the organisation came in to support us, a committee was created, and there were a lot more members. The committee was comprised of 15 members to oversee this attraction. There are only three or four of us who look after and organise this area hands on every day." (IKCM04, Resident, Kachang waterfall, Banlung)

SWOT Analysis of Banlung

Strengths

Banlung, as the gateway town to tourism in Ratanakiri, has enjoyed long term government support and funding. The government is well represented in Banlung. Banlung has its own Department of Tourism, representing the Ministry of Tourism in the region. The government's focus on ecotourism, and thus its eagerness to develop and promote Banlung as a key destination in Cambodia has also given the community improved infrastructure and services. The quality and availability of services is further enhanced as Banlung is the provincial capital of Ratanakiri.

The government has a significant role in the domestic marketing of Banlung as a destination, and actively promotes the destination domestically, targeting domestic tourists as well as international tourists in Siem Reap and Phnom Penh, the major tourist centres. Also, there is a lot of promotion on television to actively promote awareness of the destination.

Banlung, as a more mature destination with increased public awareness, has more tourism infrastructure. This includes more quality support services, such as guesthouses and restaurants to support the tourist experience. The improved amenities of the destination increase the market appeal for tourists.

Banlung is isolated from the main tourist areas of Cambodia, by being the most remote town site from both Siem Reap and Phnom Penh. However, it is more accessible than Banteay Chhmar as it is located on a National highway, and is serviced by buses from most towns. The quality of the road to Banlung has been a focus of domestic marketing campaigns in recent years to improve the perceived accessibility of Banlung. Though, as will be discussed, this perception is deceptive, this does enhance the attractiveness of the destination.

Banlung, as a tourism destination, also has the advantage of possessing multiple tourism assets in the township and its surrounds. The focus of tourism in Banlung is ecotourism. The key environmental assets of Banlung include natural forested areas, waterfalls, and the

volcanic lake, Boeung Yeak Laom. Culturally, Banlung has other unique assets, as Ratanakiri is home to ethnic groups native to the region, the majority of which live in Banlung, its surrounds and at the existing ecotourism sites. The ethnic groups have culturally unique practices, architecture, languages, and crafts. The uniqueness and diversity of the attractions in Banlung has the potential to attract a wider target market, which is further enhanced by the presence of extra tourism support services available and perceived accessibility of the destination.

Weaknesses

Currently, the tourism committee in Banlung is non-functional. Its role in the community has been reduced to reactive policing of tourist sites, instead of a proactive planning approach to ensure tourism contributes to development goals. Active members of the tourism committee will report environmental degradation or the neglect of sites. Otherwise, the committee are involved only in their primary occupations as guides for tourists.

The lack of community development goals to be supported by tourism undermines the operation of CBT in the community. There is currently no community development goals targeted to be supported by tourism. Without goals, tourism in the community cannot function meaningfully or support sustainability in the medium to long term.

Cooperation in the community is hindered by its size and the ethnic diversity of the population. The community is made up of many smaller groups, which are divided based on ethnicity. This is further complicated by ethnic groups having their own languages, with few residents speaking Khmer fluently. This weakens internal communications between smaller groups, and maintains divisions within the community.

The dispersion of attractions also represents a weakness for tourism in the community. The primary attractions, the waterfalls and the volcanic lake, are a minimum of four kilometres from the town site. This means that tourists require transport to each site. The only transport available is *motodup*. Accessibility to the waterfall sites is along poor quality unsurfaced roads, which are dusty in the dry season and impassable in the wet season. Two of four of the waterfall sites would not be accessible by any other vehicle, and the pathways to the waterfalls are extremely treacherous, even on *motodup*.

The environment in Banlung is also a concern. Sanitation in the township itself is poor. Though the waterfalls are cleaned by the community, the town site and surrounds are littered with rubbish. Littering is a considerable problem in Cambodia. The lack of sanitation services means that where rubbish is collected, it is burnt on the roadside, polluting the atmosphere. The ethnic groups are still using swidden agriculture, so any clearing of land is done using fire, which creates an oppressive, smoky atmosphere. Also, the primary cash crop in Banlung is cashews, with many large plantations located en route to attractions. The drying of cashew fruit produces an unpleasant odour.

Though Banlung is dependent on ecotourism, and regards the forested environment a key asset for tourism, the reality is that there is little natural forest remaining in Banlung. The only remaining forest in the town site is around the volcanic lake. There is some regrowth forest around the waterfall sites, but it is still very young. The majority of land has been cleared and planted with cashew and rubber trees, as these crops are considered more profitable.

Access to Banlung is along an unsurfaced road. As this road is in constant use all year round, it has severe water damage. It is also extremely dusty in the dry season. It has become rutted and potholed and is difficult to traverse even in ideal conditions. The most popular way to travel to Banlung is on private buses that operate on networks around the country. However, there are few companies that travel all the way to Banlung. Thus, it is the only form of affordable transport for residents and visitors alike. This leads to buses becoming extremely overloaded with people and goods, and frequent stops are made along the way to collect and drop off passengers. This substantially lengthens travel time, and makes travel uncomfortable as passenger and cargo capacity is exceeded. In reality, access to Banlung is poor, not meeting the expectations of tourists based on promotional information, as travel times and the amenity of travel are considerably degraded.

Monitoring and control of tourists at specific sites is insufficient. The waterfalls are controlled by the local village group on a voluntary basis, who are responsible for cleaning the site, and selling tickets. The sites are poorly manned, many delegating their duties to stallholders at the site. Despite having mechanisms for controlling tourists and the potential for gaining an income from the sites, the lack of community commitment is affecting the volume of economic benefits being received.

As previously mentioned, internal communication is challenging due to the multiple languages being used in the community. In addition, few residents in the community speak English or any other second language, which makes communication with visitors and external stakeholders difficult.

Education in the community is low on average, and there is very little awareness of tourism in the community. This reduces the ability of the community to adapt to the development of tourism, especially as tourism is expected to grow in the future. Poor understanding of the potential benefits and negative impacts of tourism will not encourage community support, and will reduce the community's ability to tolerate tourism in the long term.

Opportunities

There is an opportunity to improve the functionality of the tourism committee. This may require the dissolution and re-election of the tourism committee or the motivation of the existing members by improving its functionality with a better focus being placed on the establishment of development goals for tourism.

This would also be facilitated by increasing the awareness and understanding of tourism in the community. This would also encourage development from tourism, and increase the tolerance of tourism by minimising the severity of negative impacts experienced by residents.

Better control of transport services Banlung would improve the travel experience of tourists to Banlung. This would include having newer buses operating according to a stricter schedule, and regulated carrying capacities. The improvement of the access road to Banlung would also be beneficial. As it is a major national roadway servicing the provincial town, a paved road would be best.

Access roads to waterfall sites should also be improved, to make them accessible by car. The quality of the road surface, even if it was to remain unpaved, must be improved also. If primary means of transport continues to be by *motodup*, sealed roads would reduce dust pollution and discomfort to passengers.

Cooperation between the groups within the community must be encouraged to increase tolerance for tourism in the community. This may be difficult, as divisions within the community are made based on ethnicity, and the use of different languages will perpetuate this. However, increased cooperation and acceptance of ethnic groups would be beneficial.

Sites are operated by individual village committees, which mean that there is little communication between groups. Having a single community committee that incorporates these groups would improve communication pathways. This would improve the opportunities for the improvement of education and awareness regarding tourism, which would encourage widespread support of tourism in the long term.

Another benefit of having a unified community committee would be to align the processes for control of tourism at all sites. A single, common ticketing system would improve the functionality of tourism in Banlung and enable the community to have better quality data on visitors that can be used for tourism development.

Currently, Banlung is dependent on the government for the funding of tourism development and promotional activities. Also, the community attracts a lot of foreign aid (though it is not directly tourism related), which typically targets individual groups. This dependency on external resources makes the community vulnerable if this support was to be withdrawn. If CBT could function with less dependence on these external stakeholders, it would improve the long term sustainability of CBT.

It is important to increase conservation in Banlung. The physical assets of Banlung have already been considerably compromised. If ecotourism is to have long term meaning for Banlung, the remaining forested areas must be preserved and possibly extended. This would require strong control over the growth of the cashew and rubber industry in the town site. Also, the hunting of protected species for exotic bush meat is an ongoing problem in

Banlung, despite education programs aimed at ceasing the practice. The reinforcement of animal protection laws would be valuable to the protection of environmental assets.

The amenities of the individual tourist sites could be improved, to improve the quality of the product being offered. Access to sites must be improved, and the sites themselves must be developed and maintained, including the installation or upgrading of stairs and bridges as necessary. Also, there is potential to increase interpretation at the sites, where few English and other foreign language speaking guides are available. Most sites have a cultural component to the attraction, demonstrating unique aspects of the ethnic group controlling the site. However, at present, there is no interpretation of the sites for independent tourists. Improved facilities and interpretation would encourage tourists to spend more time at a single location, and enhance their experience and understanding of sites.

Banlung has unique cultural assets which provide the opportunities to source locally made, culturally significant souvenirs. Some souvenirs are available at the volcanic lake, and at a single market stall in town. There is potential for traditional costumes, traditional textile crafts, baskets, woodwork and metal work to be utilised as souvenirs which are locally made and unique to the area. This would also increase employment opportunities and earnings from tourism which may also contribute to cultural conservation.

Threats

Banlung is vulnerable to the loss of government and NGO support in the form of financial and services aid. If this was withdrawn, development in Banlung would be considerably affected. The tourism industry is unable to support development goals itself at this stage.

Though increased cooperation between ethnic groups was identified as a potential opportunity to improve communication, and therefore facilitate the operations of tourism in Banlung, there is a risk that increased integration of the ethnic groups with the dominant Cambodian population will negatively impact the unique cultural assets they represent. However, without some level of cooperation, persistent cultural conflict will threaten tourism by increasing the threat of negative tourism impacts in the form of hostility within the community and towards tourists, which would harm the tourist experience and impede the development of CBT.

Continued clearing of forests for agriculture, or cashew and rubber plantations, threatens the remaining natural forest areas in Banlung. Also, the burning of rubbish and poor sanitation will continue to pollute the environment. This degrades the natural assets in the community upon which CBT is dependent.

The age of Banlung as a tourism destination is also a threat. Tourism development through private enterprise has limited the ability of the community to benefit from tourism. However, as the industry is well established, affecting change in line with CBT goals to encourage more widespread community benefits will be difficult. The process of making this

change may take too long and risk the loss of support if community benefits are not forthcoming in the short to medium term.

The following table (4.3) provides a summary of the Banlung SWOT analysis.

Strengths	**Weaknesses**
Strong government support and funding	Lack of community cohesiveness/community cooperation
Strong domestic marketing	Large size of community hindering communication and cooperation
Existing tourism infrastructure for quality support products and services	Accessibility of tourism sites
Better (perceived) accessibility	Accessibility of Banlung (road quality and services)
Diversity of products with wider market appeal	Quality of environmental assets
Ecotourism assets in surrounding area	Tourist processes at sites
Cultural tourism assets at ecotourism sites	Language difficulties in internal and external communication
Strong individual community committees	Size of tourist area and transport services
	Cooperation between multiple ethnic groups
	Sanitation
	Untimeliness of government cooperation
	Lack of education/understanding of tourism
	Lack of awareness of tourism
Opportunities	**Threats**
Creation of functional tourism committee	Loss of government support and NGO funding
Improvement of site accessibility and transport services	Integration of ethnic groups and reduction of cultural diversity
Formation of a community committee representing the smaller committees	External threats to tourism industry
Improvement of sanitation services	Increased competition from other destinations
Improved access infrastructure to Banlung	Degradation of environmental assets
Standardisation of tourism processes (e.g. ticketing)	Continued lack of community cooperation and conflict
Improvement of community cooperation and awareness	Decline of destination
Independence of operations	
Preservation and conservation of ecotourism sites	
Souvenirs	

Table 4.3 SWOT analysis summary of Banlung

Chapter Summary

This chapter has looked at the findings of the two phases of data collection in this research. The story of tourism in Banteay Chhmar looked at how the community perceives tourism and its impacts, how the community perceives themselves, the community as a whole and the tourism committee. This was the followed by the story of Banlung, highlighting the contrasts of this case in relation to the theme of perception. The following chapter will begin to discuss the meaning of these findings in the context of the existing literature, as well as extracting the broader meaning of this research.

Photographic Images from Banteay Chhmar and Banlung

Note: The above characters represent the Khmer word for ‘photograph’.

Image 1 Banteay Chhmar Temple (Source: Sotear Ellis)

Image 2 CBT Office, Banteay Chhmar (Source: Ross Ellis)

Image 3 Homestay, Banteay Chhmar (Source: Ross Ellis)

Image 4 Baray, Banteay Chhmar (Source: Sotear Ellis)

Image 5 Ta Prohm temple (under restoration) (Source: Sotear Ellis)

Image 6 Banteay Chhmar market (Source: Ross Ellis)

Image 7 Banteay Chhmar street scene (Source: Ross Ellis)

Image 8 Community residents, Banteay Chhmar (Source: Sotear Ellis)

Image 9 CBT office dining and leisure area, Banteay Chhmar (Source: Ross Ellis)

Image 10: Satellite temple (Prasat Chengchum Trey), Banteay Chhmar (Source: Sotear Ellis)

Image 11 Cha Ong waterfall, Banlung (Source: Ross Ellis)

Image 12 Katieng waterfall, Banlung (Source: Sotear Ellis)

Image 13 Kachang waterfall, Banlung (Source: Sotear Ellis)

Image 14 Boeung Yeak Laom, Banlung (Source: Ross Ellis)

Image 15 Ethnic minority houses as cultural attractions, Boeung Yeak Laom, Banlung (Source: Ross Ellis)

Image 16 Gateway to Cha Ong waterfall, Banlung (Source: Sotear Ellis)

Image 17 Conducting interviews at Boeung Yeak Laom, Banlung (Source: Ross Ellis)

Image 18 Banlung Market (Source: Ross Ellis)

Image 19 Tourism Office, Banlung (Source: Sotear Ellis)

Image 20 Guesthouse, Banlung (Source: Ross Ellis)

Image 21 Moto transport, Banlung (Source: Ross Ellis)

Chapter Five: Discussion

This chapter critically discusses the findings of this research in order to identify the key factors which have an impact of the implementation of CBT for sustainable tourism development. The findings are analysed using the understanding of tourism as perceived by the research informants. Then, the perception of tourism and its impacts are discussed. Further analysis follows, indicating the importance of the role of community and communication in the successful implementation of CBT. This is based on the perception of self, perception of community and the perception of the tourism committees as perceived by informants. The conclusion of this chapter includes a theoretical summary which identifies three emergent themes that will impact on how future implementations of CBT can be made more successful.

CBT Goals

Banteay Chhmar has clearly identified the use of CBT to support the community in the achievement of development goals. The aspirations for tourism also include broader development goals. The goals for CBT identified by the community are:

1. Development of existing physical and human resources;
2. Direct and indirect community wide benefits contributing to poverty alleviation (e.g. funding development projects and providing direct income to residents);
3. Conservation of heritage and cultural pride;
4. Improving the local environment;
5. Creating a quality tourism product through the development of quality accommodation;
6. Bringing the community together through community pride and collaboration (e.g. sponsorship of the water festival).

These goals are predominantly in line with those accepted for sustainable tourism, in particular the utilisation of existing resources to create a tourism product that will contribute to poverty alleviation and community development (Choi & Sirakaya, 2005).

Banlung, as a result of the dysfunctional nature of the tourism committee and the implementation of CBT by the government, has no identified goals. However, the basis for establishing CBT in Banlung was based on the unique environmental assets of the community, and is supported by living cultural assets. Therefore, goals for tourism in Banlung are concerned with the preservation of environmental and cultural assets (Sinclair & Jayawardena, 2003), whereas Banteay Chhmar's focus specifically identifies the need to improve the environment in the community, as well as cultural conservation goals, both ancient and living. The focus on environmental and cultural conservation in Banlung is based on the need to protect these assets for the purposes of maintaining the tourism product.

Banteay Chhmar's conservation goals focus on supporting the core tourism product, as well as being aligned with community development goals.

In Banteay Chhmar, a key goal of tourism is to produce direct and indirect benefits from tourism that will contribute to poverty alleviation. This is done indirectly by providing a source of funding for development projects in the community, or through more direct benefits, such as providing additional income for some residents. This approach differs from the one used in Banlung, where direct personal economic benefits are expected to trickle-down through other sectors in the community to encourage an improvement of the standard of living (the trickle-down effect). The direct approach of controlling economic benefits from tourism allows Banteay Chhmar to maximise the distribution of benefits to all sectors of the community without dependence on this effect.

Goals for tourism in Banteay Chhmar focus on the development of the tourism product, which is essential for the achievement of other goals. This prioritises the need for a quality tourist product, based on existing physical assets, supported by local human resources and the provision of quality services. This is important for increasing and attracting bigger markets, for example, tour groups and more independent travellers. The conservation of community heritage, improvement of the environment and pride also supports the quality of the tourist product, as these represent the temple site as well as the traditional activities which serve as primary tourist attractions. Improvements made for the environment, for example, through the supply of clean water, enhances the tourist experience and benefits the local people. Community cohesion is important for tourism as it encourages good community relations and tolerance for tourism, as well as providing a hospitable cultural environment for visitors.

In Banlung, there are no CBT goals which act to support community unity. It will become clear in the sections to follow that ethnic diversity in the region has prevented collaboration in Banlung which undermines community cohesion. However, the neglect of these community goals is disadvantaging CBT.

The notion of community unity is disregarded by George and Henthorne (2007), who suggest that community unity in fact impedes CBT implementation by encouraging resentment. In the case of Banteay Chhmar, the cohesion of the community remains important, as part of the community's sustainability (Tisdell, 1997). Also, the challenges faced by Banlung, and the lack of success of CBT indicates the importance of the role of community cohesion. Sustaining the community is in line with fundamental CBT goals, but also serves to enhance the tourist product. In Banteay Chhmar, this is reflected in the observation that unity improves the cultural environment for tourism. Cohesion also minimises the risk of partiality and elitism of representative groups which can negatively impact CBT implementation (Briedenhann & Wickens, 2004).

Table 5.1 provides a summary of the CBT goals for each community.

Banteay Chhmar	Banlung
CBT Goals	
Development of physical and human resources	None specifically identified
Provision of direct and indirect community benefit	Direct economic benefits from tourism support trickle-down effect for development
Conservation of heritage and cultural pride	Conservation of environmental and cultural assets for tourism
Improvement of local environment	
Development of quality tourism product	
Development of community pride and collaboration	

Table 5.1 Summary of CBT goals in Banteay Chhmar and Banlung

Understanding of Tourism

Banlung and Banteay Chhmar present very different understandings of 'tourism'. The differences reflect the influence of CBT goals on tourism operations. Banteay Chhmar perceives tourism as a key development tool. In contrast, Banlung sees tourism as an enterprise.

The understanding of sustainable tourism in of Banteay Chhmar is a very literal interpretation of CBT. Tourism is operated by and for the community as a means of supporting development goals for all individuals, not just those directly involved in tourism. CBT aims to fund development projects as well as to provide benefits, such as increasing employment and income opportunities to contribute to poverty alleviation, the preservation of environmental and cultural assets, and other social benefits.

This interpretation of CBT is closely aligned with operational definitions of sustainable tourism in terms of the preservation of environmental assets and consideration of cultural preservation and social development. Choi and Sirakaya (2005) identify the key components of sustainable tourism as the need to provide some benefit from tourism that does not harm social, cultural and ecological systems. What is clear is that Banteay Chhmar's perceived understanding of tourism is focused on CBT as a development tool. This is consistent with Ying and Zhao's (2007) presentation of a communal approach to development, where tourism facilitated community control of the product and impacts, with widespread benefits and participation.

CBT in Banlung is more in line with traditional views of sustainable tourism in that the environment is the priority in the development of CBT (Gilmore, et al., 2007). This, however, does not correlate with the more holistic approach associated with newer interpretations of

CBT such as those advocated by Choi and Sirakaya (2005). This perception reflects a more practical view of tourism, as an industry, where the support for development received from tourism, is secondary to the development and maintenance of the industry itself.

In the case of Banteay Chhmar, CBT was implemented by the French NGO, APLC. Coate, Handmer and Choong (2006) identify that NGOs with local experience are better suited to the role of implementers for CBT, as NGOs have better resources which can be focused on a single community than the inexperienced and overstretched resources of governments in LDCs (Kennedy & Dornan, 2009). Though NGOs are more successful in CBT implementations in LDCs, there are some particular issues to be considered. Firstly, the ontology of the NGO must be questioned, as internationally based NGOs can have various policies or motives which can affect the implementation of CBT (Fuchs & Lorek, 2005; Gounder, 2001). Also, despite NGOs being more experienced in the practice of implementing CBT or operating in LDCs, they are challenged by the different cultural contexts and existing preconceptions dominant in the originating developed country. This can lead to NGOs making assumptions and therefore failing to consider the actual needs of the particular cultural setting (Ostwald, 2009).

Also, as NGOs are business entities (private or public), the implementation of CBT becomes vulnerable to external forces which affect the industry, such as economic fluctuations (Muhanna, 2007). This was experienced by Banteay Chhmar, where APLC was dramatically affected by the 2007 economic downturn which forced APLC to withdraw from multiple projects in Cambodia, including Banteay Chhmar. Typically, the premature departure of NGOs will lead to the failure of CBT implementation as discontinuance of training and capacity building will not enable communities to operate independently (Manyara & Jones, 2007; Reid & Schwab, 2006).

CBT in Banlung was initiated by the Cambodian national government. Control is ultimately managed by the Ministry of Tourism. Public instigation and control of tourism is not as common as NGO initiated CBT projects, but is supported in the literature. The advantages of public CBT implementation include better regional tourism planning and marketing. Also, the role of government also allows communities to benefit from access to public resources and the more equitable division of benefits. However, the challenges faced by the governments of LDCs means that they have poor skills and resources, and are under considerable pressure (Carbone, 2005; Tak-chuen, 2005; van Fossen & Lafferty, 2001). The isolation of Banlung and the issues of ethnic diversity present even further challenges for the management of CBT. Where government control would typically suggest a better understanding of the cultural context, (in comparison to internationally based NGOs), in isolated and ethnic diverse communities, this is not necessarily the case (Chithtalath, 2007; Yu, 2011).

It must also be noted that regardless of whom implements CBT (NGO or government), the external forces acting upon the global tourism industry will have an effect on individual

communities. This includes fluctuations on travel patterns (as a result of oil prices, foreign exchange, political action, etc.) and the fashion trends of destinations.

Ideally, the implementation of CBT is intended to use a bottom-up approach, which facilitates community control over tourism (Ayala-Carcedo & Gonzales-Barros, 2005). However, the practical reality suggests that the implementation of CBT in LDCs usually follows a top down approach, where NGOs or government authorities occupy positions of power, and impose the implementation of CBT on smaller communities (Arthur & Mensah, 2006; Byrd, 2007; Gossling, 2003). This is certainly the case in Banlung, where economic benefits derived from tourism are assumed to contribute to the achievement of development goals by the act of increasing the income to the community. This dependence on the trickle-down effect is a typical example of how practice of CBT does not conform to the advocated bottom-up approach, but this has become commonplace in the implementation of CBT (Arthur & Mensah, 2006; Byrd, 2007).

Banteay Chhmar's community control of tourism illustrates a bottom-up approach is practicable. It is also more effective for supporting other CBT goals. This highlights the need for more considered approaches which will encourage the rejection of the convenience of the trickle-down approach. Furthermore, the way CBT was implemented in Banteay Chhmar also suggests that the power imbalances created by external stakeholders initiating development projects can be overcome to support a bottom-up approach also (Ying & Zhou, 2007).

Banteay Chhmar has also succeeded in attaining community control of tourism. Their achievement of independence and control of CBT despite the premature withdrawal of APLC challenges what is expected in this context. This alludes to the collaborative nature of the community which has positively affected power imbalances with external stakeholders and enabled independent functionality (Byrd, 2007).

The development focus of CBT in Banteay Chhmar ensures that tourism remains able to fund identified development goals for the community. This has benefits for the tourism product itself, which ensures its long term sustainability (Timmer & Juma, 2005). There is a risk that emphasis on community goals will have a negative impact on the sustainability of the tourism product through the neglect of regional tourism planning which is critical in the expansion of markets for tourism and sustainable growth of visitor numbers(Kelly & Moles, 2000; Ying & Zhou, 2007). The role of government in Banlung has addressed this risk, but the lack of focus on development means that only core tourism goals are pursued. This prevents the provision on widespread benefits, and prolongs the realisation of any community development goals by focussing on individual benefits instead.

The literature suggests that the control of CBT is most successful where it is controlled by a single entity. This is the tourism committee of Banteay Chhmar. However, the literature suggests that the control of CBT should be controlled by a single private entity (Ying & Zhou,

2007), or the government, at the local level or higher (Briedenhann & Wickens, 2004). The control of tourism by a private entity would improve the earning potential of tourism to fund development project goals. Public control would prevent the over-prioritisation of income generation and provide improved access to public infrastructure development. However, these viewpoints do not support community control of CBT which is fundamental to the concept of CBT. In the case of Banteay Chhmar, the community control of tourism is more in line with theoretical models of CBT. Banlung's experience has not recognised the advantages of public control advocated by Briedenhann and Wickens (2004) which would conclude that community control is the model for best practice.

The role of education and awareness of tourism are not generally lauded as benefits of CBT. However, in Banteay Chhmar they are considered very important. The impact of improved education and awareness of tourism has important implications for the level of meaningful participation which is necessary for success (Muhanna, 2007). Increased awareness of tourism in the community, improves tolerance and acceptance, which supports the community as a whole.

Awareness of CBT must, at the very least, focus on potential benefits and disbenefits of CBT. This allows the community to have realistic expectations of CBT and encourages support and tolerance for tourism (Suntikul, et al., 2010). In the case of Banlung, this level of awareness has not been achieved, which has bred fear of tourism in some smaller community groups.

Community participation in Banlung is limited, due to the size of the geographical area, and ethnic diversity. Participation increases education, awareness, tolerance and acceptance of tourism, as well as encouraging the successful implementation of CBT and the widespread distribution of the benefits from tourism (Muhanna, 2007; Ying & Zhou, 2007). Therefore, tolerance for tourism in Banlung is limited by the low levels of participation in CBT. This has an impact on the tourism product, as the hospitality received by tourists from the community has an important effect on the quality of the tourist experience (Gunes & Hens, 2007).

High levels of participation also help to improve community control of tourism. It also encourages the spread the benefits of CBT to the whole community (Ying & Zhou, 2007). However, Wheeler (2005) suggests that higher levels of community participation in CBT can have a negative effect on the long term development of the tourism product and CBT by reducing flexibility and adaptability. Therefore, this must be considered where community cohesion should be advocated as beneficial for CBT implementation.

Though both communities recognise the importance of economic benefits derived from tourism, the prioritisation of direct and indirect benefits is opposite. Banteay Chhmar focuses on indirect economic benefits as the only means of funding community wide development goals. In Banlung, the dependence on the trickle-down effect for funding

development keeps the focus on direct economic benefits. This also serves to undermine community control of development, unlike Banteay Chhmar's collaborative development approach.

It is these factors which enable Banteay Chhmar to establish clear goals for CBT and encourage community participation. Banlung lacks these goals, and the meaningful levels of participation to encourage community control of tourism. Therefore, the successful implementation of CBT can be linked back to the need for widespread community awareness and understanding of CBT to facilitate the formation and support of development goals correspondingly supported by the community via their input. Encouraging understanding of CBT also facilitates the bottom-up approach which does not rely solely on direct economic benefits. The priority assigned to indirect benefits reinforces the importance of community development goals, which supports CBT as well as the sustainable tourism product.

Table 5.2 presents a summary of each community's understanding of tourism.

Banteay Chhmar	**Banlung**
Understanding of tourism	
Literal understanding of CBT focussing on community control	Understanding based on sustainable tourism principles – environmental priority
Bottom up approach to implementation	Top down approach to implementation
CBT implemented by NGO	CBT implemented by national government
Strong development focus	Focus on trickle-down effect of direct economic benefits
Importance of participation and education regarding CBT	Poor participation linked to size and diversity of community

Table 5.2 Summary of Banteay Chhmar and Banlung's understanding of tourism.

Perceived Impacts of Tourism

The impacts of tourism in both Banteay Chhmar and Banlung are generally perceived to be positive. Perceived impacts of tourism have been categorised as economic, social, cultural and environmental. The balance of positive and negative impacts is a key consideration for sustainable tourism and CBT. However, the role of perception in identifying tourism impacts deviates from what is traditionally accepted as benefits and disbenefits of tourism.

Economic Impacts of tourism

Banteay Chhmar and Banlung, as LDC communities, assign high value to the provision of economic benefits from tourism. However, the perspectives of each community regarding economic benefits are very different, as a result of the strong community and development focus of CBT in Banteay Chhmar, compared to the more individualistic approach to tourism in Banlung.

The economic impacts of tourism as identified in Banteay Chhmar include direct and indirect economic benefits. However, under the developmental focus of CBT, indirect benefits from tourism, representing the economic benefits which are not received as income by participants in tourism, are retained by the tourism committee, and perceived more as social benefits, as they are recognised by the development projects it funds.

The perception of CBT in Banteay Chhmar is that economic benefits support community wide development goals. However, tourism also provides opportunities for direct economic benefits which supplement the primary income of participants in tourism. There is an existing cultural norm in which Cambodians frequently engage in small entrepreneurial activities to supplement their income which are not recognised officially (Kusakabe, 2006a, 2006b). These direct benefits, while recognised by the community, are not overly emphasised, a likely result of this cultural phenomenon. This supports the realistic expectations the community hold for CBT by downplaying the value of the provision of substantial direct economic benefits.

However, in Banlung, this is not the case. The top-down approach to CBT emphasises the direct economic benefits of tourism in the community. These benefits are perceived as being received only by those participating directly in the tourism industry (Mvula, 2001). The indirect benefits of tourism are poorly controlled, as there is no means of controlling the income designed to support community development goals. Also, the focus on direct economic benefits has had a negative impact on the affordability for residents to participate in tourism in their community. This increases resentment and negatively affects awareness of tourism.

The problem of economic leakage is common in tourism in LDCs, where the income from tourism cannot be retained within the community (Lansing & De Vries, 2007). CBT in Banteay Chhmar specifically minimises this impact through the community control of tourism and the policy of purchasing all goods and services for tourism from the community to enhance the multiplier effect of all direct economic benefits. This policy is naturally facilitated by the isolation of the community. Though much is imported into the community, creating linkages by purchasing imported goods locally enhances the multiplier effect. However, the consequence of this is that there is potential for tourism to increase pressure on the community's resources, which may lead to difficulties with supporting these linkages in the future (Gossling, 2003).

The private nature of the tourism industry in Banlung and the better access Banlung has to imported resources has increased the risk of economic leakage in Banlung. As the majority of the tourism industry is managed by private owners and participants working for their own benefit, no structures are in place to support the development of economic linkages in the community. The tourism committee has no control over tourism related economic policy as is the case in Banteay Chhmar. Thus, economic leakages are inevitable in Banlung, as most

income will be lost before being able to support community development through the trickle-down effect.

Social Impacts of Tourism

Tourism is seen to provide social benefits in both Banteay Chhmar and Banlung. Social development has been facilitated in both communities by improving infrastructures and systems which improve the standard of living in the community.

In Banteay Chhmar, the source of these social benefits has been the result of funding sourced from tourism for the purpose of community development. For example, the provision of clean water and sanitation services are development projects aimed at mutually benefitting tourism and the community, which also improves the standard of living of the community. However, increased road usage by tourists has increased air pollution in the community. High road usage without control all year round also damages road infrastructure (Mvula, 2001; Schneider, 1993). The dependence on tourism to fund development projects means that larger projects cannot be adequately addressed in order to keep up with the demands of the community and tourists. The improved access to infrastructure development possessed by Banlung as a result of the role of the government in implementing CBT is advantageous (Tak-chuen, 2005).

Tourism also enhances employment opportunities, which encourages the diversification of income sources, and lessens the exodus of residents from the community to work elsewhere. These benefits are in line with accepted positive social impacts of tourism (Naipinit & Maneenetr, 2010; Schneider, 1993; Weaver & Lawton, 2002). The significance of tourism employment opportunities in Banlung is greater than that of Banteay Chhmar, as the private industry and entrepreneurial environment has led to the development of more employment opportunities. In Banteay Chhmar, the perception of tourism which includes only tourism committee sanctioned activities has stifled this entrepreneurship and thus the number of opportunities for employment. However, the development focus of CBT in Banteay Chhmar has led to better prevention of the exodus of residents, as benefits for the standard of living are more widespread. In Banlung, the exodus of residents is further complicated by poor awareness and fear of tourism in ethnic groups. Fear has led to them extracting short term financial benefits from tourism in order to finance their withdrawal from the community, usually into the forest, which has its own environmental consequences. Schneider (1993) suggests that despite the economic change which can be implemented by tourism, changing the behaviour in communities is extremely difficult, and hinders implementation of CBT. This is the case in Banlung, where understanding of CBT is limited.

Tourism has provided increased opportunities for education in both communities. This is achieved via cultural exchange through interacting with tourists and learning languages from these interactions (Suntikul, et al., 2010). In Banteay Chhmar, this is further supported by the English classes made available through the tourism committee. Also, in Banteay

Chhmar, tourism is also providing opportunities for members of the tourism committee to pursue formal qualifications in the tourism industry. It is important to consider that these opportunities for education are, for the most part, available to all members of the community, including adults, the very poor and those with little or no education. This demonstrates that it is not just the economic benefits which are equitably shared in the community.

Some negative social impacts have been identified in Banlung. Firstly, there are incidents of anti-social behaviour from domestic tourists, which has a negative effect on resident attitudes, despite the importance of domestic tourists for the establishment of tourism in these isolated communities (Lee, 2008). Residents also show fear of potential future negative social impacts of tourism, in the form of drug tourism and sex tourism. The presence of this fear constitutes an impact as strongly as if these fears were realised in the community (Ellis & Sheridan, 2009). This fear of potential impacts is also visible in Banteay Chhmar, but has been mitigated by the community's strong cohesiveness and realistic expectations of tourism. The community does not feel dependent on all tourists to support the community, allowing them to reject tourists who cause harm though their criminal activities or antisocial behaviour without this being perceived as undermining their economic expectations for tourism.

Cultural Impacts of Tourism

Cultural impacts of tourism can be linked to some social impacts. The most meaningful cultural impact perceived in Banteay Chhmar and Banlung was the opportunity for cultural exchange. This however, raises dome risks. Nevertheless, positive cultural impacts were identified, including cultural conservation.

The positive effects of cultural exchange as an opportunity for education have already been raised. However, this cultural exchange is also considered a risk for the demonstration effect, where dominant visiting cultures influence the resident culture, increasing resentment of tourists and the suppression of the resident culture (Nettekoven, 1979). Though the demonstration effect is a recognised negative impact of tourism (Weaver & Lawton, 2002), globalisation via the internet and the media has produced alternative sources of cultural influences which can lead to the adoption of dominant cultural traits (Van De Berg, 2000). Therefore, it is difficult to measure the extent of this negative impact in regards to tourism. Also, it challenges the notion of this as a negative impact of tourism, where globalisation is becoming a worldwide phenomenon and a natural evolution of culture.

The risk of the demonstration effect was identified in Banteay Chhmar, but it was not identified as a negative impact in Banlung. However, the risk of commodification of cultural practices for tourism is increased in Banlung as a result of the presence of the culturally unique ethnic minority groups. The minority groups are already under threat from the dominant Khmer culture, as their increasing participation in the Cambodian community

outside their own cultural groups is leading to the adoption of the dominant Khmer culture. With the increase of tourism and globalisation, this will also be threatened by other cultures (Bottomley, 2002; Van De Berg, 2000).

Research informants in Banteay Chhmar and Banlung identified tourism as an important tool for the preservation of culture and traditional practices. This is generally perceived to be a benefit (Mbaiwa, 2004). In Banlung, the importance of the preservation of cultural practices and traditions is more important than in Banteay Chhmar, because of the presence of unique cultural aspects. The economic value linked to the preservation of these cultural assets increases the value of the community. This helps to empower the community, where usually the vulnerability of LDC communities disempowers communities in their interactions with external stakeholders in tourism (Mbaiwa, 2011b; Ruiz-Ballesteros & Hernandez-Ramirez, 2010).

However, it must be considered that the preservation of traditional cultures can stifle development goals, or threaten the overall sustainability of tourism dependent on cultural assets. Commodification also becomes an issue as the response to this situation is to commodify cultural practice as a tourist product, which serves to undermine the cultural value of the practice. Ruiz-Ballesteros and Hernandez-Ramirez (2010) note that where the community is in control of tourism, the risks of this are minimised, as the community decides the extent of their commitment of cultural practices to tourism. Again, participation is demonstrated to have a key role in minimising harm from tourism.

Environmental Impacts of Tourism

The environmental benefits of tourism in Banteay Chhmar are also social benefits, as the environmental goals increase the standard of living for the community. The negative environmental impacts of tourism in Banteay Chhmar due to the increased pollution are caused by increased road usage and also have social links.

The environment represents a large part of the culture in Banlung. Thus, the value and pride ascribed for cultural assets, is the same for environmental assets. The conservation of the environment protects the natural resources central to the culture of the community as well as the sustainability of tourism. This has also led to some reforestation activities, as natural assets are being recognised for their value for tourism. However, the poverty experienced by the community means that there is still extensive land clearing and the sale of land for cash crops, (Binns & Nel, 2002; Gossling, Schumacher, Morelle, Berger, & Heck, 2004). The poor understanding of the potential for CBT to contribute to poverty alleviation reinforces this behaviour by failing to provide an alternative to this practice.

The benefits of CBT for environmental and cultural conservation have positive impacts on the sustainability of the tourism product, as well as being beneficial for the community. Where the community utilises environmental and cultural assets for tourism, the conservation of these assets protects the resources of the community as well as protecting

the tourism product (Mvula, 2001) and enhance community pride (Mbaiwa, 2011a; Zhou & Liu, 2008).

The impacts of tourism as perceived by both communities, for the most part, support existing literature in relation to positive social, cultural, economic and environmental impacts. Few negative impacts of tourism were perceived. The severity of negative impacts is currently perceived to be low, however, the role of fear must be considered in the Cambodian cultural context. Despite the perception of few negative impacts, the fear associated with potential worsening of these impacts or the potential of other negative impacts emerging constitute negative impacts (Ellis & Sheridan, 2009). In Banlung, this fear of perceived impacts, exacerbated by poor understanding and communication of CBT, has negatively affected support of CBT among some of the ethnic community groups. This emphasises the need for good initial education and awareness building of CBT in the community.

The role of the perception of impacts of tourism has a meaningful influence on the perception of tourism, as individuals use the agglomeration of their personal positive and negative experiences and understanding of tourism to inform their overall attitudes towards tourism (Suntikul, et al., 2010). This was identified in the preliminary study under the context of social exchange theory. In LDCs, it is important to recognise that the poverty of the community and their economic dependence on tourism for poverty alleviation will influence perceptions of impacts of tourism to favour positive impacts. Therefore, it is important to create awareness in the community of potential positive and negative impacts of tourism which can be expected during the implementation of CBT to balance these perceptions. From an evaluation perspective, the emphasis placed on benefits in the LDC context must be recognised, so negative impacts can be addressed appropriately before becoming too great.

Table 5.3 provides a summary of perceived impacts identified in each community.

Banteay Chhmar	Banlung
Economic Impacts	
Linkages to local suppliers **Improved supplementary income** **Additional semi employment**	Opportunities for earning Sites too expensive for residents
Social Impacts	
Improved educational opportunities **Less exodus of residents** **Sanitation services**	Improved infrastructure in community and at sites *Antisocial tourist behaviour (criminal behaviour, lack of respect)* *Fear of crime, sex and drug tourism* *Exodus of ethnic community members*
Cultural Impacts	
Preservation of culture and traditions **Cultural exchange** ***Demonstration effect***	Cultural exchange Educational experiences from cultural exchange Preserve ethnic culture and crafts Increased perceived value of community
Environmental Impacts	
Clean water (social benefit where for domestic use) **Preservation of temple and environs** **Cleaner environment** **Increased perceived value of environment** ***Increased traffic and higher dust levels*** ***Fear of increased wear to temple***	Increased perceived value of environment Conservation of environment *Increased pressure on environment*

Table 5.3 Summary of perceived impacts from tourism (italics represent negative impacts)

Perception of Tourism

Tourism in Banteay Chhmar is perceived overall to be positive. This is derived from the community identifying more positive impacts of tourism over negative impacts. This is in line with social exchange theory proposed by Ap (1992) where residents evaluate their perceptions of tourism based on the balance of their own understanding and experiences of tourism (Getz, 2008; Wang, 2010). This is overemphasised by the perceived powerlessness of the community in its interactions with tourists and external stakeholders. In accordance with Blau's economic dependency theory (1964), perceptions are skewed positively as where residents are overly dependent on economic benefits, which increases their tolerance for tourism.

Perception of tourism in Banlung, as for Banteay Chhmar, is positive, indicating the dominance of positive impacts of tourists and tourism. It also indicates the support of

tourism in the community. Tourism has potential for the community via the provision of economic benefits.

The dependence on the income derived from tourism has meant that both communities are unconcerned by the potential numbers of tourists who can enter the community, as the perception is that the number of tourists correlates positively with economic benefits. However, dependence on tourism can lead to increased inequality between residents and tourists (Scheyvens & Momsen, 2008), which can lead to resentment of tourists and an increase in the incidence of the demonstration effect. The expectation of continued growth in visitor numbers to provide further economic benefits also contradicts the targeting of niche markets for CBT which has many advantages over traditional tourism markets. However, if continued growth is expected, a change to a traditional mass tourism market is the only way of guaranteeing higher visitor numbers. This contradicts CBT goals, and leads to its failure. But, the dependence on unlimited economic growth from tourism creates unrealistic expectations of CBT and will lead to disillusionment of residents. A balance must be created.

Tourism in Banteay Chhmar is recognised as including only the activities controlled by the tourism committee. This encourages participation because those who wish to be a part of tourism must in the tourism committee. Tourism is perceived to be the only source of funding which enables the pursuit of community goals. This requires a single controlling entity to direct development. However, the role of community in prioritising development projects and improving awareness is still important. The negative consequence of this strict control of tourism is the failure to recognise the economic benefits derived from unofficial and supporting activities of tourism. It also discourages entrepreneurship, which can stifle creativity and adaptability of tourism activities (Mbaiwa, 2004; Yu, 2011).

Tourism in Banlung, without a functional tourism committee, is perceived to be a private industry in which anyone can participate. Therefore, the industry in Banlung is seen to include the services which support tourism. This encourages entrepreneurship, increasing the opportunities for anyone in the community to participate in CBT for direct benefit, which, in turn, supports development goals by enhancing the flow of the trickle-down effect. However, benefits from CBT are perceived as being personal benefits only. This focus on direct benefits only serves to highlight the dysfunction of the tourism committee in Banlung and the lack of awareness of CBT within the community (Mbaiwa, 2004; Okazaki, 2008; Rogerson, 2007).

Tourism in Banteay Chhmar is perceived to favour the residents of the community with more financial and physical resources. This is normal in LDCs, where community representatives tend to favour community elites (Buccus, et al., 2008). In Banteay Chhmar, the use of resources in the provision of the majority of tourism activities does lead to the exclusion of those without these resources. This leads to the direct economic benefits being distributed primarily to those with more financial resources, missing the key targets of

poverty alleviation, increasing the financial distribution gap in the community and supporting internal power imbalances (Mason & Beard, 2008). However, in an attempt to minimise this bias, this is not the case in regards to policy controlling participation in the tourism committee and other tourism activities.

In contrast, Banlung's perception of tourism as a private industry encourages entrepreneurial activities. However, as in the case of Banteay Chhmar, establishment of effective tourism businesses are still dependent on the possession and access to resources. But, without the rigid structures of the tourism committee to control tourism activities, it is perceived to favour the richer members of the community and local elites.

The purpose of CBT in Banteay Chhmar is to support development goals. This has arisen from the isolation of the community and the lack of resources the government possesses, requiring the community to be self-sufficient. The sense of isolation and need for self-sufficiency is noteworthy because it contrasts with what is accepted in the literature in terms of the power imbalances experienced by LDC communities which is typically disempowering (Mason & Beard, 2008). Also, the long term effects of war and chronic poverty encourage passive responses to poverty situations which hinders collective action to affect change (Lever, et al., 2005; Ogwo, 2010). This suggests that the literature supports the expectation that isolated and impoverished communities that have experienced conflict are disempowered and these power imbalances will critically affect CBT implementation. This is evident in Banlung, where despite the increased entrepreneurial opportunities for tourism, dependence on external aid (from NGOs and the government) is more pronounced as residents cannot be motivated to help themselves. However, Banteay Chhmar demonstrates that this is not necessarily the case, as the community has become more self-sufficient despite their experiences of neglect and isolation. Therefore, individual community experiences of conflict and poverty will impact on the facilitation of CBT.

Awareness of tourism is essential to the successful implementation of CBT, as it encourages understanding, tolerance and acceptance. Understanding of the purpose of tourism also encourages participation, which in turn increases awareness of other aspects of CBT (Muhanna, 2007; Ying & Zhou, 2007). It may be assumed that a community with a collaborative nature is likely to cooperate in regards to the implementation of CBT also (Yu, 2011). George (2008) challenges this assumption. Decision making in regards to participation must be made based on education to elicit support from the community (Hawkins, 2004). Also, it encourages the formation of realistic expectations of CBT via complete understanding. Where expectations are seen to be met, support and participation in tourism will increase. Where understanding of CBT is strong in Banteay Chhmar, Banlung shows poor levels of awareness of CBT and the impacts associated with it. Therefore, the informed perceptions of tourism held by residents of Banteay Chhmar will promote the success of CBT more so than the community of Banlung.

The way these communities have perceived tourism is a strong indicator of the level of understanding of CBT, which is critical for engendering tolerance, acceptance and support from all sectors of the community. In the case of Banteay Chhmar, the perception that tourism only encompasses the official activities of the tourism committee controlling CBT demonstrates the depth of awareness and understanding in the community. This has helped the establishment of realistic expectations of CBT and reinforced its development goals. However, the risk is the stifling of entrepreneurship and the reduction of the potential development of the tourism product via regional collaborations. In Banlung, the focus is on the economic benefits of tourism and the perception that tourism in the community refers to the private industry which provides tourism goods and services. Though this promotes the longevity of tourism in the community, it fails to adequately consider CBT goals. Therefore, a balance must be reached to retain community control of CBT that does not undermine the potential growth opportunities necessary to sustain the industry (Sheppard, Moehrenschlager, McPherson, & Mason, 2010).

Table 5.4 provides an overview of the perception of tourism in Banteay Chhmar and Banlung.

Banteay Chhmar	**Banlung**
Perception of Tourism	
Overall positive perception of tourism	Overall positive perception of tourism
Activities are those undertaken by the tourism committee only	Tourism is a private industry
Tourism is the primary source of development funding	Tourism provides personal, direct economic benefits
Tourism favours particular subsets of the community able to participate in the tourism committee	Tourism is an open source of entrepreneurial opportunity
Widespread awareness of tourism	Poor awareness of tourism
Tourism is a positive response to isolation and neglect	

Table 5.4 Summary of perceptions of tourism in Banteay Chhmar and Banlung

Perception of Self

The communities of Banteay Chhmar and Banlung demonstrate similar perceptions of themselves as individuals. The residents of the community perceive themselves as powerless, and disadvantaged due to their poverty, isolation and lack of education. The issue of isolation is emphasised differently in each community. In Banteay Chhmar, isolation is linked to the harshness of the climate and the physical environment on which they depend for survival. In Banlung, the perception of isolation informs the perception that the people of Banlung are vulnerable due to the inability for authorities to effectively police the region.

The experience of the war in each community has had significant effect. In Banteay Chhmar, the perception of residents is that the region suffered the war for much longer than the rest of the country, as conflict persisted in the area for years after the official termination of the war. This is a point of difference in comparison to the community in Banlung, but the contribution of isolation towards slowing recovery and increased crime has left both communities negatively affected by the war. It is estimated that up to fifty per cent of Cambodians show some symptoms of long term Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). The consequences of this is manifested in psychological symptoms which include failure to adapt to new situations (Marshall, Schell, Elliott, Berthold, & Chun, 2005; Ogwo, 2010) and the perpetuation of learned behaviours developed during conflict which impedes the ability to plan long term. In times of conflict, where an individual expects to die in the short term, no long term planning is required for their immediate survival. This short term thinking becomes a learned behaviour that is perpetuated after the conflict, and includes a feeling of hopelessness to affect change in their lives (Dickson-Gomez, 2003). Thus, these experiences have disempowered both communities and their ability to control their own futures. Furthermore, the redistribution of resources made by governments in war time also leads to the failure to support other important services, compromising health and education which can have significant long term effects on communities that have the potential to influence the implementation of CBT.

Eguren (2008) advocates that it is necessary to move past the traumas experienced in war to overcome these challenges to support the successful implementation of tourism. Though this does contribute to the understanding of some culturally significant challenges of the implementation of CBT in countries which have experienced conflict, addressing these challenges in practice is extremely complicated and resource consumptive.

Poverty also has an important role in the perception of self. Research suggests that people experiencing chronic poverty in conjunction with experiencing conflict, suffer more from long term PTSD as recovery is hindered by the stress of experiencing prolonged economic vulnerability (Galea, et al., 2010). On its own, chronic poverty can be considered a stress disorder, usually stimulating a passive or emotional response, both of which prevent the rational planning or entrepreneurship required to escape from poverty (Mollica et al., 1993). These responses trigger feelings of inadequacy and helplessness which disempowers the individual enough for them to believe themselves incapable of affecting change of their personal circumstances. Experiences of chronic poverty also contribute to a dependence on third parties (such as NGOs) to 'fix' the situation (Lever, et al., 2005).

The outcomes of these influences on the way people in Banteay Chhmar and Banlung perceive themselves are very different. In Banteay Chhmar, the effects of trauma and poverty, along with the isolation and neglect that they perceive, has led to the residents being hampered by an inability to escape their situation, but has also encouraged a need to be self-sufficient. This is the successful achievement of independence of the tourism

committee. This is further supported by Harris (2009), whose study of Mexico demonstrated that isolation of a community had a positive outcome for self-dependence and community cohesion. Galea (2010) identifies the importance of community cohesion in minimising PTSD (resulting from the civil war) through the presence of a strong community support network, which would be the case in the Mexico study, and Banteay Chhmar. Isolation also served to enhance the quality of the tourism product in Mexico through preserving the site for tourism, and encouraged the uptake of modern technological methods in educational and tourism marketing roles. In this way, isolation can prove beneficial for tourism and the community, despite the tendency for isolated communities to experience more negative impacts as a result of war. However, this is dependent on the strength of the community to support residents to minimise impacts of long term PTSD and poverty.

In Banteay Chhmar, the community support network can also be tied to the centrality of the temple in the community. This influences the perception of 'poverty' where individuals look instead for 'sufficiency' which is in line with the Buddhist teachings of the temple (old and new). This helps with individuals setting realistic goals (Prayukvong, 2005).

In Banlung, residents perceive that they must fight to survive in their community, and do so through seeking opportunities to escape the poverty of their situation. This is done at the individual, not community level (Xu, Perkins, & Chow, 2010), which alludes to a lack of community collaboration, which would also suggest that the psychological effects of long term PTSD and chronic poverty would be manifested more strongly in Banlung compared to Banteay Chhmar through the lack of a support network perpetuated by ethnic diversity in the community. The desire to escape one's individual situation has the effect of encouraging entrepreneurship in Banlung, which overrides the more passive responses to the stresses caused by experiences of war and poverty.

The perception of self in Banteay Chhmar and Banlung show many common elements. The poor perception of self serves to disempower individuals in the community. This increases their vulnerability to external influences more so than as a collective community unit. The influences of the physical environment, isolation, poverty, and the experiences of the civil war are the common factors which have contributed to the poor perception of self in the community. Therefore, this cultural context must be considered in the implementation processes of CBT, and can be considered a common challenge for all communities in Cambodia. Other communities internationally with a similar history and context may demonstrate some of these characteristics which would need to be taken into consideration in planning the implementation of CBT in LDCs.

Table 5.5 shows the perceptions of self prevalent in each community.

Banteay Chhmar	Banlung
Perception of Self	
Isolation (related to physical environment)	Isolation (related to lack of authority and vulnerability)
Prolonged experience of civil war	Persistent threat of criminal activities, and poor safety and security
Poverty (leading to self-sufficiency)	Poverty (leading to dependence on external aid)
Strong community support network and community focus	Weak support networks and focus on self preservation

Table 5.5 Summary of perception of self in Banteay Chhmar and Banlung

Perception of Community

The way residents perceive the community is very different between Banteay Chhmar and Banlung. Banteay Chhmar is overall, a proud, cohesive and collaborative community. Banlung's experience of cultural conflict based on the ethnic diversity of the community has undermined the supportive structure of the community which is necessary for the successful implementation of CBT.

The perception of the community of Banteay Chhmar shows that as a collective unit, Banteay Chhmar has a lot of pride for its history and for the achievement of surviving in the community. Pride has a positive effect on poverty alleviation (Ostwald, 2009). The community is also collaborative. This may be linked to the agricultural culture of Cambodia, where individual farms are worked collectively as part of a labour exchange, which also allows non-landholders to participate in farming in exchange for food. George (2007) suggests that such collaboration may not be readily transferable to other activities, including tourism. However, the empowerment derived from collaborative behaviour must contribute to the community's cooperativeness which benefits the implementation of CBT (Mason & Beard, 2008).

Communication in Banteay Chhmar is very open. The constant communication between residents on all subjects serves to increase awareness of any given subject in the community. The presence of open communication pathways builds awareness of tourism (Aas, Ladkin, & Fletcher, 2005), and through this nature of 'gossip', residents inadvertently participate in CBT (Binns & Nel, 2002). The community of Banteay Chhmar perceives that there is little internal conflict, which unites them, and increases participation in the implementation of CBT. Where there is less internal conflict, tolerance of tourism increases, which encourages the acceptance of tourism even by non-participants (Shunnaq, et al., 2008).

In contrast, the community of Banlung perceives itself to be internally divided, as ethnic minorities separate themselves from the wider Khmer community. Such internal conflict decreases participation and damages communication pathways critical for the development of awareness of CBT (Ostwald, 2009). As noted by Harris (2009), the negative implications of isolation in a community are exacerbated by large and ethnically diverse communities.

The lack of communication in Banlung means that awareness of CBT, particularly amongst the ethnic minorities, is very poor. This is further complicated by the use of more than one language in many sectors of the community. Without such awareness, there is no understanding of CBT, which discourages support and tolerance for CBT in the community (Binns & Nel, 2002). A lack of understanding of CBT also fails to allow accurate decision making to be undertaken by individuals regarding tourism, which can lead to poor goal setting and loss of support for tourism (Yu, 2011).

A lack of community cohesion not only creates internal conflict in the community, but also causes power imbalances within the community. This internal powerlessness disempowers the community in its external relationships. It also leads to the development of goals which fail to target the community as a whole, instead, targeting individual units (Bottomley, 2002). This creates dissonance, and individual community units will be led to develop their own goals which are not necessarily in line with CBT.

The community of Banteay Chhmar strongly value safety and security. Though the persistence of the war in the community has undermined this image externally, internally, the safety and security of the community is highly valued. This suggests that there is trust in the community.

The perceived safety and security of the community in Banlung is in sharp contrast to Banteay Chhmar. Though safety and security are valued, the presence of internal conflict eliminates internal trust. The powerlessness of the community perceived by residents also undermines trust in external parties, which leads to fear. Despite the contrasts in the perception of the Banteay Chhmar and Banlung communities regarding internal conflict, power imbalances are present in both cases. Power imbalances still exist in the community in relation to external stakeholders. Though the role of participation and community cohesion helps to eliminate power imbalances, it is impossible to do so entirely, particularly in the LDC context where communities and the country as a whole are more vulnerable (Aas, et al., 2005; Okazaki, 2008). The lack of education, power and feelings of inequity have led the community of Banteay Chhmar, despite the evidence of their ability to hold their own in external relationships, to fear takeover by other authorities, such as *APSARA*, an organisation which has demonstrated that they possess the resources and skills to operate tourism. In the case of Hainan, China, Yu (2011) uncovered similar evidence to support that poor education and power imbalances between the community and the external stakeholders led to exploitation by external property developers which mirrors the perceived fear of takeover by *APSARA* visible in Banteay Chhmar. The persistence of these

power imbalances will continue to support this fear despite efforts to improve education and awareness. Like Banteay Chhmar, Banlung is vulnerable to takeover because of the power imbalances which affect external relationships. This power imbalance is based on the lack of education and resources of the community in comparison to external stakeholders, and is further exacerbated by the lack of a collaborative and unified community (Mvula, 2001; Yu, 2011).

The perceptions of community in Banteay Chhmar and Banlung show substantial differences. The proud, unified community of Banteay Chhmar empowers the community as a whole which reduces the power imbalances with external stakeholder groups. In Banlung, the ethnic divisions discourage community unity, which disempowers the community and also negatively affects the success of CBT.

Cohesion within the community encourages open communication and collaboration. This is important for developing awareness and understanding of CBT, and provides a good foundation for the support of and participation in CBT. Therefore, this is where Banteay Chhmar has been successful in their independent community control of CBT, unlike Banlung, which has been troubled by internal conflict.

Despite these different perceptions of community, the community unity possessed by Banteay Chhmar does not substantially empower the community to eliminate power imbalances with external stakeholders who are perceived to have better skills and resources. Both communities fear takeover by *APSARA*.

Therefore, community cohesion is a key factor which will affect the implementation of CBT. Such a cohesive community will possess open channels of communication, trust and a collaborative nature which will support CBT. A tradition of collaboration in the community will not necessarily predicate cooperation in regard to the implementation of CBT, but utilisation of the same networks can help minimise the challenges that will arise.

Table 5.6 provides a summary of the perception of community in Banteay Chhmar and Banlung.

Banteay Chhmar	**Banlung**
Perception of Community	
Pride in culture heritage and survival	Ethnically divided, harming community cohesion and communication
Collaborative, cohesive community	Internal and external power imbalances (including vulnerability to takeover)
Trust in the community	Lack of trust in the community
Open communication in the community	
External power imbalances (including vulnerability to takeover)	

Table 5.6 Summary of perception of community in Banteay Chhmar and Banlung

Perception of Committees

The perception of the tourism committees in the case of Banteay Chhmar and Banlung are difficult to contrast due to the presence of a functional tourism committee only in Banteay Chhmar. However, the lack of a functional tourism committee in Banlung has led to the emergence of a more meaningful role of the community committees in CBT, which represent individual units (usually ethnic groups) in the community. For the purposes of this discussion, tourism committees, and the community committees in Banlung will be considered.

The perception of the tourism committee in Banteay Chhmar is that it is a transparent organisation working for the benefit of the whole community via CBT. This is important as it encourages the community to trust the committee, where the political and economic environments of LDCs are typically threatened by corruption (Widner & Mundt, 1998).

The tourism committee is comprised of volunteers elected from the community. The voluntary nature of these positions demonstrates the focus of CBT on development goals over direct economic benefits. The risk associated with volunteers is that it can favour elites in the community, as it is these people who have the time and resources to participate. This notion is discounted by Xu (2010), who suggest that voluntary participants in tourism committees are likely to be those who most need the benefits of tourism, which, in the case of Banteay Chhmar, would represent the poorer sections of the community. The process of electing tourism committee members is intended to minimise the risk of the tourism committee misrepresenting the community through the potential for high rates of participation by elites (Ying & Zhou, 2007).

The incidence of volunteering for CBT in LDC communities is unusual because of sacrifices which must be made by the volunteers where they are typically very poor. However, Prayukvong (2005) suggests that the act of volunteering in support of the community compensates the volunteer with a positive emotional response.

The tourism committee in Banlung is dysfunctional. The members of the committee are also volunteers, but do not have the same commitment to CBT, and instead pursue personal goals over participating in tourism committee activities. The result of this is a lack of trust, respect and community control of tourism, which present major challenges for the implementation of CBT in Banlung.

Also, the public view of the volunteers for CBT in Banteay Chhmar serves to enhance community cohesion through this demonstration of commitment to the community (Rogerson, 2007; Saxena, 2006). This is developed further by Huang and Hsu (2011), who note that volunteers and community organisations are a key factor in the development of social networks which creates cohesive communities, and promotes improved quality of life for residents. The committee also supports the community through pursuit of activities to

support community cohesion that are not necessarily tourism related. Further, the activities of the committee to develop the tourism product also produce community benefits.

The tourism committee in Banteay Chhmar is also perceived to be equitable. Any member of the community is eligible to stand for election. CBT, controlled by the committee, also provides opportunities for many to participate in CBT. It has already been discussed that participation in CBT in Banteay Chhmar is perceived to be restricted to those with the resources to provide specific tourism services. However, the structure of the official support activities of CBT in the community actually presents opportunities for those with few skills or resources to participate in CBT. This supports poverty alleviation via CBT and encourages sustainability of tourism in the community (Sheppard, et al., 2010). The education and awareness of CBT in Banteay Chhmar is facilitated by the tourism committee. The committee utilises the existing communication pathways to increase understanding and awareness of tourism and to encourage participation (Ying & Zhou, 2007).

The committee is perceived to hold a position of respect and authority in the community of Banteay Chhmar. This role crosses from tourism into non tourism agendas as a result of the community development goals they pursue. The power of this respect and authority helps to minimise power imbalances where the tourism committee interacts with external stakeholders which promotes success in accessing aid and marketing the tourism product (Shunnaq, et al., 2008). There is a risk though, that the respect of the tourism committee held by the community can cause internal power imbalances, which must be addressed (Saarinen, 2006). However, this respect also encourages the community to trust the committee to control tourism for everyone's benefit (Getz, 2008).

The tourism committee in Banlung is powerless. The role of the government in the initiation of CBT in Banlung, and the failure of the tourism committee to independently develop and maintain CBT in Banlung has led to a strong fear of the government. This makes the tourism committee totally powerless when dealing with the key external stakeholder to CBT (Saarinen, 2006). The role of the Banlung tourism committee has deviated from the model advocated by CBT, where the activities of the committee constitute the policing of tourism activities in the community. This discourages cooperation with the tourism committee, but does serve to protect the primary goals of CBT in Banlung, which is the conservation of the environment.

With the inefficiency of the tourism committee in Banlung, the community committees which represent the different ethnic groups in Banlung assume some of the responsibilities in relation to CBT. These include the maintenance of tourism assets and the control of income. The community committees in this case are vulnerable to the same challenges of the tourism committee, particularly in regards to the risk of dominance of elites. The hierarchical structure of these small community groups, as a subset of the community means that control of the community committee is extremely vulnerable to exploitation, as no steps, such as election, are necessarily taken to minimise this risk (Ying & Zhou, 2007).

Tourism in the community is used as a form of welfare support for members of the individual community groups in Banlung. There is no central control of these funds, or over the process in which these funds are allocated. This, therefore, has the potential to be exploited or abused, and without transparency in their operations, is unenforceable (Widner & Mundt, 1998). Nevertheless, the use of economic benefits from tourism as a form of welfare support does contribute to development goals by improving the standard of living of residents, even if the effect is temporary. This would also build trust within the group and the community committee.

However, the presence of community committees and the strength of the unity within these divided groups reinforce internal conflict in Banlung. It reduces communication pathways, decreasing participation and awareness, and discourages collaborative community behaviour. This will negatively affect the implementation of CBT, and will also affect the quality of the tourist product and prevent the equitable distribution of benefits, which equates to failure of CBT goals.

The striking contrast between Banteay Chhmar and Banlung is the lack of a functional tourism committee in Banlung, compared to the elected committee of volunteers in Banteay Chhmar. The tourism committee in Banteay Chhmar has the respect of the community which they have earned through the transparency and efficiency of their actions, and the clear demonstrated commitment to the community. Despite the lack of a functional tourism committee in Banlung, the existence of community committees still fail to support CBT as the community committees are at risk of being controlled by elites, and lack clear goals for CBT which prevent the community committees from effectively controlling tourism and utilising it for community development.

This discussion fails to identify the true importance of the role of the tourism committee, as it could be argued that the strength of the Banteay Chhmar tourism committee is correlated to the success of CBT in Banteay Chhmar. However, the high perceived value of the committee in Banteay Chhmar reinforces the need for visible community control of CBT in the establishment of development goals for both the community and the tourism product. The success of the tourism committee in Banteay Chhmar also highlights the importance of transparency to overcome the inherent risk of corruption in LDCs, which also helps develop trust and respect. Also, the tourism committee in Banteay Chhmar, through its development activities, supports the community as a whole, not just in tourism activities, which encourages community wide tolerance and support of tourism also. These strengths support the obstacles for CBT identified by Manyara and Jones (2007).

The efforts of the community committees in Banlung should not be overlooked in the way that tourism income is used as a form of emergency social welfare, but the lack of a single, controlling tourism committee has undermined the development and achievement of CBT goals. This lack of cohesion reinforces internal conflict, reducing trust, communication and support.

Table 5.7 provides an overview of the perception of tourism committees (and community committees in the case of Banlung) of Banteay Chhmar and Banlung.

Banteay Chhmar	Banlung
Perception of Tourism Committees	
Committee operates with transparency and equity	Committee non-functional, has policing role only
Committee engenders trust	Volunteers do not demonstrate community commitment
Volunteers represent commitment to community through sacrifice	Committee is powerless
Committee commands respect and authority (including outside tourism activities)	Transfer of role to community committees: provision of short term community support, enhances ethic division
Members are elected from residents	Community committees not necessarily elected or transparent

Table 5.7 Summary of Perception of committee in Banteay Chhmar and Banlung

Theoretical Discussion

The unique setting of this research helps to support existing theory in exploring its relevance to the context of isolated Cambodian communities attempting to utilise tourism for development via CBT as a model for sustainable tourism. The table below (Table 5.8) provides an overview of the findings presented prior to discussion of the theoretical implications of these findings.

Banteay Chhmar	Banlung
CAPACITY	
CBT Goals	
Development of physical and human resources	None specifically identified
Provision of direct and indirect community benefit	Direct economic benefits from tourism support trickle-down effect for development
Conservation of heritage and cultural pride	Conservation of environmental and cultural assets for tourism
Improvement of local environment	
Development of quality tourism product	
Development of community pride and collaboration	
Understanding of tourism	
Literal understanding of CBT focussing on community control	Understanding based on sustainable tourism principles – environmental priority
Bottom up approach to implementation	Top down approach to implementation
CBT implemented by NGO	CBT implemented by national government
Strong development focus	Focus on trickle-down effect of direct economic benefits
Importance of participation and education regarding CBT	Poor participation linked to size and diversity of community
IMPACTS	
Economic Impacts	
Linkages to local suppliers **Improved supplementary income** **Additional semi employment**	Opportunities for earning Sites too expensive for residents
Social Impacts	
Improved educational opportunities **Less exodus of residents** **Sanitation services**	Improved infrastructure in community and at sites *Antisocial tourist behaviour (criminal behaviour, lack of respect)* *Fear of crime, sex and drug tourism* *Exodus of ethnic community members*
Cultural Impacts	
Preservation of culture and traditions **Cultural exchange** ***Demonstration effect***	Cultural exchange Educational experiences from cultural exchange Preserve ethnic culture and crafts Increased perceived value of community

Banteay Chhmar	Banlung
Environmental Impacts	
Clean water (social benefit where for domestic use) **Preservation of temple and environs** **Cleaner environment** **Increased perceived value of environment** ***Increased traffic and higher dust levels*** ***Fear of increased wear to temple***	Increased perceived value of environment Conservation of environment *Increased pressure on environment* *Note: Italics represent negative impacts*
Banteay Chhmar	Banlung
PERCEPTION	
Perception of Tourism	
Overall positive perception of tourism	Overall positive perception of tourism
Activities are those undertaken by the tourism committee only	Tourism is a private industry
Tourism is the primary source of development funding	Tourism provides personal, direct economic benefits
Tourism favours particular subsets of the community able to participate in the tourism committee	Tourism is an open source of entrepreneurial opportunity
Widespread awareness of tourism	Poor awareness of tourism
Tourism is a positive response to isolation and neglect	
Perception of Community	
Pride in culture heritage and survival	Ethnically divided, harming community cohesion and communication
Collaborative, cohesive community	Internal and external power imbalances (including vulnerability to takeover)
Trust in the community	Lack of trust in the community
Open communication in the community	
External power imbalances (including vulnerability to takeover)	
Perception of Tourism Committees	
Committee operates with transparency and equity	Committee non-functional, has policing role only
Committee engenders trust	Volunteers do not demonstrate community commitment
Volunteers represent commitment to community through sacrifice	Committee is powerless
Committee commands respect and authority (including outside tourism activities)	Transfer of role to community committees: provision of short term community support, enhances ethic division
Members are elected from residents	Community committees not necessarily elected or transparent

Table 5.8 Summary of the findings

By summarising the key findings of this research as presented in Table 5.8, three key emergent themes become apparent – capacity, perceived impacts of tourism and the role of perception. These themes form the theoretical outcomes for this research, which will now be discussed.

Capacity

The role of community in the successful implementation of CBT is recognised via the importance of encouraging participation in the implementation process and in the ongoing operations of CBT. However, the literature fails to identify techniques to facilitate community participation, or provide any insight into the mechanisms which encourage or discourage participation in CBT. This research reaffirms this, and further explores the actual levels required for efficacy. This theme explores the capacities of communities in regards to implementing CBT. The understanding of tourism and the clarity of CBT goals identifies the motivations and goals to which communities aspire. The social capital and functional capacity of the community is key to predicting levels of community participation, including commitment to CBT, continued participation and support for tourism and development goals.

Social Capital

Social capital, in this context, is used to describe the power of an individual or group to influence interactions with other individuals or groups. It is particularly relevant in this context as this power will determine the quality of internal interactions, as well as the ability of the community to participate in tourism as a global industry, in relation to tourists, industry and other external stakeholders.

The effect of internal and external power imbalances relates to the issue of social capital. The disadvantage experienced by people in an LDC community and their perceived lack of resources and experience would indicate a perceived powerlessness in their interactions with other groups. This powerlessness disadvantages the community in all its external interactions (Widner & Mundt, 1998). The level of power (or lack thereof) represents the social capital possessed by an individual group.

It is important to note the role of community and the support network it can provide in terms of perceived social capital. A strong community network enhances collective social capital, even where an individual's social capital is perceived as low (Eguren, 2008; Galea, et al., 2010; Widner & Mundt, 1998). A stronger collective social capital has the potential to identify local resources and capacities for supporting CBT which would otherwise be ignored (Reid & Schwab, 2006).

In the case of Banteay Chhmar, the social capital of the individual is not as resilient as the social capital of the community as a whole. This shows the capacity for social capital to be reinforced through the support provided by a strong community network. This is supported

by the case of Banlung, where social capital at the community level was found to be not as strong. In Banlung, the groups within the community provide residents with a network, but this does not effectively contribute to stronger social capital of the whole community.

The implication of this lack of social capital is that it highlights the perception of a lack of skills and resources of individuals, and the collective community. This presents a weakness which can be intentionally or unintentionally exploited by external groups. Positively, it can also aid in identifying the lack of particular resources and skills which can be targeted by development programs to successfully increase perceived social capital.

Sustainable Tourism Development

The situations and contexts explored here show different outcomes for the practical implementation of sustainable tourism. Both communities utilise CBT as the practical approach for implementing sustainable tourism for development. However, the outcomes are very different.

The community in Banlung has interpreted sustainable tourism with a strong focus on the environmental conservation components of sustainable tourism development. This focus is related to the utilisation of environmental assets for tourism development also supported by cultural assets. The broad goals of sustainable tourism development are being met to some extent in regards to environmental conservation goals. The community is also receiving direct economic benefits in relation to tourism, some of which supports community activities. Tourism is also helping to preserve cultural traditions, arts and crafts. However, tourism in Banlung predominantly relies on the trickle-down effect to stimulate development based on the income from tourism.

In Banteay Chhmar, the strong role of the tourism committee helps to control tourism in the community. It also controls expenditure funded by tourism to ensure that the community as a whole benefits from tourism via development. Thus, there is a concerted plan and effort to target sustainable tourism development goals in Banteay Chhmar.

It is interesting to note that these two different approaches both technically meet the goals of sustainable tourism development, though the utilisation of CBT differs greatly. This highlights how easy it is for sustainable tourism development to be interpreted in different ways. These very different approaches are on paper complying with the ideal outcomes of sustainable tourism development despite the contrasting outcomes.

It is necessary to examine these scenarios in regards to the implementation of CBT. In Banlung, the lack of goals and direction for CBT makes it extremely difficult to evaluate CBT beyond the general goals of sustainable tourism. It is evident however, that support for tourism, potential for long term sustainable tourism and widespread community benefit is not as widely recognised in Banlung as it is in Banteay Chhmar. The lack of goals itself is indicative of a lack of commitment, and therefore ownership and control of tourism is

limited, which does not support the successful implementation of CBT by the community. The case of Banteay Chhmar, based upon the same CBT premise, shows very different findings to Banlung, where clear goals and community ownership of tourism contribute to the success of CBT and the fulfilment of sustainable tourism development goals.

There is a concern regarding the base premise of sustainable tourism for development where tourism is being used as a tool in LDCs. The role of sustainability and development coexisting under the current definition is in constant conflict. Sustainable tourism development seeks to utilise existing tourism assets, either environmental or cultural, to generate income for the achievement of development goals. It is also necessary for to protect the community from adverse impacts. However, conservation goals and the dependence of tourism on existing assets mean that the achievement of development goals will restrict sustainability goals, and vice versa. There must be a balance reached where CBT must consider the actual needs of the community it seeks to help in order to better inform development goals. This would require a more holistic approach to the understanding of CBT, and a less neo-colonial approach to development in LDCs, where assumptions are made as to what is considered appropriate development for a community (Ostwald, 2009). The community must be the most knowledgeable about their own needs. Evidence in the literature from cases in Thailand and Laos indicate that the cultural context of particular communities with regard to religious and community beliefs can affect the perceptions of a LDC community so far as to challenge basic assumptions of 'poverty' (Prayukvong, 2005; Suntikul, et al., 2010). Not acknowledging an issue as important as this would lead to the establishment of inappropriate goals which would not serve community needs. This would lead to the loss of community support and the failure of CBT.

The Function of Community

The research shows that the role community plays in successful implementation of CBT is critical. The key factors in the success in Banteay Chhmar over Banlung are all related to the strength and commitment of the community.

The cohesiveness of the community also supports the potential level of commitment of the community to tourism, identifies local capacities for tourism development and outlines key communication pathways which are essential for the support and operation of tourism. Identifying these characteristics will identify potential levels of passive and active community participation, and reduce the need to encourage further involvement, with all the challenges this implies. This requires an assessment of the way the community functions with relation to the individuals and the relationships between the residents. This lends itself to the use of social capital in assessing trust and community unity. This issue of social capital has been addressed.

Firstly, in Banteay Chhmar, the strength of community cohesion provides a strong support network for residents, which has minimised the long lasting effects of the war, making the community more efficient, and capable of motivating and planning for long term CBT goals.

People in Banteay Chhmar are willing to help each other and the community. This dedication to the community enhances the ability for the community to plan and implement tourism in a way that has the least harm for all sectors of the community, and enhances the sustainability of tourism as early development can be done using volunteers to reduce the amount of capital required before the community can begin to support tourism operations. The importance of reciprocal aid and religion in Banteay Chhmar encourages people to volunteer their time and resources to help others, and also to work towards future benefits that they will receive for their efforts.

This strong sense of community pride and unity strengthens the social capital of the community as a whole, because though individuals perceive themselves as vulnerable and powerless, as a collective, the community is stronger and more capable of protecting their interests when in negotiation with stronger, more powerful stakeholder groups.

These arguments are supported by the findings in Banlung, where CBT is not meeting its goals. The community in Banlung is divided into distinct groups based on ethnicity. This lack of cohesion prevents open communication and hinders the planning of tourism to suit all of these internal community groups. It is furthered complicated by the cultural differences and agendas of individual groups.

In Banlung, social capital of the individual and the community are similar, as the community does not provide a useful support network to strengthen the collective value of residents. Also, this lack of community support has also had a more negative effect on the individuals, who display more symptoms linked to the effects of the war than Banteay Chhmar.

The primary result of the prolonged conflict is a tendency for individuals to plan in the short term only, and to do so for selfish reasons. There is no sense of community collaboration regardless of any expectation of reciprocation. There is no sense of commitment to the community to encourage volunteering to support tourism. This also fails to engender tolerance or support for tourism in the community beyond those receiving direct financial benefit.

The Role of Communication in Communities

The strength of the Banteay Chhmar community in terms of its internal relationships also encourages free and open communications between all the residents. The mutual interest in all activities in the community as well as the presence of formal communication channels increases the ease of disseminating information. This facilitates education and awareness of tourism, which encourages support and tolerance.

The formal communications pathways in Banteay Chhmar also create opportunities for people to engage in tourism and in minor authoritarian roles in the community, which enhances the sense of ownership and control of tourism. In Banteay Chhmar, formal pathways follow the local government structures. The subdistrict head communicates with

village heads, who in turn communicate with group and sub group heads responsible for ensuring all households in a given area are personally informed of current events, goals and achievements of the tourism committee. These village leaders, group and sub group representatives are given responsibility for the effective dissemination of information within the community, giving them a perceived key role in tourism. It also ensures that education and awareness in the community is maximised, as well as enhancing perceived ownership and control of tourism, even if residents do not have any further role.

In Banlung, no such formal communication pathway exists, and is furthered challenged by the distinction between the multiple ethnic groups in the community. This discourages open communication between internal groups. This negatively affects the improvement of education and understanding of tourism in the community. Without this awareness, there is less support for tourism, particularly in relation to the consideration of development goals, or the extension of benefits to non-participants in tourism.

The presence of a cohesive community unit will mitigate challenges presented by issues identified in the assessment of how community members perceive themselves. By identifying the cohesiveness of a community and the nature of relationships and communication pathways within the community, the potential for the development of an effective tourism committee can be assessed. This is best facilitated by looking at trust and commitment to the community which can be possessed by the committee to ensure its efficacy.

The Function of Tourism Committees

The role of the tourism committee is to represent the community's interests in regard to tourism, including the operations of tourism, the maximisation of benefits from tourism for the whole community, and the minimisation of negative impacts. The role of participation in the implementation of CBT typically uses the tourism committee as the representatives of the community to be consulted in the implementation process. Specifically, for CBT, the tourism committee may also be required to eventually assume control of tourism.

There are inherent difficulties in encouraging community participation in tourism which have been discussed. The practical reality of community participation is that typically, it is deficient in crucial early development stages. Also, the failure of the representatives of the community to truly represent the wider population, especially in regards to the most vulnerable and disadvantaged people in the community, challenges the development of appropriate CBT goals. It is necessary for implementers to address these issues.

This has been achieved in Banteay Chhmar by ensuring that the tourism committee is separated from the local government hierarchy, and relies on volunteers from the community being elected to the committee. Thus, people who nominate themselves for the committee are not financially motivated, and their willingness to participate demonstrates their desire to support the community.

The case of Banteay Chhmar is unique in terms of how the tourism committee has achieved independence so early in the implementation process. The early abandonment of the project by APLC s forced the committee to take ownership of tourism very quickly. However, the success of this transition demonstrates how the role of community participation in the implementation of tourism was developed in such a way as to empower the community to adapt to the abrupt change instead of surrender to perceived inevitable failure as a result of their powerlessness.

This success can be attributed to the manner in which APLC began their implementation process. The project implementation was conducted with full consultation of the community. Initially, the community was required to endorse the idea of CBT. Then, an extended period of consultation was conducted with the community in regards to identifying the goals for tourism. This was further facilitated by one of the APLC representatives being a long standing member of the community, and the long term presence of French aid workers (in the orphanage and silk weaving initiative), which engendered trust of these people in the community and minimised the perceived power imbalance of being considered wealthy, educated 'outsiders'. This extended period of consultation and the importance attributed to the value of the community by APLC elevated the role and perceived power of the community in the implementation process. Also, this process would have been substantially facilitated by the existing communications pathways in the community, which would ensure that consultation would be informed by all residents.

The respect for the community, and the inclusion of all community members, from the initial stages, has influenced the operational mission statement of the tourism committee, which has outlasted APLC's initial role. This mutual respect now extends to the tourism committee, giving them trust and authority to act as representatives in tourism.

This trust must be supported by the evidence of the achievements of the tourism committee, to ensure the continued support for tourism based on the positive personal experiences of residents, (i.e. through their perception of overall positive outcomes of tourism), regardless of their role. In Banteay Chhmar, this is achieved by its transparent operations and the realistic goals based on consultation with the community. In this way, the committee continues to earn the respect of the community by ensuring there is no perceived corruption or favouritism in their actions, and also through ensuring that goals from tourism can be achieved in a timely manner. The tourism committee can also be trusted to act in community's best interests based on their successful track record. The importance of trust in regards to the tourism committee reinforces the importance of the role of communication, as it is via this path that the goals and achievements of the committee are communicated to gain community support.

The tourism committee also plays a key role in encouraging community pride and unity. This is essential to encourage support and tolerance for tourism as well as to maintain the communication pathways in the community. Though this can deviate from the tourism

committee's mandate, this is a key part of ensuring long term widespread community participation and support for tourism.

In the case of Banlung, the lack of a functional tourism committee means that the key role of the tourism committee as demonstrated in Banteay Chhmar is neglected. The members of the tourism committee in Banlung are not concerned with the potential for community development, and do not pursue CBT actively. The dysfunction of the tourism committee discourage community cohesion and pride, open communication and therefore, support for CBT. Thus, tourism in Banlung fails to provide any widespread community benefit as advocated by CBT. This does not reinforce the importance of the role of the tourism committee in the community, and it therefore cannot occupy the position of respect and authority which is required to enhance the value of the committee, which continues to leave the community powerless in terms of its external interactions.

Impacts of Tourism

As an emergent theme, the perception of impacts is demonstrated to strongly influence the overall perceptions of tourism and support in the community for CBT. The perception of impacts also has greater meaning for the implementation of CBT, as they represent the tangible outcomes of tourism and the development goals which it supports. The perception of impacts as a result of tourism in each community corresponds with much of the existing literature on the subject of tourism impacts. However, the research does identify particular culturally significant ways in which participants perceive tourism impacts.

Economic Impacts

The economic impacts received from tourism are mostly positive in both cases, where participants gave these impacts the greatest weighting. This is to be expected as this is the most obvious benefit to be received from tourism in poor communities and is the primary source of funding for other social and environmental development or conservation goals. It has already been acknowledged that in many practical implementations of CBT, the primary goal is economic benefits, which are assumed to have a flow on effect to non-participants in tourism, and will achieve other developmental goals by increasing the income for the community (Arthur & Mensah, 2006).

In the case of Banlung, this trickle-down effect is currently the predominant form of economic planning, as there is no control of the income from tourism to ensure that it is directed towards development goals. The participants in Banlung recognise that tourism provides a means for increasing personal income through utilising economic opportunities. As such, recognised economic impacts from tourism include only the direct economic benefits received by participants in tourism.

In Banteay Chhmar, the case is very different, as the tourism committee controls the majority of income from tourism, to ensure that a substantial and tangible contribution

from the economic benefits of tourism is directed towards social development goals. Though participants in tourism receive direct income from tourism, the control of economic benefits ensures that there are also widespread benefits to the community. Also, the concerted effort of the tourism committee to use only local linkages to supply the tourism industry further helps to distribute income from tourism in the community among others in the community not participating directly in tourism. In this way, CBT in Banteay Chhmar has been more successful at achieving development goals than Banlung through this planned approach to economic benefits.

Only one negative economic impact from tourism was recognised. The participants in Banlung indicated that they were unable to participate in tourism activities or access services used by tourists as it has become too expensive. This demonstrates that the reliance on the trickle-down effect is ineffective in CBT for sustainable tourism development. It highlights the financial distribution gap between residents and tourists and also between participant and non-participants in tourism. The implications of this are that residents in Banlung are being prevented from accessing culturally significant sites which are now being utilised for tourism. This has the potential to aggravate host guest relations, as residents resent tourists for denying them access to these sites, reducing support for tourism, and potentially increasing the exodus of residents, as the cost of living increases.

The economic impacts identified here, both positive and negative, correlate with existing literature regarding economic impacts of tourism (Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Weaver & Lawton, 2002). It is important to note the steps being taken by Banteay Chhmar to minimise negative economic impacts, such as leakage of income from the community. Leakage is a major problem in any tourism development, and is more prevalent in developing countries (Lansing & De Vries, 2007; Muhanna, 2007). This is a risk for each community, as its isolation means that the communities lack resources considered necessary to develop international tourism products without some external linkages (George, 2008). The fear noted by informants in both cases in relation to the threat of takeover by *APSARA* highlights the perceived importance of economic impacts and the risks posed by a loss of community control of tourism, which would potentially decrease local linkages and increase leakages from the community.

Social Impacts

In Banteay Chhmar, social development goals form a key part of the goals of CBT in the community. These include opportunities to improve education, including adult education, and improving the standard of living in the community through the provision of improved resources, such as clean water. Tourism has also helped to supplement household income and provide additional employment opportunities to discourage people in the community to leave to work elsewhere.

In Banlung, increased tourism has led to the improvement of infrastructure in the community, a direct result of the community's position as provincial capital and also

because CBT was initially implemented by the government, ensuring more public participation in development. However, participants perceived mostly negative impacts, in the form of antisocial behaviour from domestic tourists, fears of increased crime, sex tourism and drug tourism, and the exodus of ethnic community members.

These social impacts are typical in tourist sites. However, the role of fear in the way participants perceive impacts appears to be a culturally significant phenomenon. In cases where tourism impacts are not currently being experienced, the potential of them happening in the future and the strength with which this is perceived leads participants to regard these potential future impacts of tourism as part of their current experiences (Ellis & Sheridan, 2009). Cambodia has experienced many problems regarding prostitution and child sex tourism after the war, and the production and availability of drugs. Despite efforts to eradicate these problems and to reform Cambodia's public image, there is a persistent fear of the recurrence of these issues (Mollica, et al., 1993). It is therefore important to note that potential impacts in the future (positive or negative) can have as much meaning for the perceptions of Cambodian participants as actual perceived impacts.

Cultural Impacts

The cultural impacts perceived by the participants are similar in both cases. Firstly, tourism is seen to preserve traditional cultural practices, and in the case of Banlung, the ethnic cultures and practices unique to each group. Both sites value the cultural exchange that tourism facilitates, through interactions with foreign tourists. In Banlung and Banteay Chhmar, these interactions provided a source of education, where through increasing their interactions with tourists, their experiential knowledge is increased. This is supported in the Laotian case presented by Suntikul, Bauer and Song (Suntikul, et al., 2010), where opportunities for cultural exchange increased perceived value of the community and presented opportunities for education. This demonstrates the value of host guest relations to the participants. Host guest relations shape how residents perceive tourism overall (Brunt & Courtney, 1999), as their personal observations and experiences are what residents use to evaluate tourism and its impacts.

In Banlung, participants also perceived that tourism, through enhancing the value of the cultural assets of the community, also enhanced value of the community. Tourism, through conserving traditional cultures and practices, is a key tool in preserving the traditions, arts and crafts unique to the ethnic groups. By valuing these assets for tourism, it has enhanced the perceived value of the community. Despite the cultural diversity in the community being a challenge for communication and collaboration, it does help to increase the quality of the tourist product (Cottrell, Vaske, Shen, & Ritter, 2007; Suntikul, et al., 2010).

The only negative cultural impact was the perception in Banteay Chhmar that tourism is contributing to the demonstration effect in the community, where younger community members are adopting less traditional or western styles of dress. However, few participants identified this negative impact. The increased access to television and the internet in

Cambodia has led to a rapid globalisation in recent years, which present another potential source for the cultural changes perceived (Van De Berg, 2000).

The cultural impacts perceived by participants in both scenarios support cultural impacts in the literature. However, the emphasis on the value of cultural exchange as a positive impact, providing a forum for education and experience, is stronger than what is suggested in the literature. The literature supports a restrictive view of cultural impacts, focusing on the need for cultural conservation, particularly in relation to traditional practices, arts and crafts. Where tourism is being used as a tool for development, it must be recognised that culture, being dynamic, is inevitably going to be changed by development in a community. But where tourism is dependent on the community's unique cultural aspects, conservation of culture becomes tied to the conservation of the tourism asset, the risk being the stagnation of development or the commodification of these cultural elements. This can be detrimental to the culture being preserved, as well as the authenticity of the tourist product. Thus, a considered approach is required when implementing CBT, where tourism products are dependent on living cultural elements. To ensure sustainability of the tourist product, the cultural asset must retain its value as it evolves to reflect the development goals achieved by the community (Shaw & Ismail, 2006). This requires implementers to closely examine the potential for long term sustainable tourism development utilising cultural assets, and to balance the positive cultural impacts of tourism with issues of development and the maintenance of the tourist product.

Environmental Impacts

Participants at both sites identified that tourism has positive impacts on conservation of the environment. Tourism also has the potential to lead to improvement of the environment, through, for example, sanitation or reforestation. The way that tourism utilises the environment has also increased the perceived value of natural resources. Intentional environmental damage is reduced as the perceived economic value presented by tourism exceeds the value of short term exploitation.

However, the high value placed on the environment for tourism increases the vulnerability of this asset to tourism. Increased visitor numbers will increase traffic and wear on the environment which will affect the amenity of the living environment for residents, as well as the tourist experience (Johnston & Tyrrell, 2007). As for cultural tourism, change is inevitable as development occurs. It is necessary that this occurs in ways that do not affect the value of the asset for tourism to ensure the sustainability of the product so it can continue to support development goals (Shaw & Ismail, 2006).

Perception

As an emergent theme, the role of perception assimilates elements of capacity and the perception of impacts to complete the understanding of how communities see themselves and CBT. These perceptions will inform the understanding of the capacity of the community, as well as identify how a specific community will perceive and evaluate tourism. From this understanding, the implementation of CBT can be designed specifically for the cultural context, and therefore, be successful.

The manner in which impacts are perceived by informants reflects the findings of the preliminary study. The dominance of perceived positive impacts reflects the role of social exchange theory (Ap, 1992; Kayat, 2002) and the role economic dependency theory (Blau, 1964) in the way resident attitudes of tourism are formed.

The personal experiences of residents with tourism, linked with their awareness and understanding of tourism, are what forms the basis of information that residents use to form their perceptions of tourism. Experiences which are more positive than negative, in terms of perceived impacts, will lead to overall positive perceptions of tourism. In the LDC context, the dependence of residents on economic benefits adds further emphasis to positive perceptions of tourism.

In the main body of research, this was reaffirmed by the overall positive perception of tourism, based on the minimal negative impacts identified by participants. However, the role of education and awareness also contributed to this evaluative process. The nature of CBT as a long term development solution suffers particularly in the LDC context where immediate economic relief is typically prioritised by residents. Therefore, it is common for residents to be dissatisfied with tourism where it is implemented as a development project, where expectations of immediate benefits from tourism are not met. The role of education and awareness in this case is critical for the resident community to understand the nature of CBT and therefore have informed, realistic expectations of tourism and any anticipated benefits. In this way, even if benefits are few or not immediately apparent, expectations are met, which encourages positive attitudes towards tourism also.

The research has also identified the importance of perception in the successful implementation of CBT. From the situations examined, the way informants perceive themselves, their community, and the role of tourism and the tourism committee is critical for the successful implementation of CBT. The most meaningful implication of this for the theoretical foundations of CBT is the need for an interdisciplinary approach to understanding people and communities prior to the implementation of CBT using traditional approaches. The diverse nature of communities, cultures and interpretations of sustainable tourism has made evaluation challenging. The tool utilised in the preliminary study was designed to evaluate community wellbeing in response to tourism development via indicators which measure impacts of tourism on the community. This approaches the

evaluation of CBT from the residents' perspective, which is appropriate, as resident perceptions are critical in community support for tourism. Without this, tourism will fail, in any context. This, in itself, is a reactive assessment tool to the implementation of tourism development.

This reactive approach does not help evaluate the appropriateness of CBT for a community, which leads to the imposition of CBT, and also wastes the resources of implementers attempting to implement CBT where it is likely to result in failure. There is a need to have an evaluative process that can be utilised prior to the implementation process.

Traditionally, community participation in CBT development has been advocated as the most appropriate way to encourage successful implementation. Community participation in the early stages encourages the input of community and facilitates the education process mentioned earlier. However, the practical reality is that community participation is difficult to encourage, and faces many challenges. This is further complicated by the power imbalances which exist between the community and external stakeholders, as well as the common top-down nature of implementation.

Assessment of a community based on a multidisciplinary approach can assist in determining the viability of attempting CBT implementation within a community. This assessment must look beyond tourism impacts, potential and perceived, and consider the nature of the community and the individuals who make up that community. An understanding of the cultural context will inform some of the potential psychological influences on the behaviour of residents of the community - such as the effects of armed conflict and chronic poverty on the mental health of residents. Furthermore, the way that residents perceive themselves will also contribute to the understanding of the specific cultural context and will therefore identify the capacities of the residents which may be utilised for CBT. To illustrate, the perception of isolation by individual residents in the cases explored in this research had very different meanings. Though both communities perceived isolation to be a disadvantage to themselves, in Banteay Chhmar, the outcome for this disadvantage was a need to become more self-sufficient. In Banlung, the answer was more negative, where isolation meant an increased risk of criminal activity, and degradation of their safety and security. The implications that these perceptions have for the successful implementation of CBT based on the capacities of local residents is marked. An understanding is clearly necessary.

The challenges of implementing CBT in LDCs raised by understanding how residents perceive themselves are significant. For example, the resource requirements of potentially having to address the mental health issues of a community (as a result of chronic poverty or PTSD) prior to implementation would render any attempt non-viable. But by understanding the perceptions of self in conjunction with the perceptions of the community, the significance of challenges related to the role of the community in the implementation of CBT in LDCs can be more accurately determined. The research has demonstrated that community cohesion is important in terms of minimising the effects of poor perceptions of self. For example,

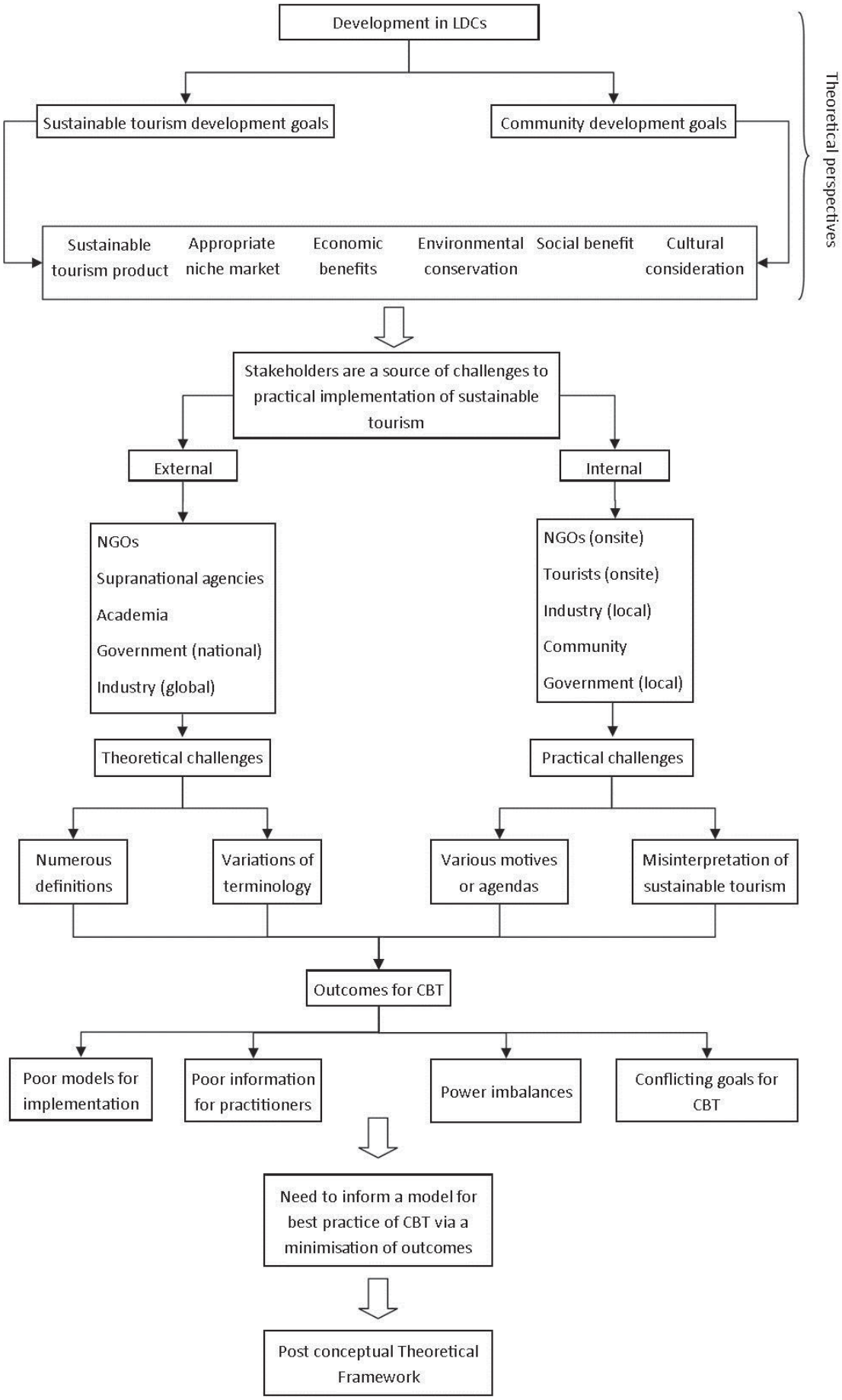
strong community cohesiveness is demonstrated to limit the severity and occurrence of long term PTSD in LDC communities which have experienced conflict (Galea, et al., 2010).

To conclude, the major theoretical contribution of this work is to identify the key characteristics and processes which identify communities in which the implementation of CBT can be made more successful. Theoretically, this research proposes that a considered, multidisciplinary approach is required in the establishment of CBT which incorporates elements of psychology and social capital (via, for example, social networking analysis) to create an understanding of the community being targeted. This could be achieved through an in depth understanding of cultural context, combined with an assessment of community structures and the relationships which are apparent also.

Figure 5.1 provides a theoretical framework based upon the findings of this research. This framework is a continuation of the theoretical framework posited in chapter one, as it identifies the consideration needed for establishing a path for the best practice in implementing CBT in LDC communities.

The perception of self is the first consideration, and is influenced by the current and historical experiences of the individuals in the community, such as war, poverty and isolation. However, the role of perception of self is least influential in the perception of community. Regardless of the influences on perception of self, positive or negative perceptions of community can still arise. Where perceptions of the community are negative, the implementation of CBT will be practically impossible. Positive perceptions of community, influenced by community collaboration and open communication, will encourage community cohesion. This can, however, be negatively affected by ethnic diversity in the community.

Where community cohesion exists, there is an inherent level of trust and commitment in the community, which will allow for the creation of an effective tourism committee. Where an effective tourism committee is in control of tourism in the community, CBT can be successfully implemented, as the tourism committee will ensure community control of tourism and development goals, community participation in tourism, and provide the tools for education and awareness for building tolerance and support for tourism.


Development in LDCs
Sustainable tourism development goals
Community development goals
Theoretical perspectives
Sustainable tourism product
Appropriate niche market
Economic benefits
Environmental conservation
Social benefit
Cultural consideration
Stakeholders are a source of challenges to practical implementation of sustainable tourism
External
Internal
NGOs
Supranational agencies
Academia
Government (national)
Industry (global)
NGOs (onsite)
Tourists (onsite)
Industry (local)
Community
Government (local)
Theoretical challenges
Practical challenges
Numerous definitions
Variations of terminology
Various motives or agendas
Misinterpretation of sustainable tourism
Outcomes for CBT
Poor models for implementation
Poor information for practitioners
Power imbalances
Conflicting goals for CBT
Need to inform a model for best practice of CBT via a minimisation of outcomes
Post conceptual Theoretical Framework

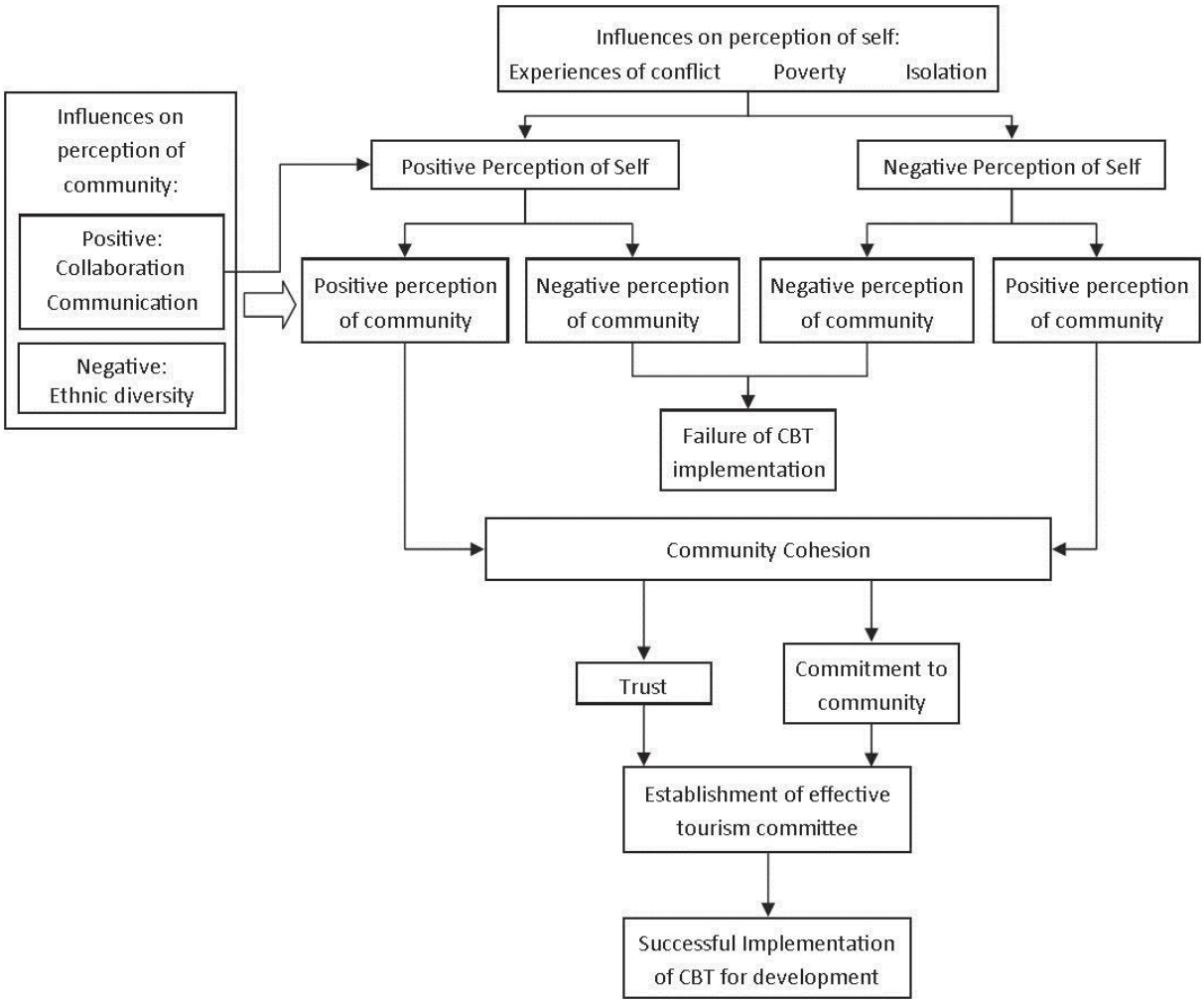


Figure 5.1 Post conceptual theoretical framework

The research makes meaningful contribution to understanding how to overcome key challenges for implementation of CBT as a tool for sustainable tourism development. Though it must be acknowledged that there are several culturally specific elements to successful implementation, this research highlights what these are, so these can be addressed appropriately in other cultural contexts. It also highlights key factors in the implementation process, such as the role of the community, communication and the tourism committee. It also identifies potential challenges and perspectives to promote successful implementation. Finally, a pictorial representation of the findings of this research in how the perception of self and community can contribute to the successful the implementation of CBT was provided. This is a tool that can be used to assess the viability of establishing CBT in LDC communities for success.

Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed the findings of each scenario to uncover the underlying contributing factors to the successes and failures at each. The discussion continued to how research informants perceive tourism, tourism impacts, the community, committees and themselves.

From this, emerges three key themes – capacities, impacts and perceptions – each which have a considerable influence on the implementation of CBT. Capacities incorporated the social capital of a community and its residents, and highlight the motivations and goals behind CBT. It is in this theme that we begin to understand the critical role of community and communication in the successful implementation of CBT as demonstrated in Banteay Chhmar. Where Banlung has struggled with CBT, these roles have been neglected. The impacts of tourism are an important influence on the final theme of perceptions, which incorporate perceptions of self, community, tourism and committee. These emergent themes display some overlap which will inform methods of best practice for the implementation of CBT. Now, we can now begin to draw conclusions about critical factors in the characteristics of communities, and the processes to be undertaken to support successful implementation of CBT for sustainable tourism development.

Chapter Six: Conclusions

This chapter brings together this research to critically examine the conceptual role of sustainable tourism development in LDCs. Regardless of theoretical debate, the need for community development and the role that tourism can play in this has meaning for development in any LDC. Therefore, the facilitation of the practical implementation of CBT must become a priority. By identifying key characteristics of communities that support implementation, and key processes necessary for success, the potential of CBT can be enhanced. The chapter will conclude with final remarks on the contributions this research makes to practice and theory, and the potential for future research. It also identifies key challenges and limitations of the research.

The Role of Sustainable Tourism Development in Cambodia

Sustainable tourism is heralded as a modern solution to tourism development which ensures maximum benefit that serves to protect primarily the environment, as well as the resident community and its culture. This guarantees the long term survival of tourism as well as the community.

A great deal of faith is placed in sustainable tourism development, as the modern alternative to mass tourism, for its ability to be a 'panacea' for development in LDCs. However, this faith may be, at least in part, misplaced. An examination of the history behind the emergence of sustainable tourism development reveals its foundation in the environmental sciences. As much as continuing research attempts to introduce balance to sustainable tourism development through embracing social and cultural aspects along with traditional economics and the environment, this focus still persists.

This has occurred a result of the lack of clear definitions of sustainable tourism development. Definitions are therefore open to interpretation, and are more forcefully influenced by its evolutionary history as the struggle with framing the concept continues. In practice, this is further complicated by the agendas of those utilising sustainable tourism development in the real world.

Despite ongoing debate, a clear conceptual definition of sustainable tourism development is not necessary. An acceptance of the broad goals of sustainable tourism development, ensuring a holistic view of the economic, environment, social and cultural is all that is required to continue its successful implementation in LDCs.

Models exist which transform sustainable tourism development into practical approaches for development in LDCs. These models are the tools which can actually be used to affect change. What is important is the practical development outcomes that can help LDC communities achieve long term benefits, and few negative impacts.

Having identified the key role sustainable tourism development has in achieving community development in LDCs, it is necessary to address the flaws in the overarching concept of sustainable tourism development. As terms, 'sustainable' and 'development' are in conflict.

Sustainable tourism development favours the establishment of small, niche markets, such as ecotourism, or cultural tourism. This is a practical approach. This can maximise the unique assets of a community for tourism, without requiring substantial investment to create built attractions. Also, these markets are perceived to attract independent tourists with longer length of stay, higher expenditure, higher tolerances of the quality or availability of amenities, and who have an ingrained respect for environment and cultural assets without the need for excessive control or tourist education programs. Therefore, targeting these markets is easier for these communities, with potentially more rapid economic return.

Development is the broad goal for tourism in LDC communities. This is primarily achieved by increasing income to the community which can be used to fund development projects, and to stimulate growth within the community. This notion of development poses two major threats to the community. Firstly, the development goals of tourism can have a direct impact on the original tourism product, particularly if the product incorporates historical cultural elements (such as traditional practices, cultures and crafts). The stimulus of development will either degrade the quality of the tourist product, as development leads to the loss of traditions to modern alternatives, or force the commodification of the asset into an inauthentic form to preserve the asset for tourism alone. Both of these alternatives will alienate the original intended tourism market, however, this change is necessary to achieve development goals.

Secondly, the growth of tourism is designed to encourage development, as higher visitor numbers will increase income for development goals. However, the niche markets for tourism are generally small markets, despite being more lucrative per capita. As the desire for tourism grows, the volume of tourists will increase, and slowly, the original market will be overcome by more traditional tourism markets, exposing the community to more major impacts and overwhelming the sustainability of the community and tourism. The implication of this is that the development goals of sustainable tourism are dependent on constant tourism growth. This constant growth in itself is not sustainable. If there is a limit to the growth of tourism to ensure its sustainability, there is potentially only a finite lifespan of the industry, which would then stop facilitating development goals. If continuous growth is pursued, the growth of tourism would result in the loss of sustainability.

Thus, it is not possible to reconcile sustainable tourism development, as the development goals will always conflict with sustainable goals. It must be noted that this discourse is considered in a vacuum and in the extreme, as many other factors, such as tourist motivations, economic climate and physical climate are likely to also impinge on tourism in the long term to some extent. It is important to illustrate that sustainable tourism development, and its manifestations, may not be the panacea it is held to be.

Despite this condemnation of sustainable tourism development, its role in helping to alleviate disadvantage in communities should not be entirely discounted. Sustainable tourism development is still important. It simply needs to be considered as one of many tools that can be utilised in a holistic approach to community development in LDCs. Its potential is great, but the risk associated with sustainable tourism means that no community should be solely dependent on sustainable tourism for development. It should comprise part of a holistic strategy, which will guard against dependency, and strengthen communities to pursue their own development goals for the long term.

Facilitating Successful Implementations of CBT

In implementing sustainable tourism development, we must recognise that CBT is a long term development strategy that will supplement other development goals. It is a tool that should be part of a holistic development approach.

The success of CBT in Banteay Chhmar that tourism supports the community in achieving its goals, and does not dictate them. It supplements income, provides partial employment and supports community wide development goals. The community realise that it will take substantial time and effort to achieve all of their development goals, and they use tourism to support this where they cannot find other avenues for development.

Sustainability in itself is a long term concept. CBT is the same. By setting small, realistic goals, and having realistic expectations regarding the growth of tourism and its ability to contribute to development projects, the community will see these goals achieved, and have their expectations met. Any further achievements are a bonus. This encourages long term support for tourism, without dependency, which prevents the overexploitation of assets and overlooking of sustainable tourism goals to make more gains quickly to meet unrealistic expectations. This ensures the sustainability of tourism in the community.

To summarise, the key to success for CBT include:

1. Long term realistic goals;
2. Alternative solutions to development;
3. Holistic development plans;
4. Realistic community expectations;
5. No total dependency on tourism.

This will have the following outcomes:

1. Goals will be perceived to be met;
2. Tourism will meet community expectations;
3. Meeting of goals and expectations will have positive outcomes and will encourage long term community support;
4. Facilitation of the utilisation of other potential sources of development will occur;
5. Promotion of sustainability of the community and of tourism will occur.

Key facets for Successful Implementation

For the successful implementation of CBT, it is important for the implementers to consider particular factors in the cultural context. This includes understanding the community context, as well as the key factors which will promote successful implementation. It is also important for all stakeholders to understand the extent to which any implementation actually must contribute to a community in order for it to be meaningful.

The vulnerability of LDC communities means that implementation of any project by external groups will be affected by perceived power imbalances, where residents and the community as a whole perceive themselves as inferior, or powerless in comparison to external stakeholders. Particularly where they are also foreign outsiders with high levels of wealth and education, for example, NGOs.

The perceptions of the community highlight the power imbalances that exist, and can help to identify the capabilities of the community to contribute to the implementation process. Understanding these perceptions can also inform the process of encouraging participation, as an understanding of how the community functions, and how it perceives itself, will indicate potential levels of participation which can be expected, and also how strong and sustainable this support can be.

Also, it is important to uncover any potential issues which may affect the implementation of CBT projects. One of the key findings from this research concerns the effects of the war in Cambodia on the potential of CBT, as the abilities of communities to effectively plan in the long term, or participate in collaborative activities may be disadvantaged. This potential challenge may be prevalent in other LDC communities, as it is the lasting effects of trauma experienced during armed conflict, where war is common to the histories of many LDCs. In the case of Cambodia, the civil war and the genocidal Khmer Rouge regime under Pol Pot caused major trauma to the surviving population. Common effects of long term PTSD, which typically affects around 50 per cent of surviving LDC populations, result in a strong focus on the need to survive, which leads to the inability to set long term goals, and increases selfish

behaviour, both of which will negatively affect the long term, collaborative nature of CBT projects.

There are key qualities of communities that support the introduction and continued sustainability of tourism. These include community cohesiveness, good channels of communication and a collaborative attitude to development. Low rates of internal community conflict support collaborative efforts and also the equal distribution of benefits. The role of communication is essential for the education of residents to increase awareness and understanding. This can encourage collaboration and support for community projects.

It is important for implementers to recognise that CBT is a simply a tool that can contribute to long term development goals for sustainable tourism development. This must be communicated effectively to residents. If this is not a foundation of the implementation process, the goals and expectations of CBT in a community become unrealistic, which, when unachieved, leads to a loss of community support. CBT must be considered part of a larger community development plan.

Practical Solutions for Successful Implementations

From the findings of this research, and the analysis and discussion, it is possible to identify the key factors which can be used to work towards successful implementations of CBT in communities. NGOs represent the majority of groups seeking to implement sustainable tourism development projects. NGOs are restricted by financial limitations, their understanding and experiences of cultural contexts, experiences with similar implementations, and their own agendas. Therefore, to increase their success, the ability to identify communities with higher potential to contribute to successful implementation for the long term success of the project would be valuable for the effective distribution of resources for the most return in terms of community development.

Therefore, from this research, the key characteristics of communities that will encourage long term successful implementation are identified, along with key considerations for the implementation process to be considered by the NGO.

Key Characteristics

NGOs must assess communities regarding their characteristics prior to the initiation of implementation of CBT. The key characteristics which may help implementations of CBT must include access to an asset useful for creating tourism, the characteristics of the community as a collective group and as individuals. The purpose of this is to inform NGOs as to the potential of communities to support CBT in the long term.

1. Access to asset

The establishment of tourism must be founded on the presence of an asset which can be used for tourism, whether this asset is environmental, historical culture, or living culture. The asset must be of value to the community also, but a balance must be struck between its role in tourism and its value for the community. Though its value for the community will encourage support for tourism by adding value to an already culturally significant asset and more widespread recognition of the cultural value of the asset, the use of the asset for tourism cannot compromise the existing value of the asset. For example, this would include the loss of access to the asset to tourists, or perceived loss of ownership of the asset to tourism. In this case, tourism would be blamed for the loss of the asset, leading to a loss of support for tourism.

2. The community as a collective group
    a. Perceived strength and ability

The perception of the strength and abilities of the community is indicative of the extremity of power imbalances, particularly in their interactions with external stakeholder groups. By understanding this, exploitation of this power imbalance can be minimised. Also, the effect of this perceived power imbalance on any communication with the community will dictate the honesty of responses. Awareness can be used to minimise this risk.

The perceived strength and ability of the community in achieving any goal will also indicate the cohesiveness of the community, and demonstrate to some extent the prevalent attitudes towards collaboration in the community. High levels of internal conflict will undermine the perceived strength of the community, as well as their ability to collaboratively achieve community goals. A community that perceives itself to be strong will perceive itself to collectively possess the ability to achieve identified goals. The community will also be more independent and more likely to be in control of CBT, as they perceive that they have the ability to do so.

    b. Cooperation and/or collaboration

A community that demonstrates community collaboration to achieve collective goals will be more willing to work together to achieve development goals. This is best demonstrated in the Cambodian cultural context in rural rice farming communities, where labour is exchanged during the planting and harvesting seasons. There will be a better understanding of long term planning goals over instant gratification, and increased voluntarism in initial stages to support long term sustainable development.

    c. Pride and unity

A community that is cohesive and has a sense of pride demonstrates a community that will work together to improve the community. Also, they will be more willing to present that

community for tourism in a favourable way. Community unity will also encourage support for tourism, where it is seen to provide benefits.

Community unity and pride also suggests that the community has little internal conflict that could impact the implementation process, as pride and unity will help to overcome personal agendas. This helps to homogenise the different internal groups for the purpose of implementation of CBT.

d. Communication

Strong communications pathways within a community are extremely important, as open communication encourages support, and facilitates education and awareness. It also encourages participation that does not exclude minorities, or particular demographics. This promotes equality in implementation and facilitates widespread distribution of benefits.

e. Strength of Local Government

The role of the local government is also important, as this stakeholder group will facilitate the wider acceptance of CBT. A strong, proactive local government free from corruption will encourage state and national government involvement, and the use of official channels will further legitimise the operations of CBT for residents and external stakeholders. Also, the participation of a strong local government in CBT will facilitate the pursuit of development goals, particularly social and environmental development goals for widespread community benefit, which are not necessarily only related to tourism. An example of this would be the use of tourism funds to support a community development project, such as sanitation services.

3. Community Residents
    a. Perception of Self

In LDC communities, residents perceive themselves as being extremely disadvantaged and powerless. This can contribute to dependence on external aid, and the exploitation of this position by external stakeholders. The position of powerlessness must be recognised by the NGO, to understand how this affects how residents perceive NGOs, as a source of aid and as a more powerful stakeholder. This power imbalance can affect the honesty of communications with NGOs in an attempt to gain and guarantee support. However, it is important to note that poor perception of self and the powerlessness of this position is not as important as perception of the community as a whole. Where communities perceive themselves as a whole stronger than they perceive themselves as individuals, the value of this collective perception is more important, and the powerlessness of the individual is lessened. NGOs should consider the perceptions of community as more influential on the successful implementation of CBT over the perceptions of self.

b. Prevalent attitudes

There is a risk in LDCs that have experienced conflict that the effects of war will be lasting on how individuals in the community think and behave. The most important effect is the tendency towards selfish, short term thinking. Where communities have a high incidence of these symptoms of PTSD, the risk of exploitation, and corruption is much higher. Also, there will be less support for CBT due to its long term planning format, in favour of shorter, high return options. Even if CBT is implemented, the focus on the short term will have a negative effect on sustainability goals.

The symptoms and effects of long term PTSD are minimised by a strong and supportive community environment. Where people have shared collective traumas and have strong support networks in the community setting, the prevalence and severity of these symptoms is substantially reduced. Therefore, this further supports the need for a strong community with good communication and collective community unity and pride.

c. Charisma

For the purposes of establishing a tourism committee that can function effectively in internal and external relationships, it is necessary to have some residents in the community, who, despite their perceived powerlessness, are effective communicators. Their communication skills must include an ability to 'sell' aspects of their product and their project to encourage funding and build beneficial relationships. This would be supported by a profound desire to help the community. In short, they need 'charisma'.

d. Voluntarism

The implementation of CBT would be facilitated by communities displaying a willingness to voluntarily participate in other activities, as this would encourage participation in CBT implementation. The use of volunteers in initial stages is crucial to maximise community benefit. Volunteer behaviour, even where no reciprocal benefit is received, shows awareness of the contribution of small activities to the achievement of larger goals as well as supporting community pride and cohesion. The presence of this behaviour in residents also is suggestive of cooperative and collaborative behaviour, and an understanding of the value of community benefit to the individual. This voluntary behaviour also concerns the willingness to contribute time to tourism, for residents to participate in the implementation of CBT, as well as development activities, and the production of tourism. This also relates to the volunteering of resources to CBT.

e. Perceived ability

Community residents perceive themselves as lacking the skills and resources to fully participate in development activities. In the implementation of CBT, the possession of particular skills is not necessary, and can be augmented by education and training programs.

However, the ability of residents to be able to commit time to activities related to tourism is essential. As part of the holistic approach to development that CBT should contribute to, it is necessary for residents to be able to spare time from primary livelihood activities, to participate in the administration as well as the operation of tourism in the community, the latter which has less flexible demands on time. Also, the residents of the community must feel that they have the ability to use their resources for tourism, such as the provision of accommodation and activities.

Key Processes

The key processes relate to the activities which are components of the implementation of CBT that NGOs must focus on to ensure successful implementation of CBT and the handover of control to the community, which are both essential to CBT. These activities will also contribute to the support of tourism in the community, for both non participants and participants. Support for CBT is necessary in the community as it will encourage development and support long term sustainability, as well as increase resilience against potential negative impacts of tourism.

1. Establishment of local tourism committee

The establishment of a functional tourism committee which is separated from other administrative roles, such as the local government or community committee is important. This imparts objectivity and encourages transparency, which will help prevent corruption and ensure highest returns to the community from tourism. It also helps to legitimise the tourism committee's relationships with internal and external stakeholders and reinforces commitment to tourism in the community.

a. Member characteristics

Members of the tourism committee must represent the community, and should therefore be sourced from the community. The members of the tourism committee should not be affiliated with other administrative agencies, to increase trust in the committee through the prevention of corruption and evidence of personal gain from their committee role. The operations of the tourism committee must be transparent, to again encourage trust in the tourism committee to represent the community in relation to tourism, including the sourcing of markets and the management of income from tourism. Members of the tourism committee must be committed to the community and desire development for the community as a whole, as their role will require sacrifice of their personal goals.

b. Ownership of process

The tourism committee should see their role as vital to the success of CBT. The committee should represent the first point in which the community is given a sense of ownership and control of tourism. Where control is given in early stages of implementation, the tourism committee can improve their skills and experience. Allowing the tourism committee

ownership of tourism also encourages community goal setting, ensuring that these goals are inappropriate for the community, and not excessively biased by the dictates of implementation strategy enforced by NGOs.

2. Process of education and communication
    a. Initial role of education

The common challenge to implementation of CBT is community participation in initial stages of implementation. This is usually due to the fact that the community has no incentive to do so, because in the very early stages, they have no understanding of CBT or the benefits it can provide. Participation is usually begun only after there is clear evidence of the personal benefit from CBT. A thorough consultation with the community should be conducted prior to the commencement of CBT implementation. This serves two purposes; it gauges the response to the idea of tourism in the community, but also serves as a tool for educating residents regarding tourism. Community awareness and education regarding tourism will help residents make informed decisions about tourism, which will increase support and inform residents about benefits from tourism as early as possible, which will encourage more active participation from residents.

    b. Honesty of communication

Communication represents the primary medium for residents to be educated and to gain awareness of tourism in the community. This is how goals and expectations of tourism and the development it facilitates are communicated to all members of the community. Therefore, in order to maintain support for tourism, communication regarding tourism must be realistic and honest. This source of information is how many residents will evaluate tourism in the community, in addition to their personal experiences. Therefore, it is essential that communications support resident experiences, and that the tourism committee is seen to be honest. Realistic goals and expectations will be met, and this aggregate of information will encourage continued support for tourism.

    c. Consistency and regularity of communication

As communication regarding tourism is the primary education tool for CBT that ensures widespread awareness of CBT, it is important to continue support for CBT through communication. This communication must also be consistent and frequent, to ensure residents remain well informed. This means of education will also serve to prevent misinformation through gossip. The use of formal communication pathways will allow people to verify sources of information. Where these pathways exist, they should be utilised. However, where they do not, but communication in the community is open, formal pathways should be established for this purpose, to establish trust in the information being communicated.

d. Role in self-evaluation

Resident attitudes to tourism are formed through their knowledge and experience of tourism. Direct participants in tourism will have a larger body of experience with tourism for evaluation purposes. The role of communication in the community is to improve the body of knowledge within the groups of non-participants in tourism, so this group can be adequately informed when forming their own attitudes towards tourism, where their experience is limited, or based on observations only. The role of communication specifically in the case of CBT is to also convey goals of CBT in terms of development to be supported by tourism. The knowledge of these goals can allow the community to self-evaluate tourism by how CBT actually is achieving these goals. This evaluation also speaks to the success of the NGO in their goals to implement CBT, and the tourism committee as responsible for the setting and achievement of community specific goals. It is intended that realistic goals and expectations set by the community via the tourism committee will be achieved, and lead to a positive evaluation of CBT and the NGO and the tourism committee involved.

3. Gaining support for tourism through non-tourism related activities
    a. Support of holistic development goals

To ensure continued support for tourism, community development goals should not only serve to improve the development of tourism. In early stages of implementation, the immediate goals must be for the development of tourism, as the pursuit of these goals will facilitate future community goals, with more funding and potential than the pursuit of goals where tourism is not fully developed. However, to encourage community support for CBT from the early stages of implementation, where not all community residents are participating in tourism directly, it is necessary to pursue community development goals that have positive outcomes for tourism development also, so non-participants in tourism can see the actualisation of community wide benefits from CBT. The achievement of goals for community wide benefit that also supports the tourism product will increase support for tourism in all sectors of the community (e.g. supply of clean water and sanitation).

b. Community pride and cohesion

During implementation, effort should be made to increase feelings of community pride and cohesion. This has already been identified as a key characteristic of communities more likely to successfully implement CBT. However, the presence of this characteristic is not enough. Effort should be made to encourage community activities and to strengthen community pride and cohesion, via community celebrations or community activities. Supporting community cohesiveness will help prevent the formation of internal groups, particularly where they are based on opposition to CBT. It will also strengthen the community which will have a positive effect on power imbalances between the community and external stakeholder groups. Lowering the power imbalances between the community and external stakeholder groups will support tourism activities and increase tolerance for tourism, which

will have positive impacts for sustainability of the tourism industry as well as the community.

Table 6.1 provides a summary of the key characteristics and processes essential for the successful implementation of CBT in LDC communities.

Key Characteristics (of community)	Key Processes for Implementation of CBT
1. Access to tourism assets	1. Establishment of local tourism committee a. Member characteristics b. Ownership of process
2. Community a. Perceived strength and ability b. Cooperation and/or collaboration c. Pride and unity d. Communication e. Strength of local government	2. Process of education a. Initial role of education b. Honesty of communication c. Consistent and regular communication d. Role of education in self evaluation
3. Community Residents a. Perception of self b. Prevalent attitudes c. Charisma d. Voluntarism e. Perceived ability	3. Gaining support for tourism through non-tourism related activities a. Support for holistic development goals b. Community pride and cohesion

Table 6.1 Summary of community characteristics and key processes for successful implementation of CBT

Contributions of This Research

The above section describes key factors for the successful implementation of CBT in Cambodia. The key community characteristics identified will provide NGOs with a means of assessing the potential of communities to successfully accept CBT and take on independent operations. This will help NGOs effectively prioritise and allocate resources to projects. The key processes are tools for supporting the continuance of CBT where it has been selected for initiation. NGOs can use this in early stages of implementation. Tourism committees will also benefit from these techniques to encourage independent operations and maintain support, even after NGO withdrawal.

From an academic perspective, this research makes a number of important contributions. Firstly, the presentation of these case studies provides a depth of understanding of CBT in Cambodia. It identifies challenges to implementation and the unique setting of Cambodia. The exploration of how Cambodia has moved towards sustainable tourism and the potential for CBT as a tool for community development has highlighted the potential risks and benefits of sustainable tourism, whether focused on natural assets, cultural assets or a combination. The development of this awareness and understanding of practice will enable

other practitioners and academics to develop better processes and tools for implementation, which will be reflected in theory.

Secondly, the role of fear in how residents perceive tourism and tourism impacts was an important finding of this research. This has important implications for the understanding and assessment of negative impacts attributed to tourism, as these may be having a negative impact on perceptions of tourism prior to their actual appearance. From this, there is a need to reassess how negative impacts are identified and measured, and the depth of meaning these impacts will have for the resident community.

Thirdly, it was identified that the experiences of chronic poverty and prolonged exposure to armed conflict (in this case, civil war), has an effect on the psychological wellbeing of communities. These effects can determine the behaviour of communities, including their ability to respond to change and to be able to take independent control of CBT operations. Understanding this will help ensure long term success of CBT implementation. Considering the high levels of violence and poverty experienced in LDCs, this finding has important implications for research undertaken in any similar context. It is critical to explore the extent of this.

Finally, this research highlights some of the challenges of conducting research in Cambodia. It provides insights into appropriate research methodologies and methods, the efficacy of various data collection tools and how Cambodian culture can influence the research process.

Limitations of This Research

This research was limited by a number of factors, relating to the original theoretical framework as well as the conduct of the research itself. There is little academic research using Cambodia as a research setting, which means that there is even less available literature regarding tourism in any form in Cambodia. The significant role of aid and NGOs in Cambodia may contribute to the existing body of knowledge regarding Cambodia, but this source of grey literature is not readily accessible, and its value is questionable due to the ulterior motives which act upon the operations of any of these agencies. Furthermore, the quality and accessibility of government research is also concerning.

Research regarding sustainable tourism development or CBT in the LDC context is also limited. The relevance of much of the available literature is affected by the conflict in the literature regarding definitions of sustainable tourism development. There is also limited literature available regarding rural communities in LDCs. What literature does exist neglects the South East Asian region, as the majority of research is conducted in culturally different African and South American destinations.

This was the primary reason for the grounded theory approach used in this research. This would allow the research to not be disadvantaged by the limitations of existing research, and emphasise the potential contributions of their research to the literature.

The practice of this research was limited by the time and finances available to pursue this project. The conduct of research overseas adds additional time and financial limitations to this research project. This was further complicated by the isolation of the research sites and the lack of amenities which also restricted the amount of time that could be dedicated to fieldwork, as well as the complexities of conducting research in different cultural contexts, where research techniques and language presented challenges to the development and execution of fieldwork. The challenges arising for the recruitment of participants prevented all stakeholder groups being represented. For example, the district and national government agencies declined to participate, thus their point of view is not fully represented. However, the purposive sampling of each community ensured that community stakeholder groups were effectively represented for the purposes of this research.

The level of dysfunction of the tourism committee of Banlung as a whole has presented an interesting contrast to the case of Banteay Chhmar, in identifying key aspects of community and tourism committees which promote the successful implementation of CBT. However, the clear division of the community along ethnic lines would suggest that potentially a comparison instead of Banteay Chhmar to a single ethnic community within Banlung would provide a further level of analysis to contribute to this discussion. For the purposes of this research, Banlung and Banteay Chhmar, as communities and destinations, were most appropriate. However, research conducted in a site more similar to Banlung or Banteay Chhmar may help further the understanding of the findings of this research, prior to the expansion of this research into other areas and cultural contexts.

Implications for Future Research

The preliminary study for this project identified the challenges to quantitative research in Cambodia, and indicated that semi structured qualitative data collection was the most appropriate research method to be used in the Cambodian context.

A recurring difficulty in this research is gaining trust of participants to communicate freely and express their opinions and ideas. This is a reflection of the power imbalances in the community, and a long standing fear of retribution from the government for any act of opposition. This makes it difficult to encourage participation, and requires anonymity for participants. It is also necessary for researchers to divorce themselves entirely from potential perceived links to the government, or other external agencies upon which communities are dependent. The risk of showing an affiliation with any group active in Cambodia is the compromise of data, as participants will either not communicate honestly, or will endeavour to comply in an exaggerated manner to gain support, both having negative consequences on the veracity of the data.

The lack of familiarity of Cambodians regarding the use of research tools, quantitative or qualitative, means that all research tools must be simple in design, with only one way to interpret questions. Language must be simple and direct. If research tools are too complex, or participants cannot understand the content, this will discourage participation, damage the data collected and reaffirms power imbalances between researcher and participant.

Recommendations for Future Research

This research marks a starting point to how we can improve the outcomes of sustainable tourism development through practical applications of CBT. It will provide some insight as to how practical implementations can be made more effective. To provide a solid basis for this, it would be necessary to continue this research, initially as a longitudinal study in Banteay Chhmar, to monitor the progress of CBT there, to uncover the long term importance of the findings raised here. Further, similar cases should be studied in the same manner, to identify similarities and differences for further clarification. This understanding would also be benefited by the exploration of this research in other cultural contexts outside Cambodia.

With a clear base of understanding based upon the above proposed research, the theoretical contributions uncovered by this research with respect to the role of perceptions and social capital in effective implementation of CBT in LDCs can be used to form the basis for developing a research tool which can be utilised by organisations wishing to implement CBT in the LDC context, by providing key indicators of residents and the community which will impact implementation. Such a research tool may also prove viable outside the LDC context and help to further the understanding of community capacities for tourism in a wide range of communities. This should also be explored.

Concluding Remarks

This research has explored the efficacy of CBT as a tool for the implementation of sustainable tourism for development in LDCs. The context of Cambodia has provided a unique opportunity to explore the underlying factors regarding the role of communities and its individuals, and how perceptions and relationships can shape implementations of CBT and help determine their success or failure. From these findings, this chapter has established key community characteristics and processes which form practical solutions for the successful implementation of future CBT projects in Cambodia, with the potential for it to be extended to other LDCs and beyond. Furthermore, the recommendations and potential for future research and CBT development have been addressed.

By increasing the efficacy of CBT as a sustainable tourism development tool in LDCs, we can aspire to more successful implementations, an idea which has real meaning for improving the lives of people in LDCs worldwide. It also supports the more efficient use of financial resources dedicated to poverty alleviation via supranational and international aid agencies,

governments, and NGOs, which has beneficial implications for the contribution these groups make to poverty alleviation on a global scale. With one small step, we get closer to changing the world.

Glossary

APLC

French NGO, Agir Pour Le Cambodge

APSARA

The APSARA authority is a private enterprise charged by the government to monitor the Angkor Archaeological Park. It is concerned with the development and operation of tourism at Angkor, and is responsible for the conservation and restoration of these sites. The role of APSARA is being extended to cover other cultural heritage sites. However, the private nature of the organisation, along with suspicious ties to the family of high ranking government officials has caused some concern regarding the ethics of their business practices.

Baray

A man made body of water which has been dug and lined prior to filling with water. Historically, it is associated with Angkorian temple sites, and one is usually found in the vicinity of a major temple complex.

CBT

Community Based Tourism

Community

A specific geographical location, including residents.

Dal Ombok

The process of making flattened rice ('ombok'). Ripe rice is harvested and dry roasted in a large wok over a fire or hot coals. When toasted, the grains are beaten flat with a large mortar and pestle (usually wooden) whilst being stirred with a bamboo spatula to produce rice flakes. This is a traditional harvest time practice, coinciding with the Water festival where it is traditionally eaten on the third (last) day, where 'ombok 'is offered to the moon.

GHF

Global Heritage Fund

Khan

Subdistrict

Kreng

An ethnic minority population predominantly living in Ratanakiri province, Cambodia. The term also refers to the language of this same group.

Kuyon

A mechanised haulage vehicle consisting of a trailer fixed to a tractor engine.

LDC

Least Developed Country

Moto

Term used to denote motorbikes in Cambodia, commonly 100-200cc vehicles. It is the most common form of transport in Cambodia. Also, the term 'moto' is used as an abbreviation of 'motodup'.

Motodup

The term used to identify taxi services provided by motorbikes ('*motos*'). Passengers ride pillion. This is the cheapest and preferred form of taxi transport in urban areas and rural towns. This form of transport is able to access areas cars and other vehicles cannot reach.

Phnoung

An ethnic minority community predominantly found in Ratanakiri and Mondulkiri provinces, Cambodia. The term also refers to the language of this group.

Sangkat

Suburb or locality

Sustainable Tourism Development (STD)

"Sustainable tourism development meets the need of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future. It is envisaged as leading to the management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintain cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems." (UNWTO, 1998, p. 20)

SWOT Analysis

An analysis technique that identifies the Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats of a given subject

UNWTO

(United Nations) World Tourism Organization

Wat

Temple or pagoda. It is used in historical and modern contexts.

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Appendix One: Summary of the quantitative results from the preliminary study

This section includes the statistical data from the quantitative phase of the preliminary study conducted in Boeung Keng Kang I. For a more comprehensive explanation of these statistics, refer to:

Ellis, S., & Sheridan, L. (2009). *Host Guest Relations in a LDC Context: An exploratory study of the social dynamic of tourism in Cambodia*. Paper presented at the Council for Australian University Tourism and Hospitality Education 18th Tourism and Hospitality Education and Research Conference, Fremantle, Western Australia.

This reference is available at URL:
http://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=169225626580993;res=IELBUS

Descriptive Statistics

The research tool utilised in the preliminary study, was sourced and developed from:

World Tourism Organisation. (2005). *Indicators of Sustainable Development for Tourism Destinations: A Guidebook*. Madrid, Spain: World Tourism Organisation, p. 494.

To improve the clarity of the descriptive statistics, the research tool is also provided.

Research tool (preliminary study)

Part 1

A) Are you a Cambodian Citizen?

	1. Yes		2. No

B) Do you live in Boeung Keng Kang I?

	1. Yes		2. No

C) How long have you lived there?

	1. < 3 months		2. 3-6 months		3. 7-12 months		4. 13-24 months		5. > 24 months

D) How old are you?

	1. 18-25		2. 26-35		3. 36-45		4. 46-55		5. 56-65		6. 66+

E) Are you male or female?

	1. Male		2. Female

F) What is your primary occupation? _____

G) What is your average monthly income?

	1. < $50		2. $50 - $100		3. $101 – $150
	4. $151 - $200		5. $201 - $250		6. $251+

H) How often do you have direct contact with foreigners?

	1. Daily		2. <5 times per week		3. Weekly/ Once a week
	4. Fortnightly/ Once a fortnight		5. Monthly/ once a month		6. Never

Part 2

Question	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neutral	4 Agree	5 Strongly Agree
A) Tourism is good for my community					
B) I personally benefit from the tourism industry					
C) Tourism in my community/region has the following effects (bulleted below):					
i. Creates jobs for local residents					
ii. Employs local youth					
iii. Raises prices for goods					
iv. Helps the community obtain services					
v. Causes rise in crime rates					
vi. Harms moral standards					
vii. Disrupts local activities					
viii. Harms the environment					
ix. Stops local access to public space					
x. Helps stimulate local culture and crafts					

xi. Uses natural resources needed by local residents (e.g. fish, game, water, etc.)					
xii. The community has control over tourism					
xiii. The money spent by tourists remains in my community					
xiv. Local residents have easy access to the areas which tourists use, etc.					
xv. Is diminishing local Cambodian culture					
D) Tourists in my community/region:					
i. Are welcome					
ii. Are friendly to local residents					
iii. Are treated with respect					
iv. Are exploited for money					
v. Are given special treatment					
vi. Behave appropriately in the local community					

Part 3

A) Overall, what is your opinion of the tourism in your community?

1 Very Unsatisfactory	2 Poor	3 Satisfactory	4 Good	5 Excellent

B) Would you want more or less tourism in future in your community?

1 Much Less	2 Less	3 Same	4 More	5 Much More

Part 4

A) What is your main concern regarding tourism in your community?

B) What could be done to improve tourism in your community?

Comments

Results

Place of Residence

Yes	75	70.8%
No	31	29.2%

Length of Residence

< 3 Months	3	2.8%
3-6 Months	2	1.9%
7-12 Months	8	7.5%
13-24 Months	1	0.9%
>24 Months	92	86.8%

Age

18-25 yrs	23	21.7%
26-35 yrs	28	26.4%
36-45 yrs	26	24.5%
46-55 yrs	15	14.2%
56-65 yrs	12	11.3%
66+ yrs	2	1.9%

Gender

Male	45	42.5%
Female	61	57.5%

Primary Occupation

Shop-Goods	3	2.8%
Shop-Service	18	17.0%
Street Stall-Goods	9	8.5%
Street Stall-Services	15	14.2%
Market Stall-Goods	16	15.1%
Market Stall-Services	10	9.4%
Public Sector	5	4.7%
Private Sector	14	13.2%
Other	16	15.1%

Monthly Income

< US$50	30	28.3%
US$50-US$100	38	35.8%
US$101-$US150	10	9.4%
US$151-US$200	6	5.7%
> US$200	22	20.8%

Level of Contact

Daily	48	45.3%
< 5 times a week	10	9.4%
Weekly	10	9.4%
Fortnightly	3	2.8%
Monthly	3	2.8%
Never	32	30.2%

Table 1.1 Descriptive statistics from the preliminary study (Part 1)

n=106	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree	
Tourism is good for my community	7	6.6%	94	88.7%	5	4.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
I personally benefit from the tourism industry	4	3.8%	93	87.7%	5	4.7%	4	3.8%	0	0.0%
Tourism creates jobs for local residents	2	1.9%	101	95.3%	3	2.8%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Tourism employs local youth	3	2.8%	100	94.3%	1	9.0%	2	1.9%	0	0.0%
Tourism raises prices for goods	0	0.0%	38	35.8%	9	8.5%	59	55.7%	0	0.0%
Tourism helps the community obtain services	0	0.0%	102	96.2%	2	1.9%	2	1.9%	0	0.0%
Tourism causes rise in crime rates	0	0.0%	10	9.4%	8	7.5%	88	83.0%	0	0.0%
Tourism harms moral standards	0	0.0%	14	13.2%	7	6.6%	85	80.2%	0	0.0%
Tourism disrupts local activities	0	0.0%	8	7.5%	3	2.8%	95	89.6%	0	0.0%
Tourism harms the environment	0	0.0%	6	5.7%	4	3.8%	96	90.6%	0	0.0%
n=106	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree	
Tourism stops local access to public space	0	0.0%	7	6.6%	2	1.9%	96	90.6%	1	0.9%
Tourism helps stimulate local culture and crafts	3	2.8%	101	95.3%	1	0.9%	1	0.9%	0	0.0%
Tourism uses natural resources needed by local residents	2	1.9%	75	70.8%	3	2.8%	26	24.5%	0	0.0%
The community has control over tourism	0	0.0%	95	89.6%	5	4.7%	6	5.7%	0	0.0%
The money spent by tourists remains in my community	0	0.0%	68	64.2%	16	15.1%	22	20.8%	0	0.0%
Local residents have easy access to the areas which tourists use	0	0.0%	102	96.2%	2	1.9%	2	1.9%	0	0.0%
Tourism is diminishing local Cambodian culture	0	0.0%	20	18.9%	1	0.9%	85	80.2%	0	0.0%
Tourists in my community are welcome	0	0.0%	103	97.2%	3	2.8%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Tourists in my community are friendly to local residents	0	0.0%	104	98.1%	2	1.9%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Tourists in my community are treated with respect	1	0.9%	104	98.1%	1	0.9%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Tourists in my community are exploited for money	0	0.0%	8	7.5%	2	1.9%	96	90.6%	0	0.0%
Tourists in my community are given special treatment	0	0.0%	97	91.5%	6	5.7%	3	2.8%	0	0.0%

n=106	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree	
Tourists in my community behave appropriately in the local community	1	0.9%	96	90.6%	9	8.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	Very Poor		Poor		Satisfactory		Good		Excellent	
Overall, what is your opinion of the tourism in your community?	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	48	45.3%	29	27.4%	29	27.4%
	Much Less		Less		Same		More		Much More	
Would you want more or less tourism in future in your community?	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	17	16.0%	89	84.0%

Table 1.2 Results from Part two and three of the preliminary study

Factor Analysis

The table below outlines the factors which emerged following the conduct of factor analysis, and the variables retained in each factor.

Tourism Impacts	
Negative impacts	'tourism causes rises in crime rates' 'tourism harms moral standards' 'tourism disrupts local activities' 'tourism harms the environment' 'tourism stops access to public space'
Benefits of tourism	'tourism helps the community to obtain services' 'tourism provides jobs for the youth of the community' 'money spent by tourists remains in the community' 'residents have easy access to areas tourists use'
Entrepreneurship of small tourism businesses	'tourism provides jobs for the community' 'tourism stimulates culture and crafts'
Host Guest Relations	
Resident hospitality	'tourists in my community are welcome' 'tourists in my community receive special treatment'
Etiquette in host-guest relations	'tourists behave appropriately in my community' 'tourists in my community are exploited for money'
Host guest relationships	'tourists in my community are friendly to local residents' 'tourists in my community are treated with respect'

Table 1.3 Factors emerging from factor analysis

Bivariate Correlations Analysis

The table below identified the significant correlations found in the preliminary study.

Variable	Variable	*rho* Value	Relationship
Personal benefit from tourism	Resident hospitality	0.31	Low positive
Negative impacts of tourism	Tourism is good for the community	0.295	Low positive
Resident hospitality	Age	0.292	Low positive
Negative impacts of tourism	Etiquette in host guest relations	0.289	Low positive
Personal benefit from tourism	Monthly Income	0.278	Low positive
Small tourism business entrepreneurship	Tourism is good for the community	0.258	Low positive
Benefits of tourism	Resident hospitality	0.249	Low positive
Negative impacts of tourism	Resident hospitality	-0.246	Low negative
Personal benefit from tourism	Frequency of contact with tourists	-0.254	Low negative
Small tourism business entrepreneurship	Age	-0.267	Low negative
Small tourism business entrepreneurship	Resident hospitality	-0.316	Low negative
Resident hospitality	Tourism is good for the community	-0.326	Low negative
Personal benefit from tourism	Etiquette in host guest relations	-0.41	Moderate negative

Table 1.4 Significant results (p<=1) of bivariate correlations analysis (n=106)

Appendix Two: Research Tools

Expert Informant Schedule (CCBEN)

ID Code:

Gender:

Age:

Occupation and Income (p.a.):

Ethnic Background:

What is the CCBEN's mission/purpose/objectives?

How does the CCBEN operate?

What is the structure of the tourism industry?

Where does the CCBEN sit in the structure of the tourism industry?

How does CCBEN define sustainable/eco/community based tourism?

What is the view of sustainable/eco/community based tourism?

What is the Banteay Chhmar project and what are the project objectives?

Who runs it and who is involved? What is the CCBEN's role?

When did the project start and is there any funding?

How popular is the site? What are the visitor numbers?

What are community benefits?

What are the problems and successes for the project? What are the social and economic benefits/disbenefits?

Phase One Research Tool (Banteay Chhmar)

ID Code:

Gender:

Age:

Occupation and Income (p.m.):

Ethnic Background (if applicable):

1. Tell me about tourism in your community.

    a) What are the processes involved (in tourism in the community)?

    b) How long has there been sustainable tourism in the community

    c) How many visitors are there at any time? What are the tourists like?

    d) How are you involved (in tourism in the community)?

    Who else is involved (in tourism in the community, internal and external)?

    How do you see tourism in your community?

2. What are the reasons for having tourism in community? Why did the community decide to have tourism?

3. What are the benefits of having tourism in your community?

4. What are the disadvantages of having tourism in your community?

5. How have these benefits/disadvantages been caused?

6. What are the goals for tourism in the community?

7. What do you think tourism actually does for the community?

8. What effect does tourism have on social/cultural/economic development (personally and for the community)?

Phase Two Research Tool (Banlung and Banteay Chhmar)

Are you aware of the tourism project proposed for this community?

☐ Yes ☐ No

Are you willing to support this project? (Do you support this project?)

☐ Yes ☐ No

Do you think this community has the potential to develop and maintain a tourism industry?

☐ Yes ☐ No

What activities would you consider being involved with?

	Would consider	Already participating
Offering a homestay	☐	☐
Oxcart rides or other form of transport	☐	☐
Tour Guide	☐	☐
Preparing food for visitors	☐	☐
Selling souvenirs	☐	☐
Conducting demonstrations of local traditional activities	☐	☐

Are you willing to participate in the tourism committee by attending meetings?
(Do you participate in the tourism committee by attending meetings?)

☐ Yes ☐ No

Are you willing to stand for election for a place on the committee?

☐ Yes ☐ No

What seat would you consider?

President	☐
Vice President	☐
Secretary	☐
Accountant/treasurer	☐
Head of activity group (e.g. food preparation, local traditional activities)	☐

How much time would you be prepared to contribute per month to support tourism in your community?

☐ 0-4hours ☐ 5-10 hours ☐ 11-20 hours ☐ 21-40 hours

☐ As long is necessary

Which statement best describes how this community collaborates?
People in this community only help each other because they receive a personal benefit to themselves.
People in this community only help each other because they hope to have it reciprocated in future.
People in this community help each other without expecting anything in return.
People in this community rarely help each other.

Which statement best describes your opinion of community awareness?
I like to know about everything in the community, even if does not concern me.
I only like to know about community issues that concern me.
I only like to know about community issues that concern the community as a whole.
I don't really care about what is going on in the community.

Which statement best describes how your community interacts?
Our community works together to support community activities.
Our community avoids collaborating on community activities because we cannot overcome the challenges we face from others.
When our community collaborates on a project, it is usually the same small group of people who take charge.
Our community does not collaborate on community activities.

What is your opinion of tourism in your community?

What are the benefits of tourism in your community?

What are the negative impacts of tourism in your community?

What has tourism achieved in your community?

Information Letter

You are invited to participate in a project designed to explore practical approaches to sustainable tourism development in Cambodia. This research is being conducted as a component of a thesis for a Doctorate of Philosophy at Edith Cowan University.

By studying practical examples of sustainable tourism development utilising cultural tourism assets in Least Developed Countries, this research will seek to highlight the similarities and differences between sustainable tourism development theory and practice and reconcile these. In doing so, a clearer understanding of sustainable tourism development in LDCs will facilitate the further application of sustainable tourism as a catalyst for social and economic development in LDCs.

If you choose to participate in this project, you will be asked to participate in a semi structured interview. It will take approximately 45 minutes, and will be conducted at a time and place of your convenience

The interview will be digitally recorded. Access to these recordings will be restricted to the researcher, and interpreter, as necessary. To ensure your anonymity, your name will be coded. Participation this project is entirely voluntary. If you choose to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time prior to data analysis, without giving any reason or any negative consequences. Any information that may identify you may also be withdrawn from the study at any time.

All individual data will be treated with the strictest confidence and only used for the purposes of this project. If the information you provide is published, you will not be identified in any written work or presentation. All data gathered will be retained for a period of up to five years, and then will be destroyed.

If you have any further questions or require any further information regarding this research, please contact:

Sotear Ellis
Email: s.ellis@ecu.edu.au

Dr Lynnaire Sheridan PhD
Principal Supervisor
Edith Cowan University
School of Marketing, Tourism and Leisure
Email: l.sheridan@ecu.edu.au

If you have any concerns or complaints about the project and wish to speak to an independent person, you may contact:

Research Ethics Officer
Phone: +61 8 6304 2170
Email: research.ethics@ecu.edu.au

Appendix Three: Results from phase two structured interviews

Banteay Chhmar

	Total Negative	% Negative	Total Positive	% Positive
Awareness of tourism	0	0.00	15	100.00
Support of Tourism	0	0.00	15	100.00
Potential for tourism in the community	0	0.00	15	100.00
	Total Negative	**% Negative**	**Total Positive**	**% Positive**
Desire to participate in:				
Homestay/Hotel			2	13.33
Guide			2	13.33
F&B			4	26.67
Souvenirs			2	13.33
Activity Group			1	6.67
Other			5	33.33
	Total Negative	**% Negative**	**Total Positive**	**% Positive**
Willingness to participate in tourism committee				
Attend Meetings	5	33.33	10	66.67
Stand for Committee	5	33.33	10	66.67
	Total Negative	**% Negative**	**Total Positive**	**% Positive**
Desire for role in tourism committee				
President			1	6.67
Vice President				
Secretary			5	33.33
Treasurer			1	6.67
Activity Group Leader			1	6.67
Member			5	33.33
	Total Negative	**% Negative**	**Total Positive**	**% Positive**
Time willing to commit to tourism committee				
Spare time only			4	26.67
5-10 hours/week			5	33.33
21-40 hours/week			1	6.67
As necessary			5	33.33

	Total Negative	% Negative	Total Positive	% Positive
People in this community only help each other because they receive a personal benefit to themselves			0	0.00
People in this community only help each other because they hope to have it reciprocated in the future			11	73.33
People in this community help each other without expecting anything in return			4	26.67
People in this community rarely help each other			0	0.00

	Total Negative	% Negative	Total Positive	% Positive
I like to know about everything in the community, even if it doesn't concern me			8	53.33
I only like to know about community issues that concern me			0	0.00
I only like to know about community issues that concern the community as a whole			7	46.67
I don't really care about what is going on the community			0	0.00

	Total Negative	% Negative	Total Positive	% Positive
Our community works together to support community activities			13	86.67
Our community avoids collaborating on community activities because we cannot overcome the challenges we face from others			1	6.67
When our community collaborates on a project, it is usually the same small group of people who take charge			1	6.67
Our community does not collaborate on community activities			0	0.00

Banlung

	Total Negative	% Negative	Total Positive	% Positive
Awareness of tourism	2	11.11	16	88.89
Support of Tourism	0	0.00	18	100.00
Potential for tourism in the community	5	27.78	13	72.22
	Total Negative	**% Negative**	**Total Positive**	**% Positive**
Desire to participate in:				
Homestay/Hotel			3	16.67
Guide			2	11.11
F&B			3	16.67
Souvenirs			6	33.33
Activity Group			3	16.67
Other			1	5.56
	Total Negative	**% Negative**	**Total Positive**	**% Positive**
Willingness to participate in tourism committee				
Attend Meetings	1	5.56	17	94.44
Stand for Committee	7	38.89	11	61.11
Desire for role in tourism committee				
President			6	33.33
Vice President			1	5.56
Secretary				
Treasurer				
Activity Group Leader			1	5.56
Member			8	44.44
	Total Negative	**% Negative**	**Total Positive**	**% Positive**
Time willing to commit to tourism committee				
Spare time only			3	16.67
0-4 hours/week			4	22.22
5-10 hours/week			2	11.11
Full time			5	27.78
As necessary			4	22.22

	Total Negative	% Negative	Total Positive	% Positive
People in this community only help each other because they receive a personal benefit to themselves			2	11.11
People in this community only help each other because they hope to have it reciprocated in the future			7	38.89
People in this community help each other without expecting anything in return			9	50.00
People in this community rarely help each other			0	0.00
	Total Negative	**% Negative**	**Total Positive**	**% Positive**
I like to know about everything in the community, even if it doesn't concern me			5	27.78
I only like to know about community issues that concern me			3	16.67
I only like to know about community issues that concern the community as a whole			8	44.44
I don't really care about what is going on the community			2	11.11
	Total Negative	**% Negative**	**Total Positive**	**% Positive**
Our community works together to support community activities			13	72.22
Our community avoids collaborating on community activities because we cannot overcome the challenges we face from others			2	11.11
When our community collaborates on a project, it is usually the same small group of people who take charge			1	5.56
Our community does not collaborate on community activities			1	5.56