

**Community Involvement in Developing Community-Based Tourism. A
Case Study of Vietnam's Central Highlands**

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Abstract

Community-based tourism (CBT) is considered as one of the effective ways of making living that brings benefit directly to local people. However, recent research shows that locals, even in less touristically developed areas, are just passive objects of manipulation by outside forces (Cohen, 2003). This paper presents a case study of the Central Highlands of Vietnam to explore the applicability of CBT which is evaluated based on community involvement. The paper concludes that on the development pathway, local people perform their role and involve in tourism in different levels among study sites that influences and generates a general model of developing CBT.

Keywords: community involvement, community-based tourism, Vietnam, Central Highlands, social capital

Introduction

Community-based tourism (CBT) has been commonly viewed as “a means of facilitating socio-economic benefits” (Carr, Ruhanen, & Whitford, 2016) in developing countries in search of sustainable approaches to development. This type of tourism is of special interest to academic researchers in both practical and theoretical perspectives.

From the empirical viewpoint, CBT development around the globe, particularly in developing countries, has frequently aroused scepticism about its sustainability.

Communities who serve at the front line in tourism provision, are often the last to receive benefits from their efforts. This practice has led to the deterioration of many destinations, and leaves local people worse off (Mitchell & Reid, 2001). Therefore, a rigorous examination of the barriers to CBT's practicality is called for, in order to mitigate its negative impacts and identify ways to ensure sustainable approaches to CBT. Since the disproportionate distribution of tourism returns is believed to derive

from the different patterns of power among various groups (Tosun, 2000), Mitchell and Reid (2001, p.114) have suggested developing a model that “places emphasis on community empowerment in tourism planning and implementation”.

In general, the recent research has involved two primary and related aspects. First, the participation of communities is researched technically to develop a model, a planning tool that integrates communities into tourism development (Mitchell & Reid, 2001; Simmons, 1994). Second, other studies mainly focus on the complexity of applying the concept of community participation (Li, 2004; Tosun, 2000). These latter studies have contributed to examining the prospects for, and the barriers to, community involvement. Although community participation is highly desirable, and community residents are even recognized as an indispensable ingredient in the hospitality atmosphere of a tourist area (Simmons, 1994), its practicality is not readily applicable to developing countries (Tosun, 2000). In a recent study, Tosun contends that the limitations of community participation may be analysed under three main aspects: limitations at the operational level, structural limitations, and cultural limitations (ibid). Communities have become the objects of their participation, as their participation has been driven from the outside and beyond their control. This paper, therefore, attempts to rethink the issue of community participation from the internal side.

In order to address the issue of community involvements, social capital is considered as a significant asset. This paper, then, raised up a question whether CBT can be sustainable and successful based strongly on community networks and their organizations which play a role of innovators to mobilize internal assets and gain an equal power distribution protecting communities from being exploited by outsiders.

1 Study area

The Central Highlands of Vietnam is a mountainous area of 54.416 km². Historically,

these highlands had never been populated by ethnic Vietnamese. Until the start of the mid-19th century, the overwhelming majority of this area was made up of multi-ethnic groups (accounting for 69.7% of the total population in 1976) from the Austronesian and Austro-Asiatic languages families (called indigenous people in this paper).

Although these groups vary in their ethnic backgrounds, they share similar specific features of traditional economic activities and social systems. Another specific aspect of indigenous communities is the fact that their societies were historically village-centred with a high level of intra-village cooperation (Valerie, 2014). The social networks have changed over time. However, they still play a certain role in daily life and influence the livelihood pathways of the indigenous people.

After the Vietnam War and the country's reunification, series of policies reform, particularly on land, migration process, has implemented in the Central Highlands that put indigenous people under livelihood constraints and led to transformations in their livelihood pathways. Tourism is expected to be an effective way of making a living against livelihood stress, as it not only enhances the financial liquidity of the indigenous people, but also gives them opportunities to be active agents. For the purpose of the present study, a fieldtrip was conducted in six villages at three sites in the Central Highlands: B'Nor C and Bang Ja (Lac-Duong District, Lam Dong Province), Le and Jun (Lak District, Dak Lak Province) and Kon Jori and Kon K'tu (Kontum City, Kontum Province). These villages share the common characteristics of an exotic minority culture and stunning mountainous landscapes. Each site, however, has its own specific characteristics and has experienced different paths and levels of developing tourism. While Lac Duong has been a resort centre in the highlands since French colonial times, and Lak has already formed some tourist programs, Kontum is the last of

these three to start developing as a tourist destination. The numbers of visitors partly reflect the different stages of tourism development at these three study-sites.

Table 1 Tourism status in Vietnam’s Central Highlands

Province	2000		2005		2010		2010 Share %
	International arrivals	Domestic arrivals	International arrivals	Domestic arrivals	International arrivals	Domestic arrivals	
Kontum	1,292	15,265	4,055	27,786	58,500	68,900	3.31
Dak Lak	6,520	137,765	14,540	188,609	50,000	450,000	13.00
Lam Dong	71,000	654,000	100,600	1,460,300	200,000	2,600,000	72.78
Central Highlands	84,376	850,313	129,130	1,863,902	335,000	3,512,400	100

Source: Institute for Tourism Development Research

2 Conceptual Framework and Study Method

Community-based tourism is defined as a sustainable form of tourism in which the intended beneficiaries are encouraged to get involved by mobilising their own resources (Li, 2004), it “emerges from a community development strategy” as “a tool to strengthen the ability of rural community organization” (Suansri, 2003, p.11). The success of a CBT model is evaluated based on level of community participation and the benefit they are shared.

Social capital is seen as a key asset to determine community participation, since its components (trust, sharing, and reciprocity), facilitates collective agreements and mobilizes scarce assets to raise local people’s voices. The degree of social capital, contributing differently in power distribution among tourism stakeholders, will be reflected in the various types of community participation, from passive involvement to active involvement, and the highest level is self-organization or full participation (Ashley & Roe, 1998). Stocks of social capital are defined by trust, norms, and networks that tend to be self-reinforcing and cumulative (Harpham, Grant, & Thomas, 2002; Jones, 2005; Putnam, 1993). Two components of structural and cognitive social

capital will be considered in order to gain more insight into the quality value of social capital. In addition, to view indigenous people from a perspective beyond their historically isolated position, their social capital should be also examined in a wider network with outsiders. This paper, thus, added bonding and bridging social capital to the equation. While “bonding implies within community relations, bridging implies extra (outside) community relations” (Harpham et al., 2002, p.109). In the first stage of developing tourism, the relation with tourism enterprise is the main outside network, which brings local communities capital investment, business skills, and marketing links.

Given the above definition of the stock of social capital, the method applied to measure the research’s dimensions should be mainly, but not exclusively, qualitative. Additionally, due to the demographic characteristics of indigenous communities in the Central Highlands (language barriers, high level of illiteracy), static research instruments are unlikely to gain sufficient crucial data.

A combination of in-depth interviews and observations was deployed as research techniques. The researcher has immersed herself in empirical work from Sep. 2014 to Feb. 2015, and 57 interviews were conducted. Each household was supposed to be examined as a unit. Although indigenous people traditionally lived in matriarchal communities, the men have recently become the main labourers and thus have more power to make economic decisions. Husbands were, therefore, interviewed in most cases. Further, other data including statistics, annual reports, scientific reports, and maps were collected. This data provided a second perspective to compare with the interview data; more importantly, it yielded a holistic view of the study sites, which were rather large and challenging to access.

3 Role of Social Capital and the General Model of CBT Development

To fulfil the objective of examining the role of social capital mobilized in tourism

activities, my research findings first present the available stock of social capital within indigenous communities, covering both structural and cognitive components. An insight into the role of these social networks will then be sought, through their influences on community involvement in different types of tourism enterprises.

3.1 Social Transformations at Study Sites and the Community Networks

Historically, the village played an extremely significant role in spiritual and daily life of indigenous people. Even a person's individual identity was defined by his/her village, as they had no strong awareness of individual ego. In village, traditional leadership controlled the society following unwritten customary laws and to connect villagers in strong solidarity (Hickey, 1967). Therefore, communities' self-organization was strong based on social coherence, traditional leadership and traditional norms instead of individual interest.

The massive interventions through policy reforms of the Vietnamese Government after 1975 caused the disorder in indigenous societies and generated "voices arguing that more respect and sensitivity should be paid to the importance of cultural traditions among minorities" (McElwee, 2008, p.201). Politically, the villages became a state unit, controlled by new rules. The role of the elder became less important as his responsibilities were mainly taken over by state-appointed administrators. In addition, as a result of the state plan of resettlement and the spontaneous migration prompted by the appeal of profitable crops, the intermingling of Kinh people with indigenous people has fragmented their village space, which resulted in a less coherent village structure leading to a fragmentation of its functions.

Another facet of social capital is the trust, a positive basis for collective actions, which is attributed by the norm and beliefs mentioned above and is also influenced differently by the transformations. The study sites in Lac Duong experiences the most

transformation that pushes this town toward progress. These study sites have been reformed as the modern villages with a new title of “population group” (*tổ dân phố*), where the community structure is not identified anymore. Villagers then mentioned trust as a value in assessing their community networks and as a key element in exposing the shift happening in their society. Consequently, local people are unlikely to reach the collective agreement.

In a contrast scenario, it was unanimously agreed in Kontum City that communities adhered to the rules very well to preserve their trust. Study sites in Kontum appear rather isolated and well-bounded maintaining a traditional village structure. These villages are of thatched single-family houses arranged around a central communal house. The common house is an important symbol of community-respective groups for centuries as the spirit of the village. Elders’ voices still weight in the communities’ daily life and solidarity. The respect and adherence to these traditional norms were central to their continued functions thus far.

At a more developed stage, the contribution of social capital in Lak District has been more convincing. Inevitably, villagers at Lak District admitted to the loss of cohesion in their communities in comparison to the past. “In the past we freely shared labour and willingly helped when a family had a wedding or funeral, but now only relatives help each other, and it is not entirely free” (interview at Le Village, Lac District, on 01.12.2014). Local people, however, maintained their traditional lifestyle (living in stilt houses) and livelihood (primarily cultivating paddy) and still had a stable basis for their collective actions towards tourism development.

The erosion of social capital among villagers was revealed at all study sites and could be attributed to various reasons. First, since land had been seen as the most significant possession in the traditional society, changes in land use and land

management inevitably had deep impacts on indigenous lives. Lands had always been common properties never officially allocated to villagers, but instead, managed by elders. After the state implemented land policy reforms, individual land ownership was instituted. As a consequence, villagers developed the perception of individual ownership. This partially broke the village collective spirit and brought about the pursuit of individual, rather than collective benefit. Second, urbanization and development made sense in terms of opportunities for easy access and adaptation to the customs and habits of the Kinh majority. Although Kontum¹ is a (provincial) city, the study villages at this site were less developed than ones in some other districts². Furthermore, due to the specific isolated locations, the study sites in Kontum tended to keep themselves peaceful and separated, rather than exposing their culture and close-knit network to be diluted by outsiders, like in Lac Duong and Lak District. Finally yet importantly, the appearance of migrants (nothing more than the consequence and/or driving force of urbanization and development) is stated as the third factor in the erosion of social capital. Whereas there were a few migrants in the study villages of Kontum and Lak, the number of Kinh people who had settling among the villagers in Lac Duong made this village structure unrecognizable and greatly weakened their social ties.

¹ In Vietnam, the province is divided into districts (*huyện*), provincial cities, provincial cities (*thành phố trực thuộc tỉnh*), and district-level towns (*thị xã*) which are subdivided into commune-level towns (*thị trấn*), or commune (*xã*). A commune-level town can be upgraded to a district-level town, and district-level towns can develop into provincial cities depending on their urbanization level.

² This can be understood, since processes of urbanization in Vietnam is sometimes not corresponding to stage of development (World Bank, 2011). And the disparity of development pace in every administration unit might be caught.

Given the vulnerability context with which indigenous communities were coping, bridging social capital brought a great deal of support in the form of resources and networks from outside. Of those external connections, the relationship between communities and tourism companies was the most important. These relationships developed differently between study sites, depending on the management type of the companies and will be discussed in next section.

3.2 From Community Involvement to Self-organization: three development stages of CBT at study-sites

Although tourism was managed in many different ways at every study sites, each site had one dominant type that represented the feature of community participation as a reflection of its social capital in correlation with different levels of developing tourism. Villages at three study sites are experiencing three different CBT development paths. An insight into these paths will shed light on the determinant role of communities' social capital (role of innovators and ability to control an equal ownership distribution) in relationship with outsiders/middlemen. The contributions of different actors should be weight to find out a sustainable cooperation in which the role and the right of each actors are clearly delineated.

Private Business Run by Outsiders

Study-sites in Kontum appears to be the first step of development model where tourism is just at the beginning stage. These communities stood out because of their traditional networks, which supported villagers in getting agreements for working in tourism. Villagers were attracted to tourism activities by the opportunity for self-reliance and by the idea of showing off their culture to others while benefitting their communities.

Ms. Ma Khuong³, Kon K'tu Village, Kontum City

People sometimes ask me why I work in tourism. Well, because the tourists love my village so I feel I should. It is not just for me, but for my community as well. If it only brought benefits for me, I would definitely not make the effort. But the money we earn is kept in a community fund, so I have more motivation to join in tourism. We use those funds, for example, to renovate the common house, and to celebrate festivals in the new common house. We are Catholic, so the community fund is also used to renovate the church. If someone is ill, we can also send her/him some of that money...

However, as the last site to develop tourism, such activities here were relatively limited and mainly run by outsiders. At the time we carried out our fieldwork, Highland Eco Tours⁴ was the only company running at Kon K'tu Village. Be impressed by the long standing community networks and understanding its role in a CBT program, the company owner had no way better than building his business on a partnership with the community that adhering to and respecting communities' customs at this first development stage. In turn, villagers are eager to participate in his tourism activities. They leased out their land to build homestays, and in this way got a monthly income, even during the off-season. They had also set up a group to perform gong music, offered dugout canoe tours, etc. Villagers were able to share in the profits of tourism, and a small part was reserved for community funds.

Tourism activities at this area present an image of one product, one community. At the moment, there is, on one side, no conflict between households when they work together and they prefer to develop a unique CBT product for all. On another site, villagers expressed their loyalty in cooperating with the company.

³ Except for the names of certain tourism companies' owners, all names of interviewees are pseudonyms in order to protect their anonymity.

⁴ Website of Highland Eco Tour: <http://vietnamhighlands.com/aboutus.html>

No egoism and no organization and high loyalty to tourism entrepreneurs are the features of this case that shows a sign of a very early step of CBT development. The smoothness in running tourism and balance of profit sharing is not yet stable and may be broken in development process. It sounds ideally, as the definition of CBT seems to come into practice in this case. However, some may argue that tourism in Kontum is still in its initial stage that the tourism revenue is not high enough to trigger the competition and conflicts. Furthermore, there is not any community organization taking charge of developing CBT. Community networks and kinship alone do not help local people self - organize tourism. The success of tourism in their village still depends much on management from outsiders.

Cooperative Business

At a more developed stage of Lak study-sites, the community networks, which have been degraded in some sense, is performing their role though. Social capital of community is still stable for their collective actions towards tourism development and strong enough to raise the local voice when cooperating with outsiders developing CBT.

The Duc-Mai cooperative is one of the first tourism businesses established in Lak. The initial management board of this cooperative, which worked to mobilize local assets for tourism and offered jobs for villagers, was founded by one Kinh and three indigenous people. Thus, the villagers have many opportunities to be involved. In this cooperation, local people play a distinction role, which cannot be substituted. The villagers are providing different tourism services depending on their available assets, which are specialized into homestays, elephant riding, dugout canoes, and gong performances. A complete tourism product, then, is a result of mobilizing all the various contributions from different households and presents a good example of cooperative business. This diminishes the conflict between groups, and even more, their social

capital is seen as a “dependent variable” (Jones, 2005), as it is consolidated through tourism activities.

Moreover, study cases of Lak District are lively example of social transformation in Central Highlands. Since the traditional community networks have been eroded, kinship comes to play a new role in facilitating collective activities. Community networks, therefore, shifted from village-centred to family-centred. When participating in tourism activities, local people prefer to share job opportunities with their relatives first. In addition, the mutual trust among kin is strong enough to purchase a common groups were property, which was then used as a community asset in tourism activities. Kinship was expressing a new picture of community networks.

On another aspect, the bridging social capital building with tourism companies brought a great deal of support. The company in this case plays a central role to mobilize separate services from single households into tourism products, and managed and assigned duties to each supplier based on tourists’ demands.

Tourism activities were the catalyst that enriched and consolidated connections between households. However, due to the lack of relevant expertise and knowledge, local people expressed their anxiety about “taking responsibility for the documents needed to manage a tourism business, such as asking for business permits, reporting tourist arrival numbers, tracking tourism revenue, and submitting income tax forms to the authorities” (interview at Le Village, Lak District, in 12.2014). They let the Kinh member take the lead in handling all such procedures and designing and operating the tour programs. Thus, the implementation of a CBT program likely meant negotiating mutual interests between communities and the Kinh owner.

This is a good example of resilience, in that it shows how their social capital has changed but can remain strong and facilitate collective actions. These communities also

gain success in building up relationship with tourism companies, which allows them to perform their role in tourism program and take a reasonable profit sharing.

There were also some other tourism companies in Lak. However, they had limited connections with villagers. These companies mainly relied on their own assets. For example, instead hiring local houses for homestays, they built simulated traditional houses, chains of cottages, which were more modern than the communities' actual infrastructure. Villagers, then, were limited to acting as suppliers as well as employers. In turn, the companies received less support from local people. And their tourism product is far much from the authenticity to attract CBT-tourists.

Community Enterprises

Turning to the last case, Lac Duong is the most developed study sites and witnesses the most transformation in their society. Community network have weakened, collective activities in these communities are rare, and are now completely absent in their tourism activities. That influences both of the bonding relationship among individual households when participating in tourism and the bridging cooperation with outsiders/ tourism companies.

Since local people do not have such a close bonding connection, traditional value consequently lost, private enterprises was less likely to be motivated to work with a network and find that it is not necessary to build up their tourism product based on community. The cooperation with private companies do not happen in the same way as this above case. Moreover, local people appeared to be poor in skills, and to claim high salary leading companies to refuse to employ them. In a range of tourism companies at Lac Duong District, indigenous people just ran errands or worked in security or sanitation for low pay and “[were] not interested in their positions, and [did] not pay any attention to developing tourism either” (interview at Lac Duong District, in

11.2014). The low level of community participation resulted in outsiders reaping more of the economic benefits of tourism.

Generally, the linkage between outside entrepreneurs and villagers was pretty poor. On one side, outsiders developed tourism business based not at all on community. On the other side, local people had full power to make decisions and organize their own business. So far, there are no community tourism enterprises at the study site, but some private companies run by individual villagers grew up in Lac Duong District. Eleven indigenous households with enough assets (human resources, financial capital) have organized gong groups, and run these as independent business. They could also offer supplementary services such as traditional food and beverages (*com lam, rượu cần*).

This activity is totally based on common traditional values, and is run by local people, so villagers were assumed to have more opportunities to get involved. In fact, the gong groups were mostly made up of relatives. Moreover, due to the weak community network and lack of cohesion among members, respondents at Lac Duong District revealed a certain level of conflict and competition appearing between Gong groups when developing tourism. The competition is even severer, since local people are so stuck with a very few tourism activities relating to gong performances that individual households cannot specialize and diversify their tourism participations.

Mrs. Sela, Bon Don Village, Lac Duong District

Our group attracts the most visitors. Therefore, the other groups envy and denigrate us; they fabricate scandals that are even spread in the media. They also cut their prices to draw tourists away from us. The competition is so fierce. They created lots of problems. They convinced the Cultural Department of our district to take over the gong club and promoted it to tourists, then equally divided tourists between the gong groups. By then I had lost my customers, and the tourists were displeased. This model was not effective. In the end, it was dissolved, and each group organized gong performances on their own again.

Not surprisingly, individual interests have recently become more important and carry much more weight than community benefits. Tourism activities were organized and operated individually, rather than as a common product of a community. Local people rejected the concept of equally sharing income (which is derived from equally sharing the number of tourists), and claimed that everything they did was fair in business competition.

When it came to publicity, these small tourism businesses in remote communities usually struggled with the challenges of accessing the market, as they lacked the means to connect directly to tourists. So far, middlemen have played an effective role in bridging communities and the tourism market. “Visitors come here mostly via middlemen” (interview at Bon Don Village, Lac Duong District, on 14.11.2014). However, the owners were creating unfair competition by paying middlemen commissions to send them tourists. In other words, the appearance of middlemen caused leakages of tourism income and made the competition between groups even fiercer.

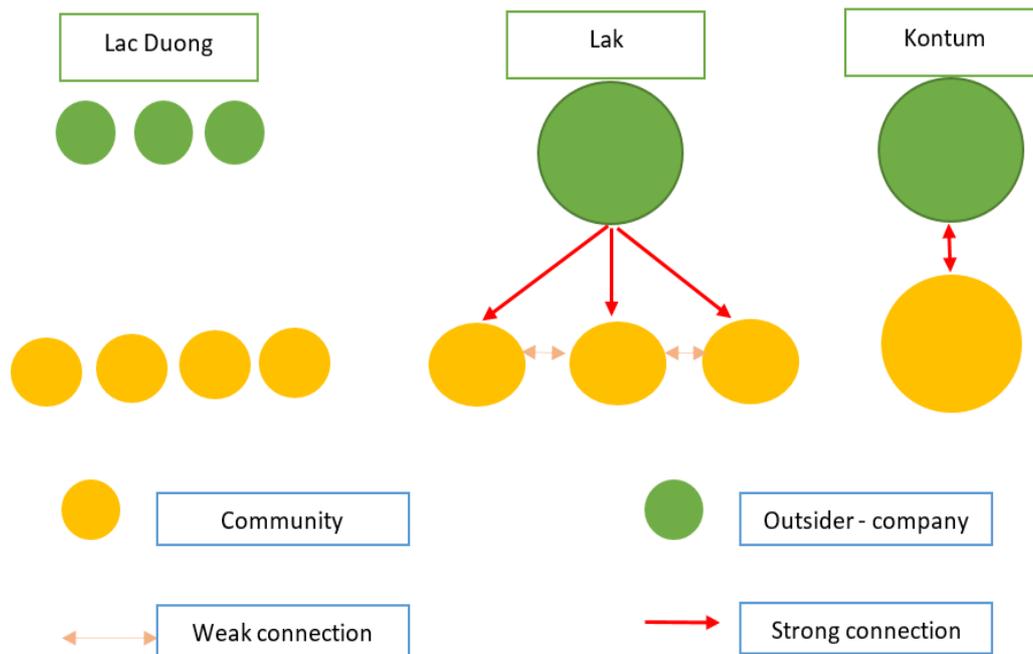
Mr. Plyng, Bang Gia Village, Lac Duong District

We were the first gong group here. Following me, other households started their business as gong performances too. This tourism activity blossomed in this area, and then the middlemen appeared. They meet and pick the tourists up from Dalat, or on main roads; they then bring the tourists to Lac Duong, and send them to the groups who give them a generous commission. The quality of the performance does not matter [to middlemen]. Money makes them blind. Now they collect money from tourists first then pay us later. They are the ones who do tourism now, not us anymore.

Middlemen/traders are an essential chain in such tourism industry. However, the relationship between Kinh middlemen and local people in this case is reason for concern, as it is generated based on an unbalanced power. The middlemen take much

advantage of the weakness of villagers and earn from their middle position. Local people were aware of the negative sides in the relationship with middlemen, but they lack sufficient assets to reject working with such agents.

Figure 1 Connection forms in tourism activities at study sites



Source: Author

The main social networks at three study-sites – the connections within communities and the relationship between communities and companies are described by this figure 1 above. It generally presents a model of three development steps at study sites. The more developed the study site gain, the more community ties they will lost. In some cases, the network with outsiders appears as a social capital compensate which facilitates CBT activities. A sustainable step is defined when community gains a cooperation built on a balance network of inside and outside communities. That not only strengthens the ability of community organizations, but also allows them to take advantages of outside assets.

Conclusion

Although the type of tourism enterprises is believed to determine the scope of community participation (Ashley & Roe, 1998), case studies in this paper showed the reverse, as community networks partially defined the management types of the various tourism enterprises in villages. The rich bonding social capital motivated or even forced outsiders to cooperate with local people when setting up tourism ventures in villages, while the less cohesive communities separated the business of outsiders and those of villagers. The positive networks in communities at the Kontum and Lak study sites underlay much of the good relationships with outside stakeholders when developing tourism. In the first stage of tourism development, networks with companies are inevitable since they provides the assets, skills, capital, etc. which communities are lacking.

The local people in Lac Duong proudly asserted that they could run tourism activities on their own. However, it was not really a community product and did not present a harmonious image of their village, as people preferred to focus on their own benefits and conflicts, which unfortunately inhibited the development of these activities, already appeared. Moreover, individual businesses did not help local people mobilize their limited resources to compete with rival Kinh-run companies, and their dependence on middlemen led to most of the benefits escaping the community. In contrast, communities in Kontum worked together in peace, kept balance in sharing profit and set aside a small part for common benefit. However, the success of tourism in Kontum city was still in its initial stage, with the community only drawing a limited number of visitors and benefitting to a limited degree. There is no guarantee that this business model will maintain its stability when the number of tourists increases, or whether higher visitor number will create conflicts and lead to a collapse of the program.

Meanwhile, tourism activities in Lak District were already shaped by a medium number of companies and visitors in a balanced network of insiders and outsiders. Although their community networks - like at other study sites – were eroded, the new form of kinship was useful enough to keep them out of conflicts and strong enough to demand respect from tourism companies when participating in tourism and sharing benefits. The model of Lak District is, therefore, proposed as a solution for developing CBT in Central Highlands.

Generally, apart from the full (but inconsistent) participation of households in Lac Duong, most villagers expressed apathy towards participation in developing tourism. The villagers' low level of interest in getting involved might be due to the following reasons: (1) Villagers were unaware of the full meaning of CBT. They recognized the implications of CBT as an extra source of income, but most of them preferred to gain short-term benefits rather invest effort for lasting benefits. (2) Communities did not respect their self-esteem enough as one of the most significant elements to build up CBT. Instead, they perceived themselves as inferior to outside entrepreneurs and weighed the lack of finances over the assets of their community. As a result, they refused to take charge of the leadership. This led to the powerful control of outsiders over the tourism business.

Since the most important criteria for a successful CBT program is assessed by the level of community involvement and a fair distribution of income and benefits to communities, the results of this study clearly show that the process of developing CBT at study sites needs to be improved. CBT should be regarded more as a business model than as a community development model. Thus, the entrepreneurial role and technical skills of communities are required. Also, social capital, especially community cohesiveness, should be maintained and enriched. Bonding social capital makes

communities unique from an outside perspective, owing to the value of their culture, norms, traditional customs and knowledge, and gives community members equilibrium when working together. Study results also recommend keeping tourism numbers moderate at study sites, and upholding the cooperation in the community and with other stakeholders to continue to compensate for the villagers' asset deficiency. Moreover, CBT as a resilience livelihood is just one option and has not yet become a mass-trend (and cannot be practiced by all). Due to the risks that tourism can bring to the local people, for instance, competition with the other famous destinations and the fluctuations of the tourism market, CBT should be developed on a small-scale and moderate level as an extra income resource.

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