

PROCEEDINGS

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON EMERGING TOURISM IN THE CHANGING WORLD

12 - 13 November, 2016

Imperial Mae Ping Hotel, Chiang Mai, Thailand

Organised by

Centre for Asian Tourism Research
Research Administration Center (RAC)
Chiang Mai University, Thailand

www.emergingtourism.com

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**Saturday, 12th November, 2016
Imperial Mae Ping Hotel, Chiang Mai**

08.30	Registration Desk Open
09.00-09.10 09.10-09.20 09.20-09.30	Welcome Address: Director, Research Administration Center, Chiang Mai University Acknowledge Address: Associate Professor Dr. Ploysri Porananond, Conference Chairperson Opening Address: Vice President for Research and Academic Services, Chiang Mai University
09.30-10.15	Keynote: Professor David Harrison, Middlesex University, UK "Looking East but learning from the West? Mass Tourism and Emerging Nations"
10.15-10.30	Coffee Break
10.30-11.10	Keynote: Professor Shinji Yamashita, University of Tokyo/Teikyo Heisei University, Japan "Disaster and Tourism: Emerging Forms of Tourism in the Aftermath of the Great East Japan Earthquake"
11.10- 12.10	Dark Tourism, Disaster, Democracy and Tourism Room: Imperial 3 Chair: Nelson H. Graburn Choi Ho Rim – Korean Veterans' Battlefield Travel in Vietnam: Dark Tourism and Politics of Memory I Wayan Suyadnya - A Tale of Two Disasters: How is Disaster Emerging as Tourist Destination in Indonesia? Martin Michalon - Tourism(s) and the way to democracy in Myanmar
12.10-13.10	Lunch
13.10-14.30	Food Tourism, Halal Tourism Room: Imperial 3 Chair: Victor T. King Amnaj Khaokhrueamuang - Food Tourism Development Based on Sufficiency Economy Agriculture in Chom Chaeng Village: Conceptualizing Thai Cuisine with the Japanese Dietary Hiroshi Kuwahara - The Satisfaction Structure of Japanese Female Food Travelers Satkar Ulama - Halal Food and Prayer Facilities as Predictors for Halal Tourism Shin Yasuda - Religious Practices or Guidelines? The Invention of Tacit Knowledge in the Development of Halal Tourism Market in Japan
14.30-14.45	Coffee Break
14.45-16.40	Mobility, Risk, Impact and Tourism Room: Imperial 3 Chair: David Harrison Minyoung Lee - Escape Mobility: Young Men's Long-term Travel as 'Escape from Hell-Joseon' in South Korea Ming Ming Zhang - Effects of Shopping Attributes and Perceived Risks on Tourists' Shopping Satisfaction: A Case Study on Chinese Mainland Tourists' Souvenir Shopping Experience in Chiang Rai I-Ling Ling - The Effect of Advisory Signal on Tourist's Risk Perception: The Moderating Role of Generational Difference Chao-Chin Liu - Economic Impact Analysis of Emerging Road Race Event Tourism in Taiwan: Case of 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon Pattamol Kanjanakan - The impact of social media on foreign tourists' decision making to travel in Thailand
18.30	Dinner (at Jia Tong Heng Restaurant)

Sunday 13th November, 2016
Imperial Mae Ping Hotel, Chiang Mai

09:00-9:40	Keynote: Professor Nelson H. Graburn, University of California Berkeley, USA "Museums and Tourism in China"
9.40-10.20	Victor T. King, Leeds University, UK "Emerging Tourisms in Southeast Asia: Or What Constitutes Emergence?"
10.20-10.35	Coffee Break
10.35-12.30	Volunteer Tourism, Medical Tourism Room: Imperial 3 Chair: Shinji Yamashita Oh Soojin – Slum Tourism as a Tool for Urban-regeneration in South Korea Yim Ming Kwong – Everyday Ethics in Volunteer Tourism in Asia Brooke Schedneck – Giving Back' to Novice Monks: Encountering Difference and Challenging Authenticity through Buddhist Volunteer Tourism in Northern Thailand Chidchanok Anantamongkolkul - Medical Tourism Literature: A 10 Year Journey Ma Jingqing – Promoting or Devastating? On Confidence Crisis of Traditional Chinese Medicine Tourism
12.30-13.30	Lunch
13.30-15.00	Potential, Motivation, Perception and Tourism Room: Imperial 3 Chair: Victor T. King Andris Adhitra – Motivation of University Student of Indonesia Traveling to International Folklore Festival Sirimonbhorn Thipsingh – Wildlife Photographers' Motivation in Photographic Tourism Manoj Chandrasenan – Repeat Tours – Emerging Phenomenon – A Case Study about the Beach Resort Kovalam in Kerala, India Kailasam Thirumaran – Luxury Tourism, Developing Destinations: Research Review and Trajectories
15.00-15.15	Coffee Break (will be served in the conference room)
15.15-16.35	Health, Transboundary and Tourism Room: Imperial 3 Chair: David Harrison Keith Akiva Lehrer – Sustaining Healthy Tourism for the Aging Tourist: A Comparative Analysis of Noise Pollution in Europe and Asia Bussaba Sitikarn – Trans – boundary Tourism and Keys Success for Sustainable Tourism Operation on R3A: Thailand- Lao PDR -the Southern Republic of China Responding ASEAN community Athitaya Pathan – Challenges and Issues for Transboundary Tourism Development on R3A and R3B Routes Isaree Baedcharoen – Heritage Tourism: Opportunity for Trans-boundary Tourism Promotion on R3B
16.35-17.00	Notes from organiser and keynote speakers

Contents

Dark Tourism, Disaster, Democracy and Tourism

Choi Ho Rim – Korean Veterans' Battlefield Travel in Vietnam: Dark Tourism and Politics of Memory	1
I Wayan Suyadnya – A Tale of Two Disasters: How is Disaster Emerging as Tourist Destination in Indonesia?	24
Martin Michalon – Tourism (s) and the Way to Democracy in Myanmar	43

Food Tourism, Halal Tourism

Amnaj Khaokhrueamuang – Food Tourism Development Based on Sufficiency Economy Agriculture in Chom Chaeng Village: Conceptualizing Thai Cuisine with the Japanese Dietary	73
Hiroshi Kuwahara – The Satisfaction Structure of Japanese Female Food Travelers	100
Satkar Ulama – Halal Food and Prayer Facilities as Predictors for Halal Tourism	113
Shin Yasuda – Religious Practices or Guidelines? The Invention of Tacit Knowledge in the Development of Halal Tourism Market in Japan	126

Mobility, Risk, Impact and Tourism

Minyoung Lee – Escape Mobility: Young Men's Long – term Travel as 'Escape from Hell – Joseon' in South Korea	136
Ming Ming Zhang – Effects of Shopping Attributes and Perceived Risks on Tourists' Shopping Satisfaction: A Case Study on Chinese Mainland Tourists' Souvenir Shopping Experience in Chiang Rai	145
I-Ling Ling – The Effect of Advisory Signal on Tourist's Risk Perceptions: The Moderating Role of Generational Difference	157
Chao-Chin Liu – Economic Impact Analysis of Emerging Road Race Event Tourism in Taiwan: Case of 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon	167
Pattamol Kanjanakan – The Impact of Social Media on Foreign Tourists' Decision Making to Travel in Thailand	181

Volunteer Tourism, Medical Tourism

Oh Soojin – Slum Tourism as a Tool for Urban–regeneration in South Korea	191
Yim Ming Kwong – Everyday Ethics in Volunteer Tourism in Asia	208
Brooke Schedneck – Giving Back' to Novice Monks: Encountering Difference and Challenging Authenticity through Buddhist Volunteer Tourism in Northern Thailand	220
Chidchanok Anantamongkolkul – Medical Tourism Literature: A 10 Year Journey	230
Ma Jingqing – Promoting or Devastating? On Confidence Crisis of Traditional Chinese Medicine Tourism	241

Potential, Motivation, Perception and Tourism

Andris Adhitra – Motivation of University Student of Indonesia Traveling to International Folklore Festival	254
Sirimonbhorn Thipsingh – Wildlife Photographers' Motivation in Photographic Tourism	271
Manoj Chandrasenan – Repeat Tours – Emerging Phenomenon – A Case Study about the Beach Resort Kovalam in Kerala, India	279
Kailasam Thirumaran – Luxury Tourism, Developing Destinations: Research Review and Trajectories	287

Health, Transboundary and Tourism

Keith Akiva Lehrer – Sustaining Healthy Tourism for the Aging Tourist: A Comparative Analysis of Noise Pollution in Europe and Asia	300
Bussaba Sitikarn – Trans-boundary Tourism and Keys Success for Sustainable Tourism Operation on R3A: Thailand- Lao PDR -the Southern Republic of China Responding ASEAN community	309
Athitaya Pathan – Challenges and Issues for Transboundary Tourism Development on R3A and R3B Routes	318
Isaree Baedcharoen – Heritage Tourism: Opportunity for Trans-boundary Tourism Promotion on R3B	329

Dark Tourism, Disaster, Democracy and Tourism

Korean Veterans' Battlefield Travel in Vietnam: Dark Tourism and Politics of Memory

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Korean veterans set out trips to the battlefields of the Vietnam War in search of the memory of their participation in the war. Recalling their experiences of the war in four decades, they prepare itineraries for their journey back to the former battlegrounds. The battlefield travel is a pilgrimage of experiencing history as well as ritual journey into memory and transnational leisure activity. This study is an ethnography which interprets narrations and discourses of the veterans' personal and collective memories of the war experiences as (re)-produced in the old battlefields. The memories and discourses reflect major issues in Korean society over the participation in the Vietnam War as well as the conflict over the aftermaths.

Keywords: *Vietnam War, Dark tourism, memory, Korean veterans*

Introduction

In Korea, the effort to produce public discourses on its participation in the Vietnam War based on experiences and memories of former combat soldiers has not been active. Some studies of their collective memory and identity based on the oral statements of war veterans were recently published (Yun Chung-ro 2008; Lee Tae-joo 2008; 2009 etc.), but it is still rare to find records which contain their own voice. Also, the effort to socialize their memories has stalled for over two decades since their withdrawal from the war. Although the soldiers had stored the pain of the war in their body, it was not until in the 1990s that talks of this pain began to emerge (Shim Ju-hyung 2003: 85-91).¹ Any negative public discourses on their participation in the war have been suppressed (Choi Jung-gie 2009: 75-76). "Argument for mercenaries" and "suspect of civilian slaughter" have also dishonored war veterans who suffer from physical and mental wounds and economic difficulties (see Lee Han Woo 2006). Due to

¹ The dispatch of Korean soldiers to the Vietnam War was carried out as part of the United States' "More Flags Campaign" announced in April 1964. The first deployment of Korean soldiers was medical support team with 130 medical soldiers and 10 *Taekwondo* instructors arrived in Vung Tau in October 1964. A large-scale dispatch was made in February 1965 with the deployment of the *Bidhulghie* (Dove) Unit, which consisted of about 2,000 non-combat engineering and construction soldiers. About 20,000 soldiers of the marine ***Cheong-ryong* (Blue Dragon)** and army *Maeng-ho* (Brave Tiger) Divisions landed in Qui Nhon and took over the **tactical** areas of operational responsibility from the U.S. in October 1965. *Hyesanjin* Unit formed a combat division in April 1966 and the *Baek-ma* (White Horse) Division landed in the Cam Ranh Gulf in August 1966. The Brave Tiger Division was additionally dispatched in April 1966 and to reinforce military force, 3,000 soldiers were additionally sent in June 1967 (Source: Patriots and Veterans Affairs Agency; www.vwm.co.kr). Until the withdrawal of the troops in 1973, Korea emerged as the largest dispatching country after the U.S. The Korean soldiers dispatched to Vietnam were 325,517, all told, and the Korean troops stationed in Vietnam were 50,000 soldiers at the largest. Among them, about 5,000 and 16,000 soldiers respectively returned home, dead or injured. We still have unresolved issues over the Vietnam War such as war veterans' physical and mental injuries, missing soldiers, and suspect of the civilian massacres, etc.

the ideological conflict in Korean society which has continued since the Cold War era, those who actually experienced the battle at the risk of their lives have refrained from narrating and reproducing their diverse memories. In this situation, Korean veterans set out trips to the battlefields in search of the memory & nostalgia of their participation in the war.² Tracing memories of four decades back, they make up itineraries and set out their pilgrimage to the battlefields. This research attempts to interpret the aspects of politicization of the war experiences and collective memory of the Korean veterans' activities and narratives.

In modern tourism studies, subject matters of war or war memory are frequently used. The war-tourists are attracted by the desire to experience the mass destruction and violence. To those who need to reconcile with the painful past, trip to the former battleground may be an experience of catharsis, as if they are in the actual scenes of memory (Kennedy and Williams 2001; Schwenkel 2006: 4). Cohen defined tourists with six characteristics from the aspect of motivation of tourism (Cohen 1974: 532-33). To sum up his definitions, tourists are voluntary and temporary travelers with non-instrumental goals who expect to experience newness and enjoy change from the relatively long and non-repetitive journey. The field trips examined in this study have an additional characteristic that the war veterans' goal for the trips is to search their nostalgia or reproduce their war memories. In addition to escaping from daily routines and spending on leisure activity (Rojek 1993), war tourism in the modern time features a pursuit of authenticity (MacCannell 1976), social healing (Krippendorf 1987), quasi-pilgrimage or ritual (Graburn 1989). Unlike ordinary tourism featuring safety and convenience (Wang 2004: 42), the itinerary of war tourism in search of undeveloped or untouched old battlefields is similar to that of religious pilgrimage of asceticism.

The narration of tourism interacts not only with official history but also with personal memory. This is even more so if the itinerary is made up based on the experiences and memories of participants. Using the concept of "collective memory," Halbwachs contends that personal memory is neither permanent nor complete but it is a social product which is made and restructured while interacting with others' concept of the past (Halbwachs 1992).

The problem is that collective memory as social memory works as a force or power to dominate the consciousness and discourses of tourists who are on the spot of the field trip or have strong influence on them. From the context of tourism industry, the gaze of tourists may be regarded as having a greater power than tourist objects but the tourists' gaze passively following already-prepared package trips is powerless. The program of the host who forms tourist objects leads and overwhelms the guest's gaze (see Urly 2002). However, this study observed field trips made in a situation where the actual substance of the host was vague. Therefore, power relations surrounding the gaze are vague. Rather, the guest's eyes may at times determine the meaning of tourist objects. In war tourism, official history and personal memories interact, all mixed up with one another, and their boundaries are mingled (Kennedy & Williams 2001: 138). In this respect, there is room for controversy between those who see that the awareness of history at work in field trips is constantly restructured so as for the past to serve the present needs and those who view history as something resistant to such restructuring.

This study is an ethnography which interprets narrations and discourses of the veterans' personal and collective memories of the "*Wol-nam* War" experiences as (re)-produced in time travel to the old battlefields. The memories and discourses reflect major

² In this paper, the expression "Korean soldiers dispatched to Vietnam" is interchangeable with war veterans, comrades or fellow soldiers, or soldiers dispatched to *Wol-nam* depending on the contexts. The Vietnam War is also expressed as the *Wol-nam* War according to the contexts.

issues in Korean society over the background to participation in the War and its process and result as well as the conflict over the aftermaths of the war participation. Therefore, this study starts with the following questions. First, why and how do war veterans set out to travel the battlefields? Second, how are their war experiences and memories narrated and reproduced during the field trip? Third, what are the relationships of this practice with official memory and discourses on participation in the Vietnam War?

Since 2007, I have visited the former battlefields several times where Korean soldiers had participated. In October 2008, I joined the trip to battlefields with war veterans, observed the battlefields and had a heart-to-heart talk with them. The essential part of this writing comes from the voices and memories of over 10 war veterans who reside in Ho Chi Minh city, including the two guides for me. Also, I analyzed “N Cafe” homepage and major Websites for war veterans.

“Wol-nam War Veterans” and Trips to Battlefields

1. Korean veterans in Ho Chi Minh City

A homepage for a travel agency called N Café opened on January 29, 2007. Two veterans, H (born in 1946) and K (born in 1947), former soldiers of *Maeng-ho* and *Baek-ma* Divisions respectively and currently suffering from the aftereffects of the Agent Orange, operate the homepage while staying at the “Korean village” on the Pham Van Hai street, Ho Chi Minh city.³ In Korea, C, the main administrator of the Web site “Vietnam War and Korea” participates in the war tourism business.

I met K in a small hotel on the Pham Van Hai street at around 8 o'clock on the morning of October 19, 2008. He came riding on a 150cc Piaggio motorcycle in over a year after I had first contacted him. In August 2007 when I called H and said, “I want to visit the areas where civilians were allegedly killed by Korean soldiers in the Vietnam War,” he hung up, saying “There was no civilian slaughter. I don't want to meet someone who's interested in such a thing.” There had since been no answer from him to my repeated emails. A few months later, I contacted him again and said to him, “I'd like to join ‘war veterans’ trips to battlefields.” At this, he said, still in a cautious voice, “I can't meet you if you think the war soldiers as mercenaries or talk about civilian massacre.” When I said, “I came here to listen to your life stories,” he replied hesitantly that it was ‘a long story to tell’ and began to talk about how he was dispatched to the war. Contrary to my concerns, he began to unravel the tangle of his story in just an hour which might have long been kept deep inside his heart. H volunteered for the military service to come to Vietnam, while K was transferred from the paratroops unit to the War.

“I dropped out of a night high school when I was in the second year to volunteer for military service. While polishing shoes and selling newspapers and plastic umbrellas near Seoul City Hall, I came across the recruitment ad for troops. I thought I might be killed in the battlefield, but thought again, “What's the use of living like this?” and then submitted the application. When asked which military unit I wanted to apply, I replied, “Whatever the unit, it is OK with me if I can go to *Wol-nam* as soon as possible.” The very next day, a jeep came over to take me away. That was to use me, a young student, as a model for the advertisement. After physical examination and 16 weeks of training, I became 19 years old, when it was possible to dispatch me to the war. I heard that my name was on a broadcasting program.” (H)

³ The Korean village in Pham Van Hai is where “practically significant first-generation Koreans” in the history of Korean communities in Vietnam are gathered to live together (Chae Su-hong 2005: 109-111).

“I had such a miserable life at that time, so I am ashamed to tell the story. Do you know about “piggy porridge”? I had to walk seven to eight kilo meters every day to buy the piggy porridge. If there was any leftover water melon, I brought it home and boiled it for food. There was nothing tastier than that in the world. Sometimes, toothpicks came out of it Because they fed and sheltered me, I joined military service and then was transferred from the paratroops unit to the war. I was so glad to hear that there’d be a lot of combat allowance when dispatched to the war. I never thought at the time that I might be killed or injured.” (K)

K came to Vietnam when *Baek-ma* Division was first dispatched to the war in the fall of 1966. He participated in operations mostly near Tuy Hoa for two years. H was dispatched to Vietnam in late 1966 when he was a private soldier. He served the army for three years while moving from Quy Nhon and Phu Yen province. The two war veterans were at the scene of fights from 1967 to 1968 when the largest number of Korean soldiers were stationed during the Vietnam War. K returned home in 1968 and was discharged from the military service the next year. He recalled the fierce battles in Vietnam, saying, “The artillery unit at the forefront I served after returning to Korea was not like military corps when compared with the paratroops unit in *Wol-nam*.” After leaving the army, he learned mechanical skills with his friend and has since worked as an auto mechanic to make a living. H returned to Korea in September 1969 well after his due date for leaving the military service. After working at a plywood factory for a few years, he drifted overseas like other war veterans (see Lee Tae-joo 2008). He worked as a construction worker in Saudi Arabia for six years, and moved about as a small trader in Senegal, Uruguay, and many other countries. He came to Ho Chi Minh City in the early 1990s, met and remarried a Vietnamese woman. In 2008, he had a middle school son with her.

Despite the diversity in the lives of the war veterans I met in Pham Van Hai, they agreed in a voice that they’d never forgot Vietnam even for a day. They said they recalled operations areas the most of all and “visited the place where they had suffered the greatest pain.” Suffering from the aftereffects of defoliants, they said, “We easily become friends and depend on each other when we meet in this place with the deepest sorrow and pain.” After 8 years’ painful struggle against illness, K came back to Vietnam in 2002 when he was 55 years old. Although afflicted with asthma, cardiac arrhythmia and weak lungs, he wanted to have a trip to Vietnam before he died. So he got aboard an airplane with an oxygen tank

“Although I often went aboard an aircraft, I had to jump from it every time. (Laughter) When I “landed” at Saigon Airport and stayed at a hotel for five days, strangely enough, I no longer needed the oxygen tank. When I returned to Korea, I had difficulty breathing as soon as I arrived at the airport. I had to be in hospital so I packed and came back to Vietnam. I stayed here for 15 days but did not use the oxygen tank even once. My wife told me to live in Vietnam for good as the country went well with me. When I felt difficulty breathing in an airplane to Korea, the airplane was passing over Jeju Island. It’s mysterious indeed. When I first came here people said I was like a corpse but now I become more like a human. It’s a miracle that I’ve lived for six years without the oxygen tank.”

Not until 1994 had H realized that the pain he had suffered over 20 years was caused by defoliants.

“From about 32 years old on, my legs hurt so much so that I wished to cut them off but thought the pain was because of too much work. At that time nobody knew about defoliants nor talked about them. In 1994, I had a severe cough so I went to a doctor’s office for examination. He

said the symptom was similar to pneumonia but he did not know its exact causes. At a big hospital, I had another test. After asking questions such as ‘Have you been to Vietnam? Why did you not tell that earlier?’ the doctor diagnosed it as the aftereffects of defoliants. I did not get better whatever treatment I received. I thought it was because of the deep pain and sorrow in my heart.”

After the official diplomatic relationship between Korea and Vietnam in 1992, a growing number of war veterans began to be back to Vietnam for a long-term stay. Some say the number is currently a thousand people and others say it is hundreds. Although fellow soldiers associations for defoliants and branches of war veteran organizations are formed, an exact number of the people is not known yet. Most gatherings of fellow soldiers were operated largely by a few enthusiastic members. Among the people I met in Pham Van Hai, there were not many former combatants. People known as “elders of the Korean village” were generally not former dispatched soldiers but civilians who belonged to the military or people who stayed for business during the War (Chae Su-hong 2005: 110). Among the people I met, not a few had stayed in the long term without any particular jobs. They made their livelihoods by receiving compensation or pension for those confirmed with the aftereffects of defoliants or for those with merits in the war.⁴ H and K received about 1.2 million won for pension every month. H was called “toothless Brave Tiger” due to his missing teeth caused by defoliants. He introduced field trips to me, saying, “I have no regrets even if I die. I work hard because I found something to do in Vietnam.” To be a guide to the battlefields, K received tour guide training at Ho Chi Minh City College of Economics for a year and was learning the Vietnamese language as well at a college.

2. N Café and trips to battlefields: “Free pilgrimage in search of memory”

Since the Vietnam tourism industry faced globalization and market economy, transnational war tourism has continuously become package commodities. “Anti-American liberation war” particularly has become an essential icon of Vietnam’s tourism. In Vietnam, the symbols of war are preserved or reproduced, and reused for “national prosperity and development.” Tourists to Vietnam experience not only Vietnam’s “genuine tradition” and “romantic colonial heritage” but also the memory and history of the War as a reproduced “past without pain” (Kennedy and Williams 2001; Schwenkel 2006). Although more than 4 million foreign visitors to Vietnam are not all war tourists, they cannot easily avoid the scenes in Vietnam where the war is turned into images and commodities. In Vietnam, memories and narrations of war are very common.

According to Vietnam’s National Administration of Tourism, Korea has been vying for the second place with the United States after China in the number of visitors to Vietnam by

⁴ It was known in 1991 for the first time in Korea by an ethnic Korean in Australia that many war veterans suffer from diseases caused by defoliants. In 1992, war veterans, civil rights groups and religious groups in Korea posed the aftereffects of defoliants as a social problem. In February 1993, the “Act on Supporting Defoliant Aftereffect Suspect Patients” came into effect. By the end of December 2005, a total of 131,910 people had received examination. Of them, 25,723 people (19.5%) were judged to have aftereffects; 68,046 people (51.6%), aftereffect suspected; 51 people, belonged to second generation patients; 38,090 people (28.9%) were non-applicable; and 3,557 people were under review(Source: Patriots and Veterans Affairs Agency). According to data by Veterans Hospital as of 2000, 5 to 10 percent of war veterans suffer from “post-traumatic stress disorder(PTSD),” and the number is estimated at over 15,000 veterans(Han Hong-gu 2005: 40; recited from Lee Han Woo 2006: 134).

nationality since 2005. (<http://www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn>)⁵ However, unlike for Americans, Australians and French, trips to the battlefields for Koreans are not developed as regular tour packages in Vietnam. Of the 13 historic sites of war that the Vietnamese government designated and developed as national historic sites, there is no site in which Korea directly participated. (see, VNAT n.a) In the early 1990s, some Korean travel agencies developed programs to the battlefields but closed their business because they were unpopular. Presently, only a few irregular packages remain but they depend on the request from the tourists. Although 340,000 Korean people participated in the war, although about 200,000 people still suffer from the wounds of the war, and although not a few people left their children in Vietnam, war-related tourism has not become popular in Korea (Choi Horim 2009: 282-83). As such, the trips to battlefields observed in this study are very marginal in Vietnam’s mass-tourism. Participants are limited in number and their participation is not frequent.

Trips to battlefields on N Café are centered on programs to visit undeveloped battlefields and military posts of the past. On the homepage of N Café is posted this ad copy: “We, war veterans living in Vietnam, will restore the charm of your travel and past memories as freely as the wind.” The travel agency introduces Vietnam’s tourist attractions and commercializes the Vietnam War as can be seen in many other overseas travel guidebooks: “Vietnam is a country that has overcome the wounds of the war and moves on toward the future,” “nostalgia for the colonial period,” and “touching experience for superb natural heritage,” etc. The homepage offers various package tours, including Ho Chi Minh city for three days and South and Central Vietnam for five or six days. However, N Café specializes in providing guide services for former fellow soldiers to the posts or battlefields. N Café’s trips to battlefields had been made about 20 times until the end of 2009. In most cases, five to six fellow soldiers joined the trips and in three or four cases the war veterans accompanied their wife. In two cases, they came all alone but there was no case where they accompanied their children. Tourists to battlefields through N Café were more or less than 100 people in the past three years.

Table 1 A representative itinerary for ‘Field Trips for Vietnam War Veterans’

Day	City	Transportation	Schedule
Day 1	Incheon HCMC	International airline	Arrive at Tan Son Nhat International Airport War memorial museum, History museum, ROK Headquarters in Vietnam, etc.
Day 2	HCMC Da Nang Hoi An Quy Nhon	Domestic airline	To Da Nang, visit Cham Museum, move to Hoi An Visit the <i>Cheong-ryong</i> Division operations areas and move to Quy Nhon
Day 3	Quy Nhon Song Khau Tuy Hoa	Vehicle	Korea-Vietnam Culture Hall(Currently, Binh Dinh provincial museum), Former auditorium at <i>Maeng-ho</i> Division, Phuc Tan Middle School built by the <i>Maeng-ho</i> Division Move to Song Khau, <i>Maeng-ho</i> 26 Regiment(<i>Haesanjin</i> unit), Tuy Hoa; The 1 st <i>Cheong-ryong</i> Division, the

⁵ Relatively recently, tourists from the U.S and Korea have increased sharply and over 100,000 tourists from France, Australia, and Thailand steadily visit Vietnam every year. It is noteworthy that all of these countries had directly intervened in the two wars in Vietnam over 30 years since 1946 (Cho Horim 2009: 279-80).

	Nha Trang		<i>Baek-ma</i> 28 th regiment, <i>Sipjaseong</i> (Cross) Division 1st support team; The 209 th mobile surgical hospital and arrive in Nha Trang
Day 4	Nha Trang Ninh Hoa Cam Ranh Nha Trang	Vehicle (Cruiseship)	Visit the <i>Baek-ma</i> Division post, war entry monument for the <i>Baek-ma</i> Division, etc. in Ninh Hoa; To Cam Ranh and visit the <i>Baek-ma</i> 30 th regiment post Visit the Korean troops field headquarters and the <i>Sipjaseong</i> (Cross) Division in Nha Trang
Day 5	Nha Trang HCMC Cu Chi HCMC	Domestic airline	Arrive at HCMC Experience the site of underground Viet Cong Headquarters in the Cu Chi tunnel and downtown sightseeing, including Ho Chi Minh City Hall, Notre Dame Cathedral, Central Post Office, etc Watch the dinner show on the cruise in the Saigon river and move to the airport
Day 6	HCMC Incheon	International airline	Depart Ho Chi Minh Arrive at Incheon International Airport

Source N Café homepage, Feb. 6, 2007; searched on Nov. 30, 2009

Although N Café has itineraries for field trips as set forth in <Table 1>, it usually offers a ‘free-style trip course’ for war veterans at the request of the participants. This is a kind of pilgrimage for war memories being made by war veterans themselves. N Café stresses that free travel is “a way of enjoying life.”

About 40 years have already passed and now is the time to look back on the past. I miss the land of Vietnam where I set my foot on, so I want to visit the land. Travel is a way of enjoying life. Visit this homepage and make a plan for joyful trips. For further inquiries, we will be happy to assist you for any guide. Even if you come alone, we will give you a guide by motorcycle, the only type in Saigon, wherever you want to visit. We can stop if you don’t want to go farther and we can come back if you are sleepy. We offer you this convenient trip--free and genuine travel courses. (2007-1-29, “We welcome all of you!”)

Cheong-ryong course is to visit battlefields from Da Nang to Chu Lai in Quang Ngai province, or to go past Cam Ranh and visit combat hills in Phan Rang. *Maeng-ho* course is to go to Quy Nhon and visit the whole area of Binh Dinh province and An Khe pass. *Baek-ma* course is to go past Nha Trang and find traces of barracks and combats in Ninh Hoa and Tuy Hoa. *Bidulgi* course is to travel on the highway toward Thu Duc and Bien Hoa while staying in Saigon or to visit construction sites downtown HCMC.⁶

⁶ For military posts and combat bases of each division of the Korea force, see Chae Myung-sin(2006), Choi Yong-ho(2004; 2007) . I took the following course for the field trips with war veterans in Oct. 2008: 1) Thu Duc bridge in Saigon and barracks of the *Bidulgi* Division on the Dien Bien Phu street, 2) Allied Forces Headquarters in Vietnam (“Ky Hoa” Hotel on the Ba Thang Hai street), 3) Octagonal Pavilion(changed to a hexagonal pavilion on the Hung Vuong street in Hoa Binh park), 4) Korean Troops Headquarters in Vietnam(#606 on the Tran Hung Dao street), 5) Rex Hotel, President Palace, etc., 6) Arrive at Cam Ranh Airport by flight and visit the second generation Koreans (*lai dai han*) in My Ca, 7) the hangar built by Korean troops on the roadside of Nha Trang, 8) the guard post site of Ninh Hoa *Sipjaseong* (Cross) Division(Currently Vietnamese military base), 9) Headquarters of the *Baek-ma* Division and the war monument (in the shape of a globe on the head), 10) meet villagers in the old Korean posts, 11) return to Nha Trang for dinner at a restaurant run by a second-generation Korean, 12) *Maeng-ho* Division’s Battlefields in Quy Nhon and Binh Dinh provincial museum (Korea-Vietnam

N Café operators recommend that war veterans form a group for each former division. Their trips to battlefields cost more than low-price package tours. Because the war sites are located in remote areas, transport cost is high too. Some veterans had to give up the trip not just because the cost was high but because they could not find fellow soldiers to go with. Here is a story of a war veteran who went on the trip, all by himself, to “the site of a narrow escape from death” in 42 years as he could not find a fellow soldier to accompany.

“We were paratroops. In daytime, we went scouting, detected mines and constructed refugee camps, while at night we waited in ambush. I missed those days and tried hard to find fellow soldiers. With difficulty, I was able to contact my platoon leader and four comrades in arms. I asked them to go with me but no one agreed to. I thought I’d have no regret if I visit Vietnam even once again. So, I got on a plane without further thinking.” (2008-4-15, “To Vietnam”)

War veterans commented that there were no package tours to the battlefields of the Korean troops fundamentally because of the Korean government’s ambiguous attitude or Korean people’s negative perceptions of the soldiers. Some veterans asserted that Koreans did not take any interest in these trips because they did not respect Korean soldiers dispatched to Vietnam. P (born in 1938), who returned to Vietnam in 1990 and currently runs a restaurant, said, “In the United States, war veterans are treated as heroes. In France, a lot of young people visit war sites as the country continues to teach them history although defeated in the war.” Y (born in 1945), a former driving soldier, said he envied foreign veterans visiting war museums with their children and grandchildren. He said, “American and French war veterans have become heroes but we’ve become strange people because of Korea’s wrong education. Their comments reflect facts. In the United States, the Vietnam War has long become commodities consumed by the public (Rowe and Berg 1991). Since the late 1960’s, the U.S. reproduced the War through blockbuster movies, popular music, and even video games (Alneng 2002; Schwenkel 2006). War memoirs and novels became best sellers and communication of the experiences and memories of the injured was constantly made public through the mass media. After the U.S restored diplomatic relationships with Vietnam in two decades after the war, American veterans began to actively travel to the former battlefields. Even in over five decades after the defeat of the French forces in Dien Bien Phu, their descendants visit Vietnam to remember the colonial history and the wounds of the Indochina War (Biles et. al 1999).

N Cafe operators assessed that the U.S. war tourism to Vietnam was customized to fit in to American’s levels.⁷ H said it was hard to find the battlefields because they were located on mountaintops or in dense forest and “there was nothing interesting to see as a tourist spot.”

Culture Hall), 13) Cu Chi tunnel, war museum, and 14) War veterans’ barracks in Pham Van Hai. Tourism is similar to a cultural anthropology or corresponds with each other in many aspects (Stronza 2001: 264-65). Anthropologist becomes a tourist during the field survey of different cultures (Crick 1995). In the process of field study, anthropologist gets confused about his or her identity, has empathy with the story of the informant, or even has the experience of identifying him/herself with the study subjects. It was hard for me to avoid such experience when I joined the field trip according to the memory of former combatants. On the second day when we landed at Cam Ranh Airport in Nha Trang, visited second-generation Koreans and headed toward the Cross Division, I could feel that, in spite of myself, I was sharing with war veterans the way of embodying their memory.

⁷ The battlefields in which the Korean force had participated were not developed as tourist spots because from Vietnam’s official memory, the Vietnam War was “to save the nation from the American neo-imperialism” or “war against the United States” and Korean troops were defined as “soldiers under the command of the U.S. force.” (Choi Jung-gie 2009: 82; Choi Horim 2009: 281).

He added, "Despite all this, my fellow soldiers managed to find the places and they were deeply touched to be there again."

"Without any memory or feeling, the travel would be boring and tough. We have vivid feelings from each grass and each space. We are different from ordinary tourists." (K)

Trips to former battlefields have a blurred boundary between pilgrimage and leisure activity because they include schedules unrelated to war experiences. The pilgrimage in search of the traces of painful memory has instrumental nature but people also seek relaxation and amusement from the tour courses. They enjoy exotic food, have a drink, sing songs, and go shopping. In this way, the difference between travelers to battlefields and tourists for leisure becomes unclear. Nevertheless, it is argued that war veterans' field trips are genuine because they have pilgrimage to places which have not become commodities in search of their own memories and experiences.

Reconstruction of War Memory and Representation of the Past

1. Identification and reproduction of war memory

Participants in the field trips attempt to find the sites in their memories. They look for any traces of the sites if they are helpful in restoring their memories. They become nostalgic for the old days, or feel sad to see almost no traces left. Even if no traces are left, they talk about the old combats at the places in their memories and try to restore the past. H said he first set out for the combat areas of the *Maeng-ho* Division in 1994 but it was difficult to find the traces. Together with a Vietnamese driver, he "set the direction from his memory" and searched out from Quy Nhon and Tuy Hoa but could not find the former military base. Until 2005 since then he had visited neighboring areas 15 times to no avail "because the passage of time has erased the traces." But then, while giving a tour for former soldiers from the *Maeng-ho* Division in January 2008, he happened to find traces of the regiment headquarters, to his delight.

"Even bricks have not remained. The end of the asphalt road seemed to be the place where the front gate used to be. An old man in his 70s testified that it was where 'Manh Ho' (Vietnamese for *Maeng-ho*) had been. But there were no traces . . . I'd asked over and over again this and that person all day until I found the traces at last. On the hill at the back of the former company headquarters at the end of the military training ground, a small school building remained. At that time, it was a training center for the Vietnamese language. I finally discovered the trace of water supply pump for fellow soldiers at the back of the school!"

Some war veterans explained in somewhat exaggerated manner that they eventually came to visit the battlefields because of the "karma like a destiny" with the places. K talked about an experience during his preliminary trip to an area where his motorcycle collided with a truck. He said, "To my amazement, the accident spot was where there had been a fierce hand-to-hand fight." He said it was because of the persistent karma which had waited (for him) even if he left the place.

Most of them revisit the battlefields in 40 years, bringing with them the photos taken at the time, and compare the present with the fragments of memory. They try to assess and share their experiences while longing for the past and comparing the current changes with past memories. Then they begin to repeatedly let out exclamations of joy when they come

across something in their memories. Or their eyes well up with tears to see stone on the roadside. This is to unwrap the bundle of their memories.

With a black and white photo in hand, I rummaged through the battlefields, only to find three pieces of big white stone which used to be in front of the sentry post. Although rolled to the roadside as if in the way, they seem to have waited for me until I come again. Others said they were glad to see even grass roots or a piece of stone and it was truly so. There used to be a small octagonal pavilion in front of the *Baek-ma* 30th artillery battalion There remained no memory of it but I found three cornerstones. I was comforted to see the traces. (A's "Writing After the Trip")

K said if a person shed tears only to see weeds, the person was a combat soldier for sure. Some fellow soldiers would weep but then all of a sudden climb up the mountain "as fast as lightning, as if they became supermen, or as if attached to a rocket." Like the legendary stone on the seaside waiting for someone to return, others keep silent and become lost in thought with a cigarette between their lips. Tears well up in their eyes when they find the traces of stones or rocks they lied down on or leaned against for a break. The traces of memory made a war veteran a poet.

"In Search of Memory in Tuy Hoa"
Forty years have passed on the land,
Where no traces of barracks remain
Even if we visit the land again
We may wander about in the field,
Where no fragments of memory remain
to assemble into a piece again
Tuy Hoa, where we're called in youth by the fatherland
And stayed for a year at the risk of our lives
Why do we still wish to visit there again?
The two letters *Wol-nam* remain in our heart for good
Even if our memories fades away one by one
We wish to visit the land over and over again
(2008-09-11, G)

The veterans perform rituals to commemorate the war before evidence which restores their memories. To most war veterans, the "victory monument" on the 638 Pass is a source of "cultural memory" as Jan Assmann said (Jeon Jin-seong 2005: 95-99).⁸ When they find a monument inscribed in Korean as "Jeon-seung-bi(victory monument)," they pour a cup of drink called *soju*, light the candle and lay flowers. Singing their national anthem and saluting before the monument, they conduct a ritual ceremony.

There were buds of anonymous flowers in front of the 638 Pass Victory Monument. They seemed to look closely at me, shining radiantly among the weeds where I breathlessly sat down. Thank you, comrade, for visiting us from afar! Buried on this pass in our 20s even before we bloomed in youth, we will grow like the flowers and live forever. Your sons, who could not fulfill our filial duties, will burst into flowers on the pass and protect for good the An

⁸ According to Jan Assmann, "Cultural memory consists of texts, images, and ritual systems which are unique to each society or time and usable in repetition. Enhancement of cultural memory contributes to making the self-image of a society safe and passing the image down (Jeon Jin-seong 2005: 96 recited)

Khe Pass you see over there, wishing the well-being of our fatherland. The flowers whispered, 'Say hi to our fellow soldiers for us. Farewell, fatherland!' (H, "Flowers in front of the Victory Monument")

The itinerary of the veterans includes search for people they have missed. Most of the people are the ones they met for a short while during operations or on the move. P talked about his story how he brought a 40-year old photo and met the woman he had loved before. K narrated the story of his fellow soldier who brought the photo of his child taken at four. There were stories of a man who joined the trip with his wife and met the woman he had loved one-sidedly and of a veteran who found out a person who had moved far away. War veterans by chance met women on the move and "easily fell in love with them as they were lonely young men." While exchanging photos in a short time, they formed relationships. H related his story of a short encounter with a girl while he went scouting to remove bombs.

"I was burned on the hand from the explosion of a flare bomb. I was thirsty and looked for water. When I was about to drink water from a well with my cupped hand, a girl came over and floated a leaf on the water! At that very moment, I fell in love with her. In a moment, I felt love I'd never forget through my whole life. Was she about 16, perhaps?"

War veterans visiting battlefields try to find "Korean troops' achievements" but feel sad that there remain almost no traces or records of them. They said that's also because of indifference of the Korean government and people. Although Korean soldiers left their footprints here and there in Ho Chi Minh city, including the Korean troops headquarters building, octagonal pavilion, and the Saigon bridge built by the Korean force, the government and people do not try to find or restore them. They were also sad that there remained no marks or signs related with Korean troops. Since the end of the war, Korean military posts have turned into Vietnam's military facilities or for other uses. Mount Ca Thu in Phan Rang, where Blue Dragon Division were engaged in fight for the first time and saw casualties, became gravesites for Vietnamese soldiers. The octagonal pavilion in Quy Nhon had long been left by itself and eventually collapsed. When I said, "We tear down and forget ours so fast while Vietnam makes great effort to preserve theirs," the veterans agreed enthusiastically and said, "That's because the government and people treat us as participants in a wrong war."

2. *People remaining in the battleground: "Daihan-ization" of the Vietnam War*

While visiting the battlefields, war veterans not only romanticize their memories but also reproduce the fear and horror of the war. H said, "Although the combat too became like a habit, it was still horrible even after three years of engagement in the battle." He also said that combatants were always harassed with fears of death or injury, particularly with horrors of booby traps, mines, falling behind or being isolated. A "lucky survivor" from a surprise attack at night when only 15 soldiers survived among a company shook his head while describing "the bloody field of corpses" at that time. War veterans visiting the former battlefields reproduce the fear felt at the time by identifying combat sites and taking pictures of them. They turn the past of forty years ago into the present. H posted his writing about the sense of horror at the time on the homepage together with the photos. Using Photoshop software on the pictures taken during the trips, he marked the traces of the bullets in red line or drew the scenes of bomb explosion to vividly reproduce the actual scenes and feelings of suspension and terrors of combats at the time. It seems that he still remains in the battle of the past.

Enemies are just 15 meters away, firing wildly at us . . . Ugh, save us!"

The lonesome 86 Pass no one visits because there are only a few survivors. In the underground barrack of the 1st platoon, 99 percent of the soldiers were killed. On the tragic spot of 42 years ago, trees and grasses grow thick now. Because enemies had occupied our bases, the entrance or back side disappeared and we had to come out of the trench and indiscriminately shoot at the approaching enemies. The pass was on fire because of the countless explosions and nothing came into view because the thick dust covered all. After the close combat from 2 a.m. to 4 a.m. ended and enemies fled, a platoon hid in the heavy weapons bunker and avoided bullets. Because three enemies were in the heavy weapons bunker just 15 meters away, we could not slip away and fired back with automatic rifles to the end. Although the enemies and we fired back and forth for two hours, the fight did not finish. When we attacked them with grenade launchers in the M-79 No. 1 heavy weapons bunker, the last bullet hit the target and silenced the enemies in the bunker.

War veterans vie to explain the fierce combat situation of the past when they visit the sites. A former combatant emphasizes that the same terror as he felt in the past remains in his memory. Former soldiers from *Cheong-ryong* or *Maeng-ho* frequently talk about "Ojak Bridge Operations" in which they collaborated to attack the enemy forces and met allied forces. *Maeng-ho* veterans often mention the operations after the bombing on the Laos border in Pleiku in August 1966. The veterans reproduce the memory of that breathless time when they were stuck in the mire due to the bombing. They shrink from the memory as if in an underwater cave. Former *Baek-ma* troops repeat their stories about "Viet cong" who appeared from nowhere when they passed through the forest after checking for sure that there were no enemies.

Even during meals, they contrast their steamed rice with combat rations at that time. I heard numerous stories about their stories of boiling the rations with field fuel made of broken Claymore mines in the cans supported by stone, and of missing steamed rice and fermented bean soup while eating c-rations mixed with meat and peanut in the heavy rain. Some argued that "army soup" originated from that time. K said he'd never forget the taste of *kimchi* he had eaten when he was stationed in a mountain.

During the field trips, Korean veterans "Korean-ize the Vietnam War" or "*Daihan-ize* the *Wol-nam* war."⁹ The place Korean veterans had been to was not Vietnam but "*Wol-nam*." They said, "I've never fought the Vietnamese people but the faceless Communists." They attempt to reproduce memories related to their war participation even from spaces in which Korean troops did not directly intervene. At tourist attractions unrelated to the Korean troops, they relate reminiscences and assessments which derived from then dominant anti-Communist ideology. They identify the Vietnamese with then-Viet congs. War veterans visiting Cu Chi tunnel "*Daihan-ize*" their experiences of the past.

"We searched Cu Chi underground tunnel"

Daehan veterans went to occupy "Cu Chi underground tunnel" which had been famous during the Vietnam War. They watched a movie for about 20 minutes, a program of praising the Viet congs which had crushed the American forces. They felt bad to hear the gruesome terms of propaganda such as "puppet government or "puppet army." I'd enter the underground

⁹ As the United States and Vietnam restored their diplomatic relations, Americans, particularly war veterans returned to Vietnam in large numbers and have since selectively re-americanized the sentiments and landscape of the Vietnam War (Kennedy and Williams 2001: 135). The term "Daihan-ization" is an imitation of the term "re-americanization." The term "Daihan," a Vietnamese pronunciation of "Daehan" from Daehan-minguk (Republic of Korea), referred to Korean soldiers by then-South Vietnamese people.

base by all means, where Viet cong infiltrated through underground passage to attack the American army and hid away like ghosts. No one dared to give it a try. Who's going to search? Sure enough, sergeant L from the brave *Maeng-ho* went underground as an advance guard, deserving a Daehan soldier. The passage hole is unthinkably narrow. Watch out for a poisoned needle on the way! Descendants of the Viet congs enjoy their triumph while demonstrating bamboo spears and booby traps of their predecessors. Isn't Viet cong girl pretty? This is all the search of Cu Chi tunnel. Hurray, the Republic of Korea! (2007-11-30, H)

The places and people war veterans meet during the trip do not exist in the present but in the war of the past. The land they revisited is "Vietnam" but the time stopped in "*Wol-nam*" in the 1960s. The present Vietnam is nothing but a place which restores the feelings of "Daihan" at that time.

"Oh, Saigon!"

In April 1968, I met you, my first love, in this place with waves of ao dai and full of abundance. They say that a happy life is to cherish the feeling of one's first love and to end his life in the bosom of the first love, but you left me in April 1975. Deserted, I wandered about in the desert or in the forest to forget the pain of my first love. In April 1989, I returned to you at the call of your waving hand. You remember how saddened my heart was to see you grow sick and withered, with your beautiful youth faded away, and how much I cried out holding your hand! The power of love is great. To see your beauty again, I've dedicated 18 years unconditionally to you.

Oh, Saigon! (In the morning of the New Year in 2007, J)

Even during the field trip with me, their "Daihan-ization" went on. On our move by car, K sat in the front seat and said he'd go long-distance scouting as he was a former paratroop, while H joked he'd liked meeting a woman while searching enemies as he was a *Maeng-ho* or Brave Tiger. War veterans did not call the places as they are currently named but as their fellow soldiers had pronounced or memorized in the past, like *Ju-wol saryeongbu* (Korean Force Headquarters in Vietnam), *Camnan dari* (Cam Ranh bridge), and Viet cong *saryeongbu* (headquarters). When they could not find out the village name, they replaced it with the name of Korean military division, generally called by the number. They reproduced the scenes of catching hold of Viet congs in the local military trenches or communicated with others using the operations order or password of the Korean force.

During the trips, the veterans tried to explain the present practices and behavior of Vietnamese people in light of their experiences in the Vietnam War and their common sense about the Vietnamese' lives at that time. In most cases, their explanations were a mere conjecture based on the common sense distributed among Koreans, hence they were hard to be confirmed as facts.

3. Report of field trips and sharing of memory

After the trips, the veterans eagerly share their stories with other fellow veterans and put together the fragments of memory, thereby forming collective memory. War veterans use the homepages on their Websites as spaces of reminiscence and attempt to share their nostalgia through their reply. They describe the encounter between the past memories and the present as if they synchronously happened, skipping 40 years in time. The participants in the trips talk back and forth about the process of participation in the war, battle experiences, and the fellow soldiers they remember. They also talk about their drift overseas after returning to Korea and their ill bodies due to the aftereffects of defoliants as well as the process of coming back to Vietnam in search of "*Wol-nam*."

They post on their “home” or homepages their memories revived during the trips, together with music, photos, and video clips. The posted music includes “My Love’s Far Off,” “Sergeant Kim Returning from *Wol-nam*” and “La vie en rose.” Using Photoshop software on the photographs they took during the trips, they vividly describe the actual scenes and feelings of suspension and terrors of combats at the time. To this, many responses are posted and particularly veterans with similar memories envy the tourists their field trip experiences. They at times use abbreviations, online terms, or combat terms. “Daihan-ization” goes on even online, as seen in the expression “to build home, we’ve just set up pillars for our barracks,” “You made good effort to build bunkers!” This practice is to form and sustain their collective memory.

Descriptions and reproduction of combatants’ experiences and memories can be also found on the homepages run by war veterans groups.¹⁰ Since the year of 2000, war veterans’ organizations began to be active and operated their Internet homepages. Today, related Websites exceed 100 and of them, three homepages are most active: www.vwm.co.kr for *Ve-cham*, www.vwv.or.kr for *Wol-cham*, and www.vietvet.co.kr, a site with a subtitle of “the Vietnam [*Wol-Nam*] War and Korea: War Story of ROK Forces in Vietnam 1965-1973.”¹¹

“The Vietnam War and Korea (www.vietvet.co.kr)” is a non-official homepage operated mostly by the soldiers who directly participated in the battles and some low-ranking officers. Its home screen features the following passage, “It was only 30 years ago; but nobody intends to remember it.” This site has the highest participation rate as it allows the general public unrelated to the war to exchange their opinions and information. Since it opened in 2000, almost 2 million people had visited the site until November 2008 and 500 to 700 people visit the site per day. Accordingly, this site celebrated itself for being selected for the top 100 personal homepages in Korea by the monthly magazine *Chosun* and Korea’s five largest portals. “Dear netizen, welcome to Our Home! We post stories of soldiers dispatched to the Vietnam War who fought to protect freedom and peace in the far-off land of Vietnam from 1965 and 1973.” Together with this introduction, www.vietvet.co.kr posts stories of the Korean soldiers dispatched to Vietnam, stories of the “*Wol-Nam* War,” operations, diaries, picture albums and discolored photo albums. The aim of this homepage is posted in English as

¹⁰ Despite the proliferation of diverse groups, Vietnam War veterans groups of Korea are largely divided into three: the Association for Vietnam War Veterans of Merit (VWM or “*Ve-cham*”), the Association for *Wol-nam* War Veterans (VWV or “*Wol-cham*”), and the Association for Veterans Affected by Defoliants (VAD). These groups have dozens of branches by city and province. They are all different in member composition and political orientation, and war experiences and formation of a network of collective memory (Lee Tae-joo 2008: 251-252).

¹¹ www.vwm.co.kr is run mostly by former officers and generals with former General Chae Myung-sin as its chairman. This site focuses on the introduction of Korean forces’ achievements in the War, development of Korean economy and society, Korea-Vietnam’s diplomatic relations, and the social activity of *Ve-cham*. www.vwv.or.kr is the official homepage of *Wol-cham* registered as a social welfare corporation for war veterans and their families. This site mainly consists of information on the process and result of the war participation and requests for measures for war veterans. This site follows the suit of the state’s public discourses that Korean troops joined the war to protect freedom and contributed to the rapid economic development and modernization of their fatherland. But the site also posts opinions on the aftereffects of war veterans, criticisms against the unfair treatment of them as “mercenaries,” and arguments for restoration of honor and just compensation. Most official records posted on the two sites largely record the miraculous achievements of the Korean military force and heroically describe the military achievements in various battles. The collective memory of then-officers posted on www.vwm.co.kr is focused on such heroic achievements and the military, political, and economic rationalization of the War. By contrast, the experiences of privates revealed on www.vwv.or.kr are more precise and prolonged memories of the pain when they directly tasted moments of life or death in the battlefields.

follows: "Although the war veterans shall fade away one by one as time flies, the glorious victories they have proudly achieved shall permanently engraved upon our history."

In a directory named "the *Wol-Nam* War and Korea," former combatants eagerly reproduce their experience and memories. They put pop songs of the wartime as background music and unfold their stories of how they fought to protect freedom and peace in a far-off land. By making directories such as "Good bye, Busan Port," "*Cheong-ryong* lands in Da Nang," and "In Nha Trang, Tuy Hoa," they gather together their fellow soldiers who experienced the same space and time, reproduce their shared experiences and memories, and relieve their nostalgia for the past. In the writings titled "Mortar flies" and "Booby Trap of Nightmare," they describe the memories of each combat they participated in and talk about their experiences and wounds of terror in the battlefields. War veterans search documentaries or videos of the wartime and post them with captions. They are in their mid- or late-60s and belong to a generation unfamiliar with the Internet and computer, so they have to learn how to run programs like Photoshop and edit videos to post them on their Website. War veterans do not just search and reunite their fellow soldiers on the Websites but also make trips to the battlefields in search of their collective memory.

Unfinished War and Politics of Making Memory

1. *Reconciliation with the painful past: Helping Lai Dai Han*

Participants in the field trips are thankful that villagers in their former posts treat them as familiar neighbors rather than to express hostility against them. H said, "With passage of time, enemies of the past have become friends of today." K said, "Many fellow soldiers cannot revisit Vietnam because they are afraid of retaliation. I too could not visit the combat areas for two years after coming back to Vietnam because I was afraid of being beaten to death by any chance." War veterans contend that the villagers' welcoming them demonstrates that the alleged civilian slaughter is a groundless and unreasonable suspect. They also stress that the Vietnamese are not bound in the past nor they are hostile against foreigners. They believe that Vietnam's friendly relationship with the United States was possible as the Vietnamese saying went, "burying the past and cooperating for future-oriented development."

War veterans were sometimes directly engaged in supporting unhappy people in Vietnam. They were particularly interested in educational support for schools and poor children in the villages of battlefields. They said the children needed constant attention because they were from the villages related with the Korean force. They also argued that since there were many who suffer from the aftereffects of defoliants in Vietnam as well, it was necessary to form fellowship gatherings for the veterans with the aftereffects of defoliants from the two countries and the government should support them. They have also made continuous attempt to heal the wounds of the War and reconcile themselves with the painful past. One of them is their effort to support "*lai dai han*" or Koreans' sons and daughters.¹² Field trips on N Café include visit to the families of *lai dai han* and activity in search of them. They said, "The reason they try to help the second-generation Koreans is to repay what they are indebted to '*Wol-nam*,' not to the present Vietnam."

"Vietnam and I"

¹² "*Lai dai han*" are children of mixed bloods born between Korean men and Vietnamese women in the Vietnam War period. They are estimated to be from 3,000 to 30,000 people. "*Lai dai han*" had not emerged as an issue during the war and the period when there was no exchange between Korea and Vietnam. But in the late 1980s, the issue began to be discussed in earnest. (Lee Han Woo 2006: 135)

Since I set my foot on this land in April 1968, my relationship has lasted for over 70 years until now. I've intensely wished to be buried in this land when the candle of my life goes out. When I came back in 1989, Vietnam became a desolate and pathetic land. Although I came back to look for my dreams of youth after wandering about in the Middle East in search of material fortune, I ended up finding *lai dai han* my fellow soldiers had irresponsibly left behind. No matter what others say, I believe the Korean economy began to grow from the *Wol-nam* War. While thousands of young soldiers fell in the jungle and were buried, their spirits adrift somewhere in this land, I think, the Korean economy laid its foundation for developing fast in the world. As the Korean economy has achieved such rapid growth, now is the time to help, so I've tried to help (*lai dai han*) with all might. (2007-2-8, J)¹³

N Café operators post on their homepages stories of *lai dai han* they met during the field trips at their request to look for their father. In 2007, the café operators found a Korean father living in Australia who had left three daughters in Vietnam. Their reunion was broadcast as a documentary titled *Tears of Lai Dai Han* and came to be known to the world. Another Korean man had been dispatched to Vietnam as an engineering soldier and had a daughter and two sons while working in Nha Trang. He met their now middle-aged children again in 30 years after his return to Korea with his eldest son only. Still other veteran had been dispatched to Vietnam alone, leaving his wife and family in Korea, and had children with a Vietnamese woman. He and his wife met the Vietnamese children during their trip to Vietnam. In other case, a war veteran joined the field trip to look for his child born between himself and a Vietnamese woman. War veterans keep fundraising, saying, "We have to support the deserted second generation children with Korean blood in them as our children." They search economically successful second-generation children and encourage them to join the fundraising.

War veterans are indignant that the Korean government does not properly implement support plans for *lai dai han* in Vietnam. They also comment, "Korean society has been divided between generations and ideologies so it has failed to provide humanitarian aids." They argue with a criticism that "while the second-generation Vietnamese refugees have become patriots and invest in their fatherland, economically well-off Koreans are not better than the Vietnamese."

Pilgrimage to battlefield is not just to be back to the past, but to be healed and reconciled. However, "the wounds of the past they want to be healed and reconciled" are not the ones from the present Vietnam but from "*Wol-nam*." The land where they tried to protect freedom was *Wol-nam* and it can be said that the sentiments of saving *Wol-nam* continue toward the current Vietnam.

2. Unfinished war: Stored in the body and remembered in the heart

The veterans on tour also express their hard feelings against the government and society for lack of compensation. Or, they attempt to protest against themselves for failing to exercise their own rights to remember and share their experiences, or against the negative public opinion on their war participation. Most of them set out for their trips in ill physical conditions and reproduce the war stored in their body as a war remembered in the heart.

¹³ J, called "papa J" in the Korean village, was famous for taking the initiative in supporting the Korean second-generation children to touch the hearts of many war veterans. Among Koreans unrelated to war participation, there were divided opinions of him. According to his "determined wish," he died in Vietnam in 2009 to the grief of the veterans in the Korean village.

War veterans in Pham Van Hai talk about their “destiny” of coming back to Vietnam “as they wanted to be back before they die” and ended up staying there for a long time.

“Saigon is so vibrant and free to the extent that I doubt if this is a Socialist state. The land I first set my foot on in 1966, the place which gave me the disease from the aftereffects of defoliants. Was this all a mischief of the destiny? I had to fight the illness for 9 years in Korea and overcame the crisis of death many times, but I thought I could not end my life so miserably. Now I am proud that I stage another war against myself and I won the war against death. While I live here, I kind of feel that I return the disease I got from *Wol-nam* to Vietnam.” (“New Life,” Y)

Not until in 20 to 30 years after the war participation had they come to learn that they were afflicted with the aftereffects of defoliants.¹⁴ However, war veterans in Pham Van Hai remember that they were physically debilitated even at the time of the battle. H, diagnosed with the aftereffects of defoliants in 1994, said that he had seen grasses and trees drying from the roots to death and that in the second year as combatant his eyes became blurry and he felt his body gradually ruined. Y said that when he came out of ambush in the morning one day, the ground had been covered with the white power sprayed overnight by the U.S. soldiers and the power had been white on his combat uniform, but he had thought it was a kind of herbicide. The veterans asserted that “they had not let us know what kind of damage it would do to us” at that time.

“Unlike officers in the city or headquarters, foot soldiers could not easily drink water from a well, if any, in the village during the operations. They had to pour river water into their canteens and drink the water from the canteens. In the field, they could not avoid defoliants.” (K)

War veterans talked about their painful stories of how they managed to find their fellow soldiers with difficulty and yet could not continue to meet them because they were suffering from the aftereffects of defoliants. K said he ran into a fellow soldier from the *Baek-ma* Division in about 1978 when he had already been sick but he did not know at all that it was because of the defoliants. M (born in 1946, former *Cheong-ryong* soldier) said his fellow soldier was judged to have the aftereffect suspect of defoliants in 8 years after he had removed his stomach by surgery. They veterans said it was regrettable that it had not been known to the public in Korea, unlike in the United States, until many veterans suffered from or died of the aftereffects.

Although the government began to officially receive reports of the aftereffects in 1992, the veterans said it was “like a pie in the sky” to be judged to have the aftereffects of defoliants. Those who joined the trips to the battlefields emphasized that the issue of defoliants was not over and the aftereffects of the war should be cured. The “*Wol-nam* War” not just becomes the present in the war veterans’ memory but also the wounds stored in their body testify that the war is not over yet.

¹⁴ After the war was over, they left for the Middle East, Southeast Asia, Australia, and the U.S., to make a living and wandered about in Korea as well for job hunting. As time passed, they saw their former fellow soldiers suddenly die from the aftereffects of the defoliants sprayed in the war and began to express their complaints against the government through extreme actions.

3. Collective consciousness and politics of making memory

War veterans stress the difference of memory between soldiers and officers in the *Wol-nam* War and the memory between combatants and non-combatants. For example, to the veterans, “genuine war veterans” refer to combatants. They contrast the difference in their discourses in many ways during the field trips. For example, officers and civilians could learn the Vietnamese language but it was impossible for combatants to learn Vietnamese as they were harassed with fights while staying in the field. They contrast that soldiers who were on the battle sites cannot desert the name “*Wol-nam*” but officers and civilians use the name of the country “Vietnam.”¹⁵ The memory of meeting “*con gay*” or Vietnamese woman belongs to engineers or civilians, whereas Vietnamese woman in the memory of combatants is “*Viet cong*.” The veterans argued that *lai dai han* are mostly children of engineers or people who had come to Vietnam on a business trip.

H and K said in a voice that genuine trips to battlefields apply to combatants who followed the order at the risk of their lives. Unlike “officers or high-ranking people” who join commercially developed package tours, combatants like them try to visit “genuine battlefields.” Their pilgrimage to the scenes of battle becomes a struggle to declare who is the true actor of remembering, representing, and describing the trauma and glory of the Vietnam War.

To the war veterans in Pham Van Hai, the memoir (2006) by former general Chae Myung-sin was like a dictionary to judge and correct the right or error of their war memories or like a textbook for collective memory. The veterans had almost the same arguments as the memoir in many respects, such as interpretation of the effects of war participation including enhancement of national standing and economic reconstruction and revival, and protest against the suspects of civilian slaughter and mercenaries. On the other hand, they point out that the memoir records stories of people “without memories of fear close to death.” Saying that there’re almost no stories of combatants at that time, they suggest that the book should have recorded the vivid stories of combatants to be more educational or it should have also recorded in detail even the fights in which the Korean force was defeated.

These assessments amount to explaining that the materials described in the realm of official history do not vividly show the experiences of combat soldiers with fear on the border of life or death. As such, the process of turning their war memories into discourses reflects ramification of collective memory and also includes their arguments for genuineness. Furthermore, they express their discontent and protest against other ways of war memories and reconciliation which do not understand the great cause and pain of combatants. From the position of war veterans who “crossed the borderline of life and death,” suspect of civilian massacre or argument for mercenaries are “non-sense talks” by those who do not know about the war.

“The suspect of civilian slaughter is raised by those born after the 1960s, who do not know the real war situations.” (K)

¹⁵ War veterans have different memory and interpretation of the war. Their difference begins with the issue over the country name, whether they joined the war for “*Wol-nam* or Vietnam?” “*Wol-nam*” is a simple Korean pronunciation of the Chinese name of Viet Nam, but the term has political connotations. Those who emphasize “*Wol-nam*” stress that they helped “free *Wol-nam*” before the country was re-unified, not “Vietnam.” The issue of the name is also directly related to the identity of the two groups, *Wol-cham* and *Ve-cham*. War Veterans groups take on the peripheral trait of the state power and the trait of civil society groups as well. *Ve-cham* is close to the former and *Wol-cham* to the latter (Lee Tae-joo 2008: 261-262).

“We were not just engaged in fight. We also transplanted rice seedlings and mended the fences in the village. Civilian slaughter was not actually possible. Soldiers should attack according to an order as they are supposed to follow an order.” (H)

War veterans resented that “their honor was damaged by the groundless suspect of slaughter, which have bad impact on the next generations.” Mentioning the names of reporters and scholars who had participated in the “disclosure,” the veterans said they voiced their one-sided opinions without knowing the battle at all.¹⁶ The veterans contended that the incident known as the slaughter by Korean soldiers in 1967 turned out to be committed by the Vietnamese Communist soldiers in disguise of Korean troops, while Korean soldiers observed the iron rule that they should not do any harm to any of unarmed civilians. War veterans protested that the government was greatly responsible for their being criticized rather than justly compensated for their “fight with a determination to sacrifice their lives for the fatherland.” They maintained that if the state treated war veterans with due respect, young people would learn a lot from its attitude. They envied the veterans from the United States which respects war veterans as heroes, those from Australia which gives a lot of pension and those from France whose grandchildren visit their grandfather’s battlefields.

“Thinking we were mercenaries, our children are ashamed of us. Although we received allowance for fight, we were dispatched by the government and we did our sacred duty of military service. Why should we then be treated as mercenaries? The government should take the initiative in solving this issue.” (O, born in 1945, former *Maeng-ho* soldier)

“Anyway, if the state mobilized us to join the war, it should commemorate what should be remembered and compensate for the wounds. But Korean society does nothing about the aftereffects of the war. I am indignant at this. I risked my life but they say it was a shameful thing I demand that the government restore our honor. (L, born in 1944, former *Cheong-ryong* soldier)

Their protests narrated in the process of the field trips include a protest against the government’s attitude toward war veterans, but most of them were strongly influenced by the dominant political ideology prior to the 1990s. Their protests largely address the dominant discourses and ideologies surrounding the war participation (see Lee Han Woo 2006).

Conclusions

This study has paid attention to the alternative practice of reproducing the memory by war veterans and their trips to battlefields. Those who make official history either promote or

¹⁶ The suspect was first raised in 1976 regarding the slaughter of Vietnamese civilians by Korean soldiers. Michael Jones and his wife looked into the brutalities that occurred in the area of the **Blue Dragon** Unit post and revealed them in 1976. The couple alleged that Korean troops slaughtered about 3,800 civilians in 42 incidents (Hong Gyu-deok 1992: 34). Among Koreans, Koo Su-jeong, a Vietnam correspondent of the *Hankyoreh* 21, was the first to raise the problem in May 1999. She exposed, “An incident broke out in Phan Rang, Vietnam, on Oct. 14, 1969, where South Korean soldiers wielded their guns at Buddhist monks of the Linh Son temple” (*The Hankyoreh* 21, No. 256, May 6, 1999). She also reported that from Jan. 23, 1966 to Feb. 26, 1966, 1,200 residents were slaughtered in Tay Binh, Tay Son district, Binh Dinh province, by the Korean *Maeng-ho* Division (See also, Kwon 2006).

oppress a certain way of memory.¹⁷ Those who experienced a certain historical event inter-subjectively impose meanings on the event amid the interaction with the people they form diverse social relationships. The subjective meanings of the same event can be different depending on individuals. The problem is that such difference is suppressed in a particular political and social situation. Personal history formed by personal experiences and perceptions is often projected retroactively by the conspiracy or persuasion of “official history” but it also has negative and reactive aspects latent indefinitely (Choi Horim 2008: 113-14). The Vietnam War too is engraved on the memory of those who lived through the war as unforgettable or one that should be forgotten. Even contemporary people have a tremendous diversity in each individual’s specific life and experience. But if individuals’ experiences and memories are related to a state-led ideology, the diversity and difference in them are liable to be ignored or suppressed. Some memories of war are institutionalized as “history,” whereas others remain forgotten, even without being recalled. Some war memories are systematically avoided and forgotten, while other memories are exaggerated and manipulated to politically surface to the forefront of macro discourses. Until the early 1990s, the most prevalent method of memory in Korean society had been “organized forgetting” (Connerton 1989).

The battlefield travel is a pilgrimage of experienced history to (re-)produce social identity as well as ritual journey into memory and transnational leisure activity. By traveling not to the popularized spaces of commercial memory but to their actual former posts or battlefields, war veterans make their own memorial spaces to unfold their struggle of memory. This practice is a reaction to external forces’ deprivation of their initiative to remember and interpret their own experiences. Whatever the war was, they are the one of the greatest victims but they are pushed back in interpreting their war experiences. Therefore, their reconstruction of memories through the battlefield trips could be a “resistance” to their failure in playing the role of the owner of the experiences and memories. They want to become the main players of the memory and reproduction of the war. But their trips are one-time and personal. Therefore, their acts of posting and sharing the stories or descriptions of the trips to the battlefields on the Internet are socialization or social identification of collective [counter-] memories. War veterans attempt to restore and preserve the places of memory through the field trips. The places they try to restore and preserve should be a venue for those memories to be located and concentrated as well as a production site and a field of competition of social memories (Shim Ju-hyung 2003: 12) but their effort still seem to be tough.

The history of participation in the Vietnam War is newly interpreted and reconstructed in the transnational cultural topography of Vietnam tourism. Not only the attempt to turn war memories into resources and revitalize the memories which unfold in Korean society today and between Korea and Vietnam centering on the Vietnam War but also the aspect of competition to reproduce memories in the field of fight can be understood as “politics of memory” or “politics of making memory.” The state still tries to limit the political vitalization of war veterans’ organizations and their political attempt of “making memory.”

However, a growing number of war veterans recently began to reproduce their memory through trips to battlefields or operation of blogs or Websites. This activity has the significance of “reproducing memory” as an alternative political practice. But it is yet to be seen whether this practice will lead to overcome the dominant narratives of memory or the hegemony of

¹⁷ This happens in almost every society. Vietnam too acknowledges as official memory the memory related to its history of suffering and victory to expel foreign forces based on its nationalistic spirit, as concisely expressed in “*To quoc ghi cong*” (Fatherland remembers your sacrifices) (Kwon 2006; 2008; Tai 2001). Nevertheless, I think, Vietnam depends more on personal and alternative way of memory through personal memoirs than Korea.

“organized forgetting,” and create an alternative history. For the practice of war veterans contains ambiguity bordering on the periphery of dominant memory of official history.

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A Tale of Two Disasters: How is Disaster Emerging as Tourist Destination in Indonesia?

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The article examines how disasters are represented as a tourism destination by local tour guides in tours around the two of Indonesia disaster areas in Mt. Merapi Eruption in Jogjakarta – Central Java and Lapindo Mud in Sidoarjo - East Java. Across the world “the disaster” is defined as an event and observable in time and space in which societies incur physical damages and losses and/or disruption of their routine activities. Despite the formal definition of the disaster is characterized by losses, sadness, sorrow, and trauma, in contrast, it positioned as space more authentic, realistic, and challenge, as it demonstrated by a development of tourism destination in Mt. Merapi Eruption and also Lapindo mudflow. By first exploring the complex geography and history of two disaster areas, this article lays the foundation for arguing that any representation of this place can only ever be subjective, conditional and uncertain. Through in-depth interviews and observation with local tour guides and tourism operators this article investigate how disaster areas are represented to tourists and visitors and how its messages conveyed as ‘satisfy and pleasure tours’. It becomes clear that local tour guides do have the capacity to change the image of disasters as a tourism destination. The article also scrutinizes in which ways local tour guides transforms the perception of fear to be the spirit of struggle in post-disaster context. This article concludes that the local tour guides are responsible for changing the negative perceptions and images of disaster to tourism destination and through the tours its transformative aims.

Keywords: *tourism, disasters, post-disaster, dark-disasters, adventure, Indonesia*

Introduction

Disaster Tourism takes you to the heart of the disaster – to see beyond the writings and pictures in the history books, beyond the coverage in the media, to the actuality of the circumstance, be it past, present or future.

Planet Earth has been plagued by disasters throughout its history from the death of the dinosaurs, to the lost Kingdom of Atlantis, the destruction and burial of Pompeii by Mount Vesuvius, to the modern day catastrophes that blight our World.

Disaster Tourism offers a unique experience for those who have exhausted the normal mundane package holiday. We guarantee your holiday will be **a complete disaster** and leave you wanting more. (www.disastertourism.co.uk)

Disaster tourism, a tour agency based in England, offer tour packages to some disaster sites in the world. Starting from tsunami volunteers (Kuraburi, Phang Nga), hurricanes (USA -

Amarillo, Texas and Denver, Colorado), a plane crash (UK), the volcano eruption (Ecuador's Andes Mountains and Worldwide) and up into the well-known former site with the impact of the nuclear tragedy (Chernobyl nuclear power plant exploded). To participate in the sightseeing tour activities, tourists pay starting from 1200 to 3500 pounds. Through his company website, a travel agency that offers to take tourists to the "heart of the disaster", observe deeper not just through imagination and visualization media writing. They offer what they call as sharing "a unique experience" different from the normal tourist packages. In the end they guarantee what they have to offer as a travel choice is "a complete disaster".

A moment that never imagined before is about the events during and after the disaster took place. The disaster that destroys human civilization, ranging from geological or natural disasters and unnatural, war and technology, in the form of earthquakes, tsunamis, volcanic eruptions, floods caused by the overflow of the river and the explosion of the artificial wells are forms of disaster that faced by humans. Many studies on the impact of social, economic, cultural and political emerge from those dynamics disaster (Nix-Stevenson 2013). Narrative, expressions and experiences of disasters cannot be separated from the pain, tears, loss, anger, trauma and even the human inability to continue their lives. However, no one would have thought that in the future, the nuclear Chernobyl tragedy and disaster in Ukraine; the Katarina hurricane in the United States; the location of mass murder in Cambodia by of Pinochet, the civil war in Sierra Leone in Afirca, the Vietnam and Kosovo war, Pinatubo volcano eruption in Manila and even the emergence of the Lapindo mudflow in Indonesia will become a travel destination.

Imagining a peaceful place like Hawai'i or Bali for tourism is a natural thing, but how to imagine a place that was once in the affected disaster or even still exist in an unpleasant situation emerged as tourist destinations? This is something that is not easy to reconcile the disaster, which is characterized by sadness and loss, with tourism known as pleasure. How both disaster and tourism connected in the tourism practices? In many cases, between the disaster and tourism, people still have the notion to imagine both are seen as a separate thing altogether. In the contemporary, the disaster is the human form of limitation on the mastery and control over nature. In modern tourism, it is clear that the efforts of the resurrection of human on the disaster that befell them demonstrated through forgiveness space in the form of museums and sites affected that professionally managed. Then the question arises, if the disaster is still ongoing – where unstable anger, emotions and situations still occur - in what context and how the forgiveness space will appear in the practice of modern tourism?

The main purpose of this article is to depth investigated about the representation of the disaster to tourists by local tour guides and travel services provider in the disaster area. Deeper, this article is an attempt to dismantle the message and meaning of "satisfy and pleasure" of the disaster tourist destinations. In other words, this article will also arrive at a situation where, and in what way a local tour guide transform the perception of fear into the spirit of struggle in the context of disaster and post-disaster. This article argues that the unification between the disaster contexts and tourism are the facts that occurred in the present situation. Fundamentally, this unification rejected the tourism basic concepts that must rely on the security and comfort. Therefore, this article rejects the view that only a "safe" or a place that has a good degree of security conditions will provide a guarantee of modern tourism continuity.

Furthermore, to answer the questions showed in this paper. First, we will arrive at theoretical discussion about: what is disaster or dark tourism? Forward, we describe our research trip in two sites of disasters in Indonesia and then we are discussing research

methods that we have been used in the field. Our journeys to disaster sites are begin with the eruption of Mount Merapi in Yogyakarta - Central Java and the Lapindo mudflow disaster in Sidoarjo - East Java. Through ethnographic studies in both locations, the article explores the emergence of a disaster as a tourist destination in Indonesia. Walk in hope is term constructed by survirvors will be used as an example of how tourism and the disasters associated with expectations. Through travel guide an overview of the representation of hope and disasters in both tourist sites will be analyzed, but other aspects such as economic and emotional will not be ignored. By using the concept of heterotopia's Michel Foucault, the discussion of this article is directed to analyze the relation local guide-tourist in the depiction of objects disaster. In summary, this study analyzes the principle of heterotopias Foucault, then, offers a synthesis exploration of tourism in the two sites of disaster. In the end, by checking the Merapi eruption and Lapindo mudflow as heterotopias, this study shows that popularize both sites through tourism means to dismantle the political disaster of Lapindo mudflow and risk management of Merapi.

Questioning the "Disaster Tourism" Framework

Tourism is a constellation of diverse phenomena, including the impact, implication, motivation, behavior and place (Smith 2011, p.480). With those those characteristics, then tourism involves a series of events with a wide discipline from sociology, economic, psychology, anthropology, architecture, geography, and to bussiness management. Tourism also has involved a wide range of parties in the formulation of policies ranging from government as planners and/or policy makers, stakeholders, and the community. Thus, it is not surprising that tourism is growing as a multidisciplinary domain. However, earlier that tourism is synonymous with time to spare, the additional revenue or discretionary income, positive local sanctions, in this case the friendliness and positive attitude (Smith 1989) will be coupled with events that are not pleasant, disaster is one of them. In other words, the disaster tour concept as if ends the duality and tension between disasters and tourism.

The term of "Disaster" contains a complex understanding of an event that brings a great damage, loss or destruction (Kieffer 2013; Oliver-Smith 1996). One aspect that is often discussed in the disaster is the issue of the vulnerability of the affected communities, and how the recovery process after the disaster. Therefore, this vulnerability has also become an important issue in this article; especially in the ways survivors manage it. In many studies, the focus is stressed on the situation of vulnerability when disasters occur. However, this article will further explore both of time, when the disaster happens and periods after disaster. As Oliver-Smith (1996, p.313) argues that "Disasters are likely to accelerate changes that were underway before the disaster ", it means that a disaster has the capacity to reveal the vulnerability exists on society, either directly or indirectly way. In that capacity, disaster can be regarded as a situation where the external and internal should be done. In the case in Indonesia, is quite strange that the government is pushing one of the forms to cope with the disaster, in addition to handling the disaster, is to overcome the post-disaster vulnerability through the program, one of them is a disaster tourism.

We have analyzed some literature of tourism issue that is related to the disaster. There is no tight definition of disaster tourism. Some literature refers seeing disaster touris, as part of the "dark tourism" (see e.g., Stone & Sharpley 2008; Harbsmeier 2013; Yuill 2003; Skinner 2016; Stone 2011), in which it is defined as activities associated with travel to sites of death, disaster and something that are terrible (Stone 2011, p.319; Stone 2006). Stone refers to "dark" as the "alludes to a sense of apparent disturbing practices and morbid products and experiences, within the tourism domain" (Stone 2006, p.146). Therefore, It is clear that the

terminology is still regarded as irregularities in relations of tourism and disaster, although disciplines such as sociology, anthropology and musicology has been a pioneer in the study of death (rituals) and commoditization of death - the more critical (for example in the study of Walter 1984; Rojek 1993). In the early to mid 1990s, dark tourism is still slowly emerging as a part of academic study. After, the series of publications edited by Malcolm Foley and John Lennon in *International Journal of Heritage Studies* in 1996, the topic was chosen as important theme in new tourism studies (Foley & Lennon 1996a; Foley & Lennon 1996b; Seaton 1996; Deuchar 1996). Furthermore, after the publication of John Lennon and Malcom Foley's book *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster* (2000), the study get a position in epistemologically.

Therefore, this article theoretically would like to reiterate that the disaster tour, along *thanatourism*, is a type of dark tourism. Disaster tourism emerged as response and fact that there are tourist groups who are interested in things that are harmful, hazard and disaster, although possibility to connect tourism and disaster as quite strange in the study of ethics. In fact, disaster tourism appears as manifestation of consumer demand and theoretically relate with it exploration (Stone 2006, p.146). In fact, disaster tour appears as a manifestation of consumer demand and theoretically relates with exploration demand (Stone, 2006, p.146). Seaton suggested to see disaster tourism based on behavioral phenomena, in this case on tourists' motives, in which it will be contrast with characteristics of attractions (1996). Here, Seaton stressed that the phenomenon of disaster tourism is a behavior of tourist demand. Of course we agree that the decision of tourists to visit a different tourist attractions are based on their internal wish. In spite of that, Stone criticize Seaton's argument as a demand-centric, because there is a possibility of supply issues appears on tourism based on the disaster or things that associated with death (Stone 2006).

To complete the study of dark tourism, we argue disaster tourism is a phenomenon that involves both demands and supply factors of tourist and travel agencies, includes tour guides, tourist operators and society. So it becomes important to analyze demands from the tourist side as a form of motivation to organize travel to disaster sites. Our point is then put fundamentally the importance of study of disaster tourism as holistic analysis. The study of tourist motivation based on demand-centric has been much discussed in tourism studies, in reference to the works of Yuill (2003), Seaton (1996), Stone & Sharpley (2008) and Sharpley (1999). In contrast, the supply side being a bit neglected in academic discourses that emerged lately. It is clear that the existence of disaster tourism actually coined by *travel agents*, in responding to the needs of tourists. However, these studies will debate such arguments.

Sites and Methods

The research is an ethnographic study conducted during 2014 and continued with short visits at the end of 2014 to June 2016. In-depth interviews conducted during the period of observation and accompanied by the participation to the local tour guiding both of two sites. Ethnographic studies are appropriate because this study provides an insight on the early story of the emergence of tourism in the disaster areas. It also explores the relationship between disasters and tourism. We have interviewed twelve local tour guides in two different sites. The Material interviews illustrated during one-year period fieldwork and added to records of brief interview in short of visits. The respondents are they were people who lived in the time before the disaster occurred and still live up period today. They were recruited based on their activity as a local tour guide at the disaster sites and all those involved in disaster tourism development. Six respondents selected from a local resident who works as a Mount Merapi local tour guide and incorporated as a driver in the Jeep Wisata Merapi 86 Jogjakarta

community. The total numbers of Merapi tours community have reached 122 members and all of them get professional training from the Government of Sleman Jogjakarta. They originally were farmers from the cycle peak of Mount Merapi and then under the Jeep vehicle owners associations they offer disaster tour packages and adventure travel. Volcano tourism is a trademark of the promotion of tourism disaster. By relying on the strength of word of mouth strategy, internet-based and social media such as whatsapp, facebook, and twitter, they introduced dark tourism to tourists. Another six respondents were chosen at second sites, the location of Lapindo mudflow in Porong, Sidoarjo - East Java. All of them are local survivors who still struggle to obtain compensation from PT. Minarak Jaya – a subsidiary company of PT. Lapindo Brantas, a company that should be responsible for the disaster payment. In particular, we developed our findings in the field to conduct a new investigation on the tour organizers at the disaster site, namely PT. Mekarsari Raya Tours, a travel business that is located in Surabaya, East Java.

Both sites are described as follows. The first site is located on the path of lava flow of Mount Merapi in Yogyakarta that erupted devastatingly on October 26, 2010. Mount Merapi eruption has destroyed thousands of houses, 384,136 people were displaced and lost their homes/fields. On the second day, 206 people were confirmed dead and 486 people were treated at hospitals in several cities such as Klaten, Magelang, Boyolali and Sleman (BNPB Yogyakarta 2010). Thousands of livestock and crops ready for harvest of 14 villages, the most severely affected, disappeared without a trace. Thousands of flights to Jogjakarta were stopped for approximately two weeks. The hotels occupancy in Yogyakarta slumped to the lowest level of the past 30 years. Material losses caused by the eruption of Mount Merapi in 2010 reached 5 trillion rupiah, all economic activity in the sector suddenly stopped. Two villages on top of Merapi crater in Sleman Jogjakarta, Kinahrejo and Kaliadem and also villages such as Ngargomulyo, Krinjing, Source and Sengi in Magelang should be relocated. All these villages have become dead village or “dead zone”. The houses are left by owners and the animal bones are stacked in such a way to give the impression that the village has ever existed.

The second site is located in Lapindo mudflow disaster area in Sidoarjo - East Java. It exploded and was first issued on May 29, 2006 and the longer the region becomes a flood of water and mud. Some scientists have argued about the initial trigger of the disaster. For example Davies et al. (2007) believes that these explosions of activity triggered drill exploration wells belonging to the gas company PT. Lapindo Brantas Inc. A different opinion was delivered by Mazzini et al. (2007) that state the beginning of Lapindo mud due to the Earthquake in Jogjakarta, May 27, 2006. Although challenged again by Davies et al. (2008) stating that the sludge disaster is purely a technical error in drilling wells Panji 1. However, no one imagined that after three years mudflow is not stopped. Precisely as a result of which emerged from the disaster is the destruction of physical spaces and public spaces of society Porong Sidoarjo (Novenanto 2009). With the vomit sludge per day reached 150,000 cubic meters with a 90 degrees Celsius temperature by the end of September 2006, the 240 hectares of land consisting of fertile farmland have disappeared (Normile 2006). Not only that, densely populated villages became empty. School buildings, factories, shops, government offices and mosques are not spared. A total of 1,873 people were forced to leave their homes to go to shelters that is prepared by government. Villages are usually crowded by the bustle of factory workers suddenly became mute. No more people who survive at the site, especially since PLN (state electricity company) has stopped the supply to this area. However, on the other side a story is built, people who are trying to survive have been trying to survive in many ways, one of them is to develop a disaster as tourism destination in East Java.

Both of disaster tourism sites have slightly different characteristics. The first site is a post-disaster tourism and the second is the ongoing disaster tourism. Both of them present the contemporary rites about the disaster that emphasizes tourism aspects, including attractiveness, accessibility, infrastructure and community participation. Of course, all of them have a pull factors for people to visit. Former of lava flow and of course the mudflow are phenomenon that is inviting interested people to know closer. Accessibility is characterized by the availability of adequate roads and transport. Infrastructure in this case is the availability of other supporting facilities, may be the closest hotel to the disaster area, dining/restaurants and of course the guides at tourist sites. Lastly, both involving community participation around the tourist sites. In the end, the two of tourism destinations have lead to a journey full of expectations of participation society and it characterized by a rise of economic activities. Through tourism, they are trying to portray small businesses are not just as a mainstream idea of their lives but create a alternative discourse and practice in the face of disaster.

Walking in the Hope: The Production of Routes

To understand how the emergence of a tourist destination, then search trail or travel service becomes important. Route, not just a picture of the activity of travel, but keeps a history of memory and the expectation of an event. From the symptoms, we stand to present two stories around the disaster and travel. The activities we describe as “walking” in the hope that the emergence of an alternative discourse of catastrophe. From our observations, it was found that the disaster tourism is not just a question of commodification of the disaster, but also the emergence of a sense of optimism of catastrophic conditions, as we ran across at Mount Merapi in Yogyakarta. The picture may also be a form of resistance or expression of disappointment as it appears in the dialog around the disaster site.

Tracking “Wedhus Gembel’ in Mt. Merapi in the Heart of Java

“Stuffy once here, it feels like a toaster machine when eruption happened”. A visitor conveys it to his friend in the bunker measuring 8x6 meters above the height of Mount Merapi. It is an expression shown by a group of participants of the seminar at Gadjah Mada University on September 14, 2014. Triono, 19 years old, resident of the village of Kinahrejo and at the same time, he was the driver of the Jeep we were riding. he showed us the public goods damaged by hot clouds of Mount Merapi and he did not forget to show the bunker in which two people were found dead. Inside the bunker, two volunteers who served as observers Merapi. “Maybe they believed that take refuge in the bathroom, they will be safe” he said, laughing. No sadness and fear from his expression. The location used to be called the Nature Tourism Kaliadem, known as Heritage Bebeng located in the village of Kinahrejo, the last village before approaching the peak of Mount Merapi. At first, the village area is renowned as a tourist village-based nature. Around him was met with large trees that shade and refreshing air. However, the situation is now no longer can be found because all location is covered by the dust of Mount Merapi and the village has been left by its inhabitants.

We begin Merapi vocano tour as showed in a travel brochure. The volcano tour invites visitors to trace the *Wedhus Gembel* (hot clouds) Mount Merapi. *Wedhus Gembel* looked more like a horned sheep, big boned and is often used as an animal ill. However, in the Javanese cosmology, *wedhus gembel* is a euphemism in a form that is believed to have extraordinary powers and extremely dangerous. *Wedhus gembel* is heat clouds that can cause the body blackened like an electric shock or lightning shock. From a distance, the shape swirl like giant cotton brownish white. In our opinion, the brochure was quite interesting because gave us opportunity and challenge to explore the *wedhus gembel* route in Merapi Mountain.

86 Merapi Jeep Tour Community in Yogyakarta to be our guide on the tour. We started the tour from their basecamp. They offer a variety of travel packages, i.e. regular packages and special packages. Regular package is split into three routes - short, medium, long. The short route starts from the basecamp of the community guide / driver of the Jeep (Basecamp 86), Mini Museum (the rest of my belongings/*omahku memoriku*), *Batu Alien*, Bunker Kaliadem and ended up in the peak of Kaliadem. For this short route spend 1-1.5 hours. If visitors require a medium and long route, it takes an additional 2-3 hours from short route. While the special package includes travel packages to enjoy the sunrise, pre-wedding photo and photo hunt in any spot. We decided to select short-distance tours for security reasons and ignorance of the information we have.

Start the tour - The Debate of term tourism disaster can be reviewed from the norm and ethical issues in Indonesia. However, the idea of tourism disaster is an interesting idea for further discussion. A various tour packages offered, one is which to enjoy is adventure riding by the Jeep. By using a jeep, we were invited to cross some of the areas affected by the eruption of Mount Merapi. Besides enjoying the 'remnants' of Mount Merapi eruption, we were worried about the safety riding on the Jeep. Travel agency only provides a mask as the only facilities, no seat belts and safety helmets. Of the journey, the travel, we have come to know that along the eruption of Mount Merapi - especially in the year 2010 is a very large eruption and brought losses for both material and non-material. Therefore, peoples in *Dusun Kinahrejo* let places, items and relics as a consequence of the eruption remains. The rest of relics from Merapi eruption still remain until now. The trace of *wedhus gembel* or heat clouds that struck the village around Merapi succeed packed into a "tour package" by local residents. So, actually the journey is more emphasis on the emotional side to enjoy the tourism of Merapi.

Mini Museum (Sisa Hartaku/Omahku Memoriku) is our first stop in Merapi tour packages. This museum is located near from Petung residence – *Dusun Kepuharjo*. Triono, explained to us when eruption happened, most of building, house, school and other facilities burn by the heat cloud of Merapi, including Watinem's family house. The rest of peoples choose to leave the area for avoiding another eruption. But, Sriyanto – Watinem's son tried to collect the rest of their households, like plates, spoons, bowl, or even television, bicycle and his animal fossil. He told that he put in an animal fossil in front of the door because he want to remain us how big affected caused by Merapi eruption in 2010.

Creating the impression that the Merapi eruption has destroyed the lives of citizens is one of the strategies from tour guides in *Kepuharjo* which purposed for emotional side from visitors. Triono explained in detail how almost peoples in *Kepuharjo* can not keep their belongings. From this explanation, visitors tried to listen carefully and sometimes ask a question to the tour guide. Not only that, sometime visitors listened another explanation on the other tour guide. Thru a narrative explanation of Triono and friends, they tried to build impression of horror and it makes visitors more interested to hear anothe stories. Mini Museum tour is the opening to look more closer the top of Merapi Mountain. This could happened because visitors has to pass *Batu Alien* and *Bunker Kaliadem* which contain a horror story. From Mini Museum they build a basic foundation about tourism disaster in Mount Merapi.

Batu Alien (stone of alien) and *Bunker Kaliadem*, are two close destinations. *Batu Alien* is actually a large stone and it was to resemble a human face. The stone was brought together with the last eruption. It is an iconic location of Merapi disaster tour. From *Batu Alien*, if we turn down then we will be able to watch the paths of lava flows across the river, destroying villages and make the trees around burned. Rise to the top, we have arrived at the *Bunker Kaliadem*. This bunker is the final location prior to the summit *Kaliadem*. Heri Suprpto, the village head of *Kepuharjo* requested by University of Gadjah Mada to accompanied us to the

tour of the Bunker, is explaining that this bunker was rediscovered in 2013. After the eruption occurred, bunker covered by a pile of stones, dust and sand from the eruption of Mount Merapi as high as 4 meters. All flattened with the rocks eruption. The boundaries of villages that marks the position of the bunker also gone along with the eruption. After going through a long process, finally bunker was discovered and it took three days to dismantle and evacuate the dead. Two victims was found dead in the bathroom and the bodies almost ruined. Go inside the bunker, doors rusty steel driven seemed heavy. It feels this site is so inhospitable. Inside we will find a circular room, other guides say that this was the location of a "fireplace" is used to warm the room. Our guides told us, this bunker only open until 5 pm every day, he cautioned that they often heard a people cries from inside the bunker.

At this point in the tour, Triono and other tour guide brings together a group of tourists to imagine disasters. They use disaster sites to talk about their experience from the perspective of survivors. Here is the authenticity of the tour-teller narrative came to the fore. Of the total our groups of around forty people, we analyzed that some groups have failed to get an impression or imagination the same as we experienced. They lack an explanation of the tour guides so they decided to move away from the group. Most of the tour guides who are generally under 20 years do not seem to have enough information for tourists. However, unlike the case with our experience guided by Triono where he was able to give us the ability to imagine the situation at the time of eruption. The intonation of his voice, hand gestures and facial expressions depicted in earnest by our tour guide.

As a local tour guide, Triono authentically using his memory to raise a tourist imagination. For example, he shared us how he and his family dispersed to save themselves in the middle of the uncertain situation. He told us that he ran down from his village, did not remember where his parents or other siblings. He explained us how his feet blistered and sore because of running barefoot. Our mouths became open when he spoke about his experience. Triono and others guides give this tour, sometimes up to 4 times a week. Being a tour guide for him not as a response to economic problems, but also as a responsibility to Mount Merapi. Although in the middle of the lack of equipment he was carrying for a guide/driver of the Jeep, he was always alert and must remain cautious with the eruption of Merapi. Triono assume that Merapi will only doze off and wake up, perhaps with a larger eruption. Although travel this disaster began a year after the eruption occurred, along pengalamannya more tourists come through word of mouth (mouth to mouth) from one tourist to another tourist. To improve its service, he sometimes improvise a lot by explaining the personal things in the story, so that it is able to integrate with the main narrative in disaster for traces travel wedhus trash.

Wisata Lumpur Lapindo: "If we call it as a tourism, it might be Tragic Tourism"

It will probably be the most inconvenience tour that you have attended at any place in the world. In this place, you will be presented where the most of stink in the world. You can imagine how we are suffering with this disaster. We were forcibly evicted from the land of our ancestors. We were separated from relatives, friends and our friends because of this [disaster]. But, I promise this will be an exciting tour for you. You have nothing to lose, all stories are my experiences, our experiences ... people who were born here, grew up here, and still survive to stay alive in this place. I'll take you to beautiful places in our village, if you want to ask something just ask me..don't hesitate ... (Munif, 49 years old, local tour guide and also survivor of Lapindo mudflow, 2014)

Followed the steps of Munif, our local tour guides at Lapindo mudflow disaster tourism site, feels very tiring at this afternoon. The temperature reaches thirty-nine degree Celcius, we feel that our skin is burn. The sweat endlessly is dripping from all over the body. Crossing the

railroad, steps to upstairs of the wood, and stepped into the embankment (*tanggul*) that could collapse at any time are the initial experience we have been through. On top of the embankment, which is used as a drag stream of mudflow, the pain of the eyes and the smell caused by gas released by Lapindo mudflow overcrowd our breathing. Occasionally, liquid mud had dried blown by strong winds into our faces. Accompanied by Munif, we embarked on a tour to explore "memory" of disaster survivors. From his childhood periods in which that is fun and happy, and of course, until the story ends with his suffering after mud ruined their lives.

Munif started our tour this afternoon from the west of center of the Lapindo mudflow. After briefly introducing themselves to us. He began to show the center of explosion. He pointed to the east where we are standing right now. Munif says,

There [he pointed to the steam white, center of explosion], the catastrophe began in 2006. No one believed that the news about the explosion of Panji 1 well is owned by Lapindo [PT. Lapindo Brantas, Inc.] is true. No body expected or thought that it will be bury our dreams. I'm not sure this [mud] will continuously exploded the mudflow. We don't believe ... but in fact we've lost our houses and fields forever (Munif, interviewed on May 31, 2014).

The story begun, Munif is a one of survivors of a great disaster from the history of Indonesian mining. Ten years ago, he is still living of the densely populated at Renokenongo village, Porong. He remembers that his district was famous as economic and industrial center of Sidoarjo. Porong is the meeting point of three major cities in East Java, including Mojekerto, Pasuruan, and Sidoarjo. As long as his remember, in his village, many factories built and hire employees from inside or outside the village, also outside Sidoarjo. Every afternoon, after the end of labor activities in factories, the life is beginning. The economic activities drove by the household in the village, is open they transactions. They sold a coffee, tea or local food in which they look like a live under family ties. However, these crowd situations have shifted by the explosion of Lapindo mining. When he told us the story, his expression has changed. He could not imagine that his crowd village will be to the "dead zone", all of activities are died. He showed us the location of the factory where he and his family worked. Many house buried by mud and what can we see today is only the roof, but he is still recognized where is his own house built. In general, 1500 hectares impacted form the disaster, one of them is the field and house of his parents legacy.

We moved to the north, where the location of Lumpur Lapindo monument is located. Located on the lip of the mud embankment, written messages written by citizens,

The monument of Lumpur Lapindo tragedy
Lapindo mudflow has been burying our villages
Lapindo only gives us a fake promise
The State is neglected to recover our life
Our voice is never extinguished
In order, this nation does not forget
(May 29, 2014)

The monument built in the eighth of commemoration of the tragedy of Lapindo mudflow. It stands firmly on the north side of the embankment. The monument was clearly tells of sadness and anger disaster victims. The monument name is "Monumen Lumpur Lapindo" is politically name addressed by survivors of the disaster. Survivors have been aware that PT. Lapindo Brantas Inc is a company that should be responsible for the tragedy. They believe that Lapindo cause their village drowned in a sea of mud. They angry because PT.

Lapindo do not realized the compensation of their lost. The people is disappointed by government because they feel that authority neglect their problems. The monument was written for the nation's and they have been take a decision to fight an injustice for the life, a symbol of resistance. From the monument, we moved to the second symbols of monument Lapindo, the 110 statue at area 21 of embankment.

"Can you imagine how our situation at the time?" Munif started discuss to us about the situation, while pointing to the statues embedded in the mud. The sculptures are the work of artist and activist from Yogyakarta, Dadang Christianto.

Just like statues, our bodies sank half. Our feet until stomachs all inundated with mud. You can imagine, we can not move our feet, because here is my homeland. My memories was here. Our parents were born, live and die here, so are we. Then why do we go through this? [Drilling disaster]. Our stomachs were submerged, the same as this mud is already buried [buried] our economy. The last is only my head .. my thought go beyond and it is not help me to out the problems. Everyone, in the beginning, concerns with our problems, one by one they have gone (Munif, interview dated May 31, 2014).

The two meters high of 110 statues looks up while carrying household appliances. Munif explains based on his knowledge, statues lined it shows that in the past people Porong live as a society, bound in a system of strong values and norms. But now they are scattered. While looking up is people's hope to seek refuge in God/Allah. Sculptures by bringing home appliances such as cooking means the loss of economic support of their families.

Naturally, Munif took us down in the feeling that much mercy. We are invited to surf in the imagination of his experience and the people of Porong in the face of disaster. Munif using figurines to talk us about his ordeal. He uses the *monument Lumpur Lapindo* as a tool to criticize everyone, including us, NGOs and the government that he considers ignore the survivors of Lapindo mudflow. Munif speak from the perspective of Lapindo mudflow survivors, he improvise the stories, for example on the meaning of hand looking upward of statues. Where he explained that it is a form of symbolizes for the hope of a God miracle. Actually we know, raised the hands up in the art world means sadness or mourning (Syarrafah 2014). Munif authentically, as a survivor and also a tour guide, explores the disaster story from his perspective. He brings the meaning of disaster and death as a form of pain and anger at the neglect of their rights as citizens.

In early 2016, we were surprised that a tourism travel agency based on Surabaya launches the tourism package to Lapindo mudflow. PT. Mekarsari Raya Tours offers a disaster tourism package in Sidoarjo. They prepare all of the tourists needs such us hotel, food, transportation and also permission to the site of disaster in Porong. They write in company website,

It is tragic indeed if we remember what happened in Sidoarjo residents affected by Lapindo mudflow disaster in 2006. Thousands of hectares of land and building lost and a lot of citizens who have become victims of the disaster.

But this time, the site of Lapindo disaster has been transformed by local peoples into a tourist destination. The admission fee for Wisata Lapindo is relatively cheap, around 2,000 up to 5,000 rupiah, because in fact there is no standard price of admission. If the admission price is considered expensive, it can be negotiate.

Although not a beautiful view, but visitors come and go, not only from East Java, such as Surabaya, Malang, Pasuruan, Mojokerto, but also from regions outside East Java. Most visitors come to answer their curiosity about how the shape of this Lapindo mudflow. Peak tourist visitors this mud happens while on vacation, to the extent that can be made Porong highway jammed. (PT. Mekarsari Raya Tours, 2016)

In this case, PT, Mekarsari Raya Tours is the agency that support the dark tourism in which it has been formed in Lapindo disaster site. Although, the disaster tourist destinations officially is not yet recognized by the government, but in real the terms is growing based on the idea of the President of the Republic of Indonesia. The entry of PT. Mekarsari Kingdom Tours as a tour operator on disaster location illustrates that the supporting infrastructure has been ready to prepared. PT. Mekarsari seize the opportunity of tourists who want to see the disaster as a tourist attraction. They are responsible for transportation, hotels and "comfort" in expeditions or excursions. This means that they have to respond to the demand of tourists and keep the bidding of local people about the disaster from an economic perspective. As a travel operator in the disaster - become important to note that the collaboration manager and local guides are two important mediator in representing tourist travel to the disaster.

Guiding Disaster Tourism

Guiding tourist to dangerous places and the calamity was an unique experience, both for tourists or guides themselves in this regard is to deliver a sense of emotion, risk and disaster dynamics (Rucińska & Lechowicz 2014). Dark Tourism or travel disaster does not rely on the comfort of a tourist destination, but rather the emphasis on emotion. In both locations, a local tour guide reported that they tell tourists honestly about their own experiences. However, tourists guide in Merapi Tourism that tells the story by submitting his own opinion and not based on their experience. It is understandable because the local guide at Merapi have been trained by Yogyakarta tourism office. In contrasting with the second location, tourist guides usually talk about their truly experiences, but sometimes they improvised to get empathy from visitors. In general, at the first location, tour guides work based on the theory of travel guides, but otherwise, in Lapindo mud travel they work based on memory and response from tourists.

Knowledge of disasters at sites becomes important. In some local tour guide at Mt. Merapi has little understanding of the disaster. They are generally focused ourselves on the ability and experience in driving the vehicle in Mt. Merapi mountain track. So that tends to their explanation of events around Merapi to be less accurate. The Merapi tour guide generally are young people under the age of 20 years and they have earned the "training" of the community or regional governments. However, not all the information can be presented to visitors who use their services. For example, when explaining about the situation in the bunker Kaliadem, the guide reported in detail what happened, but emotion gives them to be flat. In stark contrast to what we found at the second site. The local guides do not have detailed information of the Lapindo mudflow, but between the guide with the others have the same narrative.

For example, when Munif arrange several "tour" along the embankment of mud, tourists often whisper "can't imagine how if we were hit by this disaster?", or at other times he would hear visitors say, "how can they survive in a place like this?". As a local tour guide, who did not get education or professional training, Munif felt that he preserve or justify that societies can adapt to the calamity. Munif and other travel guides in disaster area sometimes feels painful and confused to answer such questions.

Another experience is told by one of the tour guides at Mount Merapi on the difficulty to answer queries from visitors. Generally they will avoid visitors who come from universities or research foundations, they call it a "tourist professor". Faced with this kind of tourists, the tour guides should provide information carefully. But if they are dealing with tourists who look stupid or not critical, they will not have trouble. They were invited traveling on Jeep and definitely will not cause any more inquiries about the history of disasters.

In other language, telling about the history of the two disasters is basic knowledge that must be owned by a local tour guide. Specifically ability to provide explanations and assurances that a tourist will get a different experience of this trip is the main thing in travel guidebooks. Surely that other requirements such as comfort also be involved into account. Most tourists already know that there is a risk that sometimes comes out in practice. Traveler characteristics are also influential, such as local travelers tend to be worried with the safety of foreign tourists and differently. Precisely from here the production of travel where disasters will become increasingly popular in the eyes of tourists.

Comparing the existence of a local tour guide in both disaster tourist locations is extensive and is in fact very difficult to do. Local tour guides in the disaster area have strong ties with the disaster area, so it tends to present disasters in a different way. Generally, they are the victims of the disaster and trying to take advantage of the space from tourist demand. Not sometimes they are often in dispute with the existence of the travel agents or with other communities, such as in travel Merapi disaster sites. Then, disaster interpreted diverse. In that context, we conceive that the tour guide, along with travel agents, is responsible actors in the production of knowledge about the tourism disaster for visitors.

Local Tour Guide and Heterotopia: A Discussion

We have outlined above regarding the role of a local tour guide in presenting the alternative discourse at the two sites of disasters tourism in Indonesia. In Mt. Merapi, first sites called as volcano disaster tourist destination, located in Yogyakarta - Central Java, local tour guides using imagination of disaster adventure traveling for presenting 2010's eruption landscape and it's impacted area. Through the stories of *bunker kematian* (the death bunker), is located on the top of Mt. Merapi, the local tour guide presence the form of fright of Mt. Merapi explosion in 2010. The trip across the routes of lava flows and visited a *mini museum* to be a "museum of natural memory" about the destructive force of the eruption. The journeys show us how human lost their social-cultural ties and environments. The presence of a mini museum, in the context of the imagination, has brought the idea of "dead zone" in the villages of Mt. Merapi to the tourists. The same reality is found the second sites of disaster tourism in Lapindo Mudflow (*Semburan Lumpur Lapindo*) in Porong, Sidoarjo in East Java. Local tour guides, in whom they shared experiences as survivors, are figuring the Lapindo mudflow as a part of dark tourism. In their stories, the background of quiet life of their village share as opening narration of dark stories on the site. Trough the roles of local tour guides (survivors) and travel agents, the story of disasters both in Mt. Merapi and Lapindo mudflow became a popular narration for tourists consumption.

Consequently, the story of two sites of disaster became a popular tourist destination in Indonesia. For example, the local tour guides reported there increasing of tourism flow in Yogyakarta also followed by the high demand for selling the books and DVD of Merapi eruption. In Porong, the location of mudflow, the Government of East Java (Pemerintah Propinsi Jawa Timur) claimed the number of tourists visit is increase 3-4 percent (interviewed with the Head of East Java Tourism Board, M. Harun, May 2016). It shows that the disaster obviously brings a new context in Indonesian tourism development. Tourists are not only consuming an old tourism destination based on beautiful landscape and cultural heritage, but also problems such as health, social, environmental and even politics. In particular, we emphasize on the practice of tourist guiding on Lapindo mudflow, in which they are actively campaigning the rights of survivors that ignored by the state to visitors. In this case, local tour guides gave an information update to tourists about the condition of people after disaster happened. It can be denied, the risks of conflict in disaster tourist destinations, such as Lumpur

Lapindo, has political consequences and quite dangerous for tourist safety. The other risks such as thuggery and violence potentially appear suddenly in these sites. However, apart from all of the possibilities, the fact should be acknowledged that both of disaster sites become more popular for domestic and foreigner tourists day to day. The power of word of mouth and social media are dominant factors for tourists to take a decision for travelling.

At first, the developments of disaster tourism in both locations tend to emerge from the illegal tour (*tur terlarang*), forbidden activities carried out in secret by visitors or local peoples. However, the Mount Merapi or Volcano Tours have an earlier legitimation by local government to be the object of tourist destination rather than *Wisata Bencana Lumpur Lapindo*. The local government of Yogyakarta, with their experiences to manage a cultural tourism destination in Indonesia, quickly responds for possibility Merapi disasters area as a new tourist destination in the region. Local peoples get training and license to organize a site as a tourism destination by the government. The government and supported by non-government organizations facilitated local people to develops their capability for tourism development, including the license to be a professional tour guide for youth peoples. In other words, do not take a long time to see Mount Merapi disaster as tourist's attractions. In another side, it must be recognized, that the political overtones Lumpur Lapindo caused many difficulties to access the disaster sites. Three to four years after the mudflow happened, sites is still declared closed to the public. However, since President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono threw the discourse of possibility that disaster in Lapindo as Geological tourism area, the site began to be accessed by common people. Unfortunately, until now, the Lapindo mudflow disaster sites not yet fully ready for geological tourism area. In practice, simply to know that tourists have been able to obtain information through the survivors while visited the disaster areas.

While it is worth to remember that the feel of safety and comfort is known as a minimum requirement for the tourism industry. Therefore, it makes sense if there is a question whether a tourism disaster has guaranteed the future consequences for tourists that may arise from the site. Our observation in the first site during the year of 2014-2015, we think that the authority, which is responsible for the tourism development in Mt. Merapi, has been showed the earnest efforts to provide safety for tourists. They have been provided insurance for tourists if they have injuries or accident. Professionally, it has been written in the ticket issued by communities who are managing the trips. However, the different situation is founded in second location. The site of *Wisata Lumpur Lapindo* does not provide the adequate safety for visitors. There is no guarantee the security of any party. Visitors are responsible the safety for themselves. This is what might be said that term of "hazard" or "risk" in disaster tourism itself is the absence of safety guarantees for tourists after the completion of the sightseeing tour. At this point, the tourist's view that the forbidden zone normatively modified so invisible to normalcy. Stone (2013) proposed the same findings, he argues that the tourists' view of the disaster area in Chernobyl, Ukraine, normatively is not erased but the norms of ordinary life are under suspension. Therefore, we argue to investigate the relationship between local tour guide (survivors) with a tourism disaster, how it provable and consumed, it will refer to "other place" proposed by French philosopher, Michel Foucault. How local tour guides transform the disaster for tourists in their real experience spaces, it will be clear explored through six principles of Foucault's Heterotopia.

Foucault has introduced the concept of heterotopia to analyze "the real space where boundaries of normalcy within society are transgressed" (Stone 2013, p.81). In this context, space is created by a local tour guide through what they called "the journey to the heart of disaster". The space in real term principally describes the alternative discourse of catastrophe. Tourism disaster is the space deliberately created by the tour guide for a response to the crisis

of disaster based on economic purposes. Even though two sites did briefly show that the production of knowledge is determined by economic motives, however, it can more convincingly differ in the second site in Lumpur Lapindo. We argue that the economic motive is the entry point for the creation of space, but gradually it will be controlled by political motives. For example, the phenomenon best to refer to is what presents in the Lapindo mudflow disaster tourism. The results of interview and focus group discussion emerged that the survivors feel that their courage to open a site of disaster for tourists is a form of encouragement to gain economic advantages. But on the way, consciously they admit that there is transformation from economy to politics spaces. Survivors take an advantage of the political space to share experiences and memories of the disaster to tourists. They also use this space to campaign how the state ignore their suffering caused by the disaster. In other word, the production of space created by local tour guides is contested through touristification of disaster sites. As for the space as such, how can they be described related to disaster tourism? Foucault (1986) suggested heterotopology as a sort of simultaneously mythic and real contestation of the space in which local tour guide and tourism live.

The Six principle of heterotopia could be applied to the process of touristification of disaster sites. First Principle is that there is probably not a single culture in the world that fails to constitute heterotopias (Foucault & Miskowiec 1986, p.24). Foucault divides into two types of crisis and deviation heterotopia. Heterotopia crisis, i.e., there are privileged and sacred or forbidden place for the individual in an atmosphere of social, political and cultural crisis (Foucault & Miskowiec 1986; Stone 2013). In our society, these crisis heterotopias are persistently disappearing, but it still can be found. Of course, both of disaster sites in Mt. Merapi and Lapindo, these are places where a crisis of socio-cultural, environment and political disappear from public. These sites are remnants of forbidden places highlighting the problem of environment and disaster risk. Specifically for the Lapindo mudflow, this site involves the scale of political decision-making on a national scale. It is associated with political interests of Aburizal Bakrie, the owner of PT. Lapindo Brantas – the company is considered responsible for mud disaster, with the ruling government. In recent situation, it is quite clear that Lapindo mudflow site is a place where the new pressure occurs.

The pressure such as the problem of compensation to survivors does not yet pay, environment degradation, infrastructure damage and the possibility of relocation for survivors. In consequence, touristification of disaster sites could be perceived as a bridge of old and new events or disaster and post-disasters in a single real place. It means, disaster tourism, as a crisis heterotopia, is a situation where the tourists are not only separated by the past but to (re) connect back to the present. This principle describes tour guides as actors that mediate inconvenient periods with the future. But this heterotopia of crisis is disappearing today and being replaced by heterotopia of deviation (Foucault & Miskowiec 1986). Heterotopia of deviation refers to a form of “deviant leisure” (Stebbins 1996; Rojek 1999), namely as a sensation-seeking behavior that is immoral, unhealthy and sometimes dangerous (Williams 2009). At this point, we can confidently say that both sites present a deviant form of recreation. Here can be seen how the mediation role of local tour guides to encourage tourists contemplating the topics that are considered taboo. In other words, it means that local tour guides have the ability to build the capacity to increase the participation of tourists to enrich the meanings of disaster (Stone 2012).

The second principle is an existing heterotopia function. It refers to the fact that heterotopia has a duality of function in society. Foucault exemplifies this with the European cemetery (Foucault & Miskowiec 1986). Through the old cemetery at the end of the eighteenth century, Foucault argued it is a socio-cultural place that connected with all the sites of the city,

state, and country, etc. since each individual thought to be connected with the funeral (Foucault & Miskowiec 1986). It is to say that each individual/family has relatives that buried in the cemetery. Until the end of the eighteenth century, all burial in Europe still exists in the city center, close to the church. However, it was undergone an important change in the beginning nineteenth century. It was that cemetery to be placed or located on the borders of the city. In it, there are efforts to keep the dead away, but still, there is the possibility of people living connected with the dead bodies (Stone 2013). The idea is presenting here that dead bodies are connected to illness, in which cemetery was propagated as a source of the illness itself. Since it, no longer to constitute cemetery as sacred or immortal of the heart of the city, but it is a dark resting place. The site of Lapindo mudflow is the best to investigate these duality functions of heterotopia. Both disaster sites can serve as a place where tourists create a meaning of new life after disaster.

The third principle, heterotopia can bring some slices of space at a time, into something that is assumed to be comprehensive and complete. These slices intersect one another to constitute various discourses overlap anyway. The intersection of various spaces that create a new space. Individuals who are in this space could identify their self - felt that they were in the new space and not a physical space that happened. Foucault says:

The heterotopia is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible. Thus it is that the theater brings onto the rectangle of the stage, one after the other, a whole series of places that are foreign to one another; thus it is that the cinema is a very odd rectangular room, at the end of which, on a two-dimensional screen, one sees the projection of a three-dimensional space ... (Foucault & Miskowiec 1986, p.25).

Foucault's notion that heterotopia is a force within a space that produces alternative narratives through layers of meaning is particularly true of tourism disaster sites. It can be seen from the juxtaposing idea of tourism and disasters. The idea is represented by a real images of damage, it is showed by monuments/museums, to the normality of peoples such as trading and tourism. The space brought by local tour guides toward the juxtaposition of the past (such as the beautiful of Mount Merapi and the famous of Porong as a crowded industrial area) to the future. Hence, those images that accompany a tourist's journey, or indeed local tour guides lead the "dead zone" to present gradually to tourists or visitors. It could take a look on the traces of household appliances due to eruption of Mt. Merapi and traces of damage buildings such as homes, places of worship and factories were flooded with mud. This image present by tour guides to juxtapose the destruction and lost with the sense of curiosity. In other words, images become a means for experiencing space dematerialization in a disaster. Thus it can be understood also that the space in the disaster can not be experienced fully without the presence of physical space that a person experiences. When experienced, physical space it will no longer be the same. The physical space has become space in certain moments happen intersection spatialization discourse which purport to alter the practice of spatialization itself.

The fourth principle, heterotopia is a juxtaposition of slices in time, or chronology. Heterotopia is a cessation of time while the individual space of their daily routine (Foucault & Miskowiec 1986). In a heterotopia, the juxtaposition of slices different times and these various of time slices are constructing a new concept of time. The new operating concept of time in this heterotopia called *heterochronies*. This is connect with a variety of space and time that are beyond heterotopia itself. But with *heterochronies*, a variety of different time and space on

the outside can be interpreted as something like synchronized and unified by culture. According to Foucault,

Heterotopias are most often linked to slices in time – which is to say that they open onto what might be termed, for the sake of symmetry, heterochronies. The heterotopia begins to function at full capacity when men arrive at a sort of absolute break with their traditional time. This situation shows us the cemetery is indeed a highly heterotopic place since, for the individual, the cemetery begins with this strange heterochrony, the loss of life, and with this quasi-eternity in which her permanent lot is dissolution [*sic*] and disappearance (Foucault & Miskowiec 1986, p.26).

The tour guide offered to look the disaster as catastrophic as the loss of things that are important in human life, for example, about death and lost. Again, we use of museums and monuments to understand this space. The space begins to function at full capacity when tourists arrive at a absolute break of their traditional time. So tourists not only consume social meaning, culture and environment where the disaster occurred, but also a disaster periods. Through the damage shown on the location of the disaster, the destruction of public facilities such as schools, health centers and central government services is a form of use of a short time of the disaster itself. The nature repeatability in travel time of disaster, seeing images disaster on the spot and then the routine will return as usual outside the region.

The fifth principle, heterotopia presupposes a system that opens and closes, which makes it an isolated and easily penetrated (Foucault & Miskowiec 1986). Of course with the specific requirements that must be fulfilled. Compliance can also be read as a boundary marker distinguishing heterotopia of public spaces, such as those found in urban space.

Heterotopias always presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable. In general, the heterotropic site is not freely accessible like a public place. Either the entry is compulsory, as to rites and purifications. To get in one must have a certain permission and make certain gestures. Moreover, there are even heterotopias that are entirely consecrated to these activities of purification – purification that is partly religious and partly hygienic, such as hammam of the Moslems, or else purification that appears to be purely hygienic, as is Scandinavian saunas (Foucault & Miskowiec 1986, p.26).

For example, are spaces of travel always insist on the form of donations of money to be paid to get into the site. It is a form of organizing and funding to look at the disaster of authority. Foucault demonstrated this term as "purification", there is a transition period before the entry of tourists from the safe zone to the disaster zone. Usually this is done during the briefing. Consider the example when we take a sightseeing tour of Lapindo, our local guide said "...this is a disaster that probably will not find anywhere else in the world". As if, the tour guide leads us to really completely different space to be consumed by tourists. On the other hand we can also be interpreted as the practice of class bias in the absence of guarantee that the unwritten prerequisite to enter the disaster site is a specific marker of social class.

Lastly, the sixth principle, heterotopia deliver illusion and compensation. Through a disaster tourism, we will focus on the real thing and the reality outside. This last function puts the role of the two extreme poles that remain create space illusion of real things. Or on the contrary creates spaces beyond reality (Foucault & Miskowiec 1986; Stone 2013). The sixth of heterotopology is a heterotopia serves to connect the site with other spaces that exist. These functions include the two extremes, one of which contribute to creating the illusion of space that exposes every real physical space. Any site that insulate human life and let other sites open and at the same time, hidden. The Sixth Heterotopology's role is to hide the other sites, and make their specific sites that were purposely hidden from human civilization. If this site is hidden, by itself exposed to another site with a binary opposition. Foucault explains,

The last trait of heterotopias is that they have a function in relation to all the space that remains. This function unfolds between two extreme poles. Either their role is to create a space of illusion that exposes every real space, all the sites inside of which human life is partitioned, as still more illusory (perhaps that is the role that was played by those famous brothels of which we are now deprived). Or else, on the contrary, their role is to create a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled (Foucault & Miskowiec 1986, p.27)

But the question will arise remains is "what is interesting from this catastrophe journeys?". Local tour guides will invite tourists to consume real illusion is because they are on the tour to capture the horrors, which is likely appear. As compensation, the tourists will create something positive out of this visit as the emergence of awareness of destruction and at the same time the emergence of the foundations of a better future.

Conclusion

This article is a simple overview to see how disaster tourism is growing in Indonesia. Adopting perspectives of Stone's dark tourism and Foucault's heterotopia, the study offers a conceptual framework in which to locate dark tourism experiences and their relation to disaster, including hazards, death and tragic events. Indeed, the analysis of heterotopia, put forward by Foucault in 1967, is stressed the economic aspect in view of the production of space, but we argue that these ideas are still relevant to examine tourism disasters sites of Mt. Merapi and Lapindo mudflow. The role of local tour guides, most of them are survivors, have been associated with disaster touristification at both sites within the framework of heterotopia. It became one of the answers how the disaster sites can be consumed economically. However, these findings also indicate that the production of space of tourism disaster showed by Lapindo mudflow tourism disaster area is not only related economically but politically.

Of course, we realize the research is wide and it is also as a preliminary synthesis of the aspects of political action in the creation of space of disaster tourism. Therefore, empirical research to improve this finding becomes important. Theoretically, the relationship of political aspects in heterotopia space must be dismantled. There is a possibility in the process of images transformation of the disaster, present by the local tour guides, the principles of heterotopia not follow the rules of linearity.

Finally, the disaster tourism conception - a study on two sites of disaster, Mt. Merapi Disaster and Site Disaster Lumpur Lapindo, has been indicating as "an-Other place". Both of disaster sites shows that the role of local tour guides deliver the images of disaster to tourists through the production space of knowledge. Disaster is presenting as physical damage, destruction, and lost, but it is also an opportunity to notice disasters as a different angle. Through tourism, disaster is not only stories of disintegration, but integration. The phenomenon of the creation of spaces is not always linked to economic interests as proposed by Foucault. However, if local tour guides or survivors have not been able to accept the impact of the disaster, there is a tendency to see the production of space based on the interests and political pressures.

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Tourism(s) and the Way to Democracy in Myanmar

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In few other countries than Myanmar have political context and tourism been so closely linked for more than fifty years. After the open situation of colonial times and the early days of independence, the military junta locked up the country from 1962 to 1988, by the means of a severe visa policy. From 1988 to 2010, a new military regime slightly opened the country to attract foreign currencies and restore the image of the country on the international stage through a proactive policy and by organizing a Visit Myanmar Year in 1996. In spite of its half-success, this event was the actual starting point of tourism in the country, with the construction of the basic infrastructure, often motivated by opaque strategies and money laundering. The visit Myanmar Year was the starting point of several years of calls to tourism boycott by Western Human Rights NGOs; however, boycott was not a consensual issue, and conflict pitted NGOs and guidebooks editors; moreover, its impact seems to have significantly decreased in the 2000s. In 2010, the military junta self-dissolved in favor of an officially civilian government; this change, along with tourism reforms, spurred tourism, even though official figures might be questioned. However, this government-led initiative was embedded within the legacy of the military junta's framework and networks: post-transition tourism has been marred by corruption, money-laundering and unrealistic projects with heavy social and environmental costs, such as over-sized hotel zones. In 2015, elections raised to power the National League for Democracy. The party has challenges to face: dealing with the previous government's plans, and especially its emphasis on quantity rather than quality; giving a proper legal frame to tourism; dealing with the local conflicts which pit many stakeholders seeking to make profit of tourism, sometimes their own political gain.

Keywords: *Myanmar, Burma, tourism, political transition, military junta, ethics, boycott*

Introduction

In Autumn 2015, in the Myanmar magazine "The Traveller", an American guide-cum-author wrote a tribune titled "Why I'm going to Burma (Myanmar)". In this two-page article, he gives a relevant example of the complex relations of tourism and politics in Myanmar:

"When word got out I was thinking of taking a group to Burma this November, I received this e-mail: 'Dear Mr Bangs, I strongly advise you to drop travel to Burma. The treatment of the Rohingya minority is so appalling that I feel no one should be visiting that country...' This is not the first cease and desist-style communication I've received about travel to a destination whose politics are at odds with our own. [...] But I don't believe a travel boycott is ever the answer. In fact, I deeply believe travel contributes, often granularly, but ultimately measurably, to the solution, or at least the evolution of consciousness.[...] Yes, by traveling to Burma, we unavoidably contribute in some measure to a bad regime. But money spent locally goes directly to the villagers, helping to increase quality of life [...] and when people

are able to meet their daily needs, they are more able to work to remove tyranny.” (The Traveller, September 28th – October 4th, 2015)

It is interesting to notice that five years after the dissolution of the brutal military junta in 2010, after a row of democratic reforms, the lifting of many international sanctions and significant progress on the way to democracy - in spite of some backslides - and just one month before elections that would yield a tremendous victory of the democratic party, Myanmar remained associated to a “bad regime”, a “tyranny” that must be visited in an especially cautious and responsible way. Therefore, it seems impossible to study the dynamic of tourism in Myanmar without taking the political situation (or rather the representations of the political situation) of the country into account.

How has the political transition of Myanmar built upon a touristic transition? To what extent is tourism in Myanmar a political construction, motivated by the regime’s interest and for the rulers’ benefits? Considering this significant political weight, how has the visitors’ behaviours and narratives evolved along with the political transition?

First of all, we will show how the fifty years of military rule in Myanmar (1962-2010) have come along with a touristic opening of the country - from self-isolation to a progressive opening for political gain – and how Western public opinions have taken position about it. Then, we will analyze the transition to democracy (2010-2015) and show that in spite of an improvement of the democratic situation of the country, the massification of tourism takes place within a framework inherited from the previous regime. Finally, we will focus on the current phase, with the National League for Democracy in power, and raise the challenges it will have to face: reformulation of a tourism policy, law enforcement, and dealing with the tensions at a local scale, reinvigorated by the increasing frequentation.

1. Tourism in a pariah-state? The isolation of the military junta (1962-2010)

1.1 Colonial times (1826-1948) and independent Burma¹⁸: an oft-underestimated proto-tourism

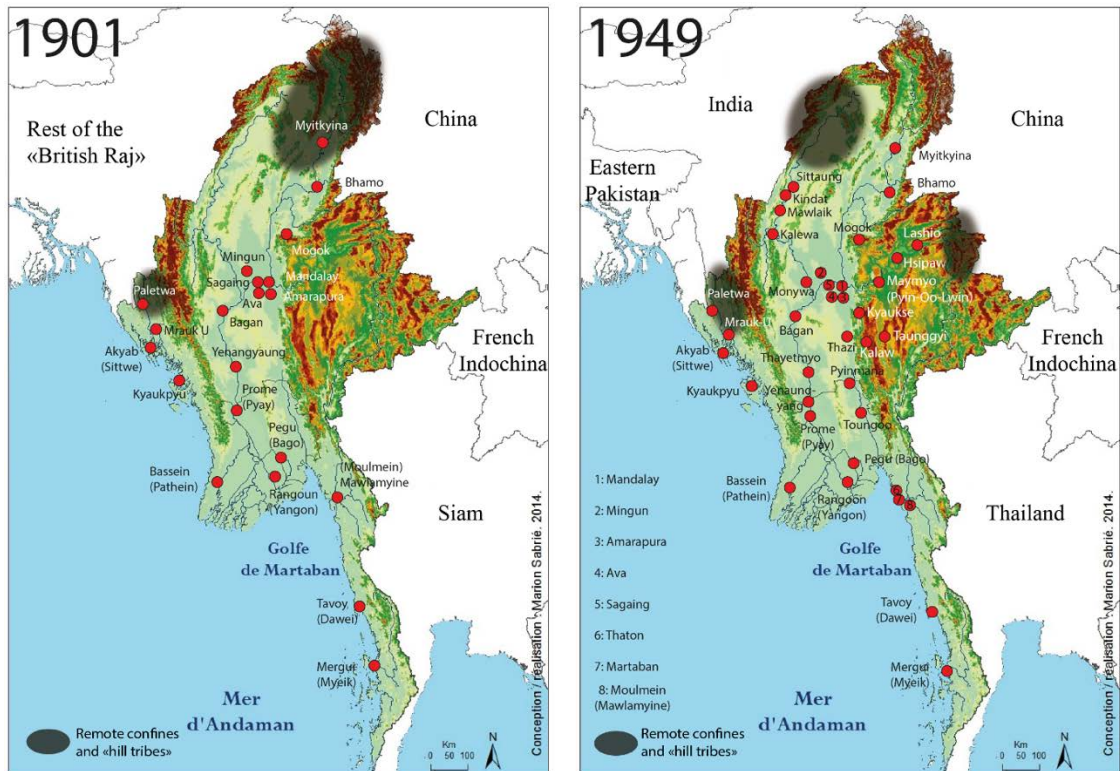
Current studies and writings about tourism in Myanmar often take the 1990s as a starting point of tourism in Myanmar, and thus underplay the early ages of tourism, especially at the colonial times. Indeed, during the British rule (1826-1948), tourism was well and alive in the Golden Land: as soon as 1898, Murray’s editions released “India, Burma and Ceylon” guidebooks, which were re-edited twenty times until 1965. Reading those documents, one can realize that the vision of the country and the touristic practices were shaped by the colonial project: the clientele targeted was the ideal-type of the gentleman-colonizer touring the British Raj, playing golf, hunting, staying in elegant bungalows, and having, at best, a distant contact with- and a faint knowledge of the local population.

When mapping the itineraries offered by those guidebooks, it appears that the range of destinations was quite wide, though clearly structured by rivers and railway networks: in 1901, potential destinations covered a significant part of the lowlands (“Burma Proper”), and in 1949, tourism climbed the Shan hills and the Upper Chindwin areas, even though some areas remained blanks on the map (figure 1). Before the Second World War, the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company Limited shuttled more than 8 million passengers a year on the main rivers of Burma, out of which a probably non-negligible amount of foreign tourists (Starkey, 2008)

¹⁸ In 1989, the military junta changed the name of the country from Burma to Myanmar. For this paper, we will use the former expression to refer to the country until 1989 and to the latter term afterwards. We will do the same for the name of the former capital city of the country, which name was changed from Rangoon to Yangon at the same date.

Even though no statistics can be found about tourism at that time, it is quite clear that visitors' flows did exist, and that tourism was already structured by a network of bungalows, mansions, attractions, stakeholders, and formalized by guidebooks.

Figure 1 The widening of tourism in colonial Burma: mapping the destinations indicated in two different editions of Murray's Guidebooks (1901 and 1949)



After the 1948 independence, troubles and turmoil probably affected tourism, even though the analysis of guidebooks does not allow to conclude to a severe drop. Considering the chaos in the country in the late 1950s, when Karen guerrillas were active in Rangoon suburbs, it is quite surprising that the array of destinations did not narrow significantly. Only does the author make a few references to potential risks: “as the situation in some areas is still unsure, the traveller is strongly encouraged to look for local information before travelling out of the big cities” (Murray's Guidebook, 1962).

1.2 Ne Win era (1962-1988): wariness towards tourism and lock-up of the country

The real, striking difference came with the 1962 coup of General Ne Win. Wary of any foreign influence in the country, the junta set up a very restrictive visa policy to close the country to foreigners: in the wake of the coup, the visa validity indeed dropped to 24 hours; with the tourism industry nationalization in 1964 (Khin Khin Moe, 2012) or 1965 (Khin Thein Win, 2010), the junta also tightened its grip on the sector. In such a context, tourism flows dropped to a trickle: 2000 people in the 1960s (ibid.). The virtual prohibition of tourism lasted no less than 7 years, before visa validity was extended to 72 hours in 1969 and one week in 1970 (ibid.), but the mode of travel did not change: independent travel was almost impossible, and visitors had to be part of package groups. This one-week system remained enforced until 1989; for almost twenty years, visa issues, transportation problems and official restrictions deeply shaped flows and practices. From a spatial point of view, it dramatically narrowed the

scope of potential visits: only Rangoon, Mandalay, Bagan and Inle Lake were quite accessible. Other regions were off-limit, or needed special permits and arrangements.

However, although those years are often considered as dark times in terms of tourism, and while neighbouring countries performed much better at that time, tourism did exist in Burma, and even increased – at a slow pace – from 11 000 visitors in 1974 to 41 000 in 1987 (Henderson, 2003). In the literature as well, tourism is described as on the rise, even threatening the country, which, in the then-context, looked more opened than ever: in 1977, French traveller B. Jolliat visits Inle region and laments:

“in Tharlay village, I even discovered a cloister and a school. After tomorrow, a touristic restaurant may appear. And in a few years, a highway. Lonesome traveller, purity lover, hurry up! The gangrene of charters, with their dollars and its destructive arguments, already looms over the Burmese border, more dangerous than the North guerrilla.” (Jolliat, 1977)

1.3 Than Shwe period (1989-2010): the way towards opening...

This relative *statu quo* came to an end with the 1988 student protests, which were very violently crushed by the junta, which killed around 3000 people (Steinberg, 2010). The impact on tourism was immediate: the amount of visitors dropped suddenly from 41 000 in 1987 to 10 000 in 1988 (Henderson, 2003).

Under the pressure of a country ruined by years of isolation and “Burmese way to socialism”, General Ne Win stepped down and was replaced par General Than Shwe, who re-oriented Myanmar towards capitalism and slowly opened the country’s doors. The chief aims were to attract foreign currencies to lift Myanmar out of under-development, and to restore the heavily-impacted image of the country on the international stage. In this context, tourism was seen as an efficient leverage with high yield.

The first, and easiest decision was to extend the visa validity: in 1989 (Ni Ni Aung, 2010; Langeau, 2014) or 1990 (Khin Khin Moe, 2012; Thein Htoo, 2014), it was upgraded to two weeks, and to four weeks in 1992 (Khin Khin Moe, 2012; Thein Htoo, 2014) or 1994 (Ni Ni Aung, 1994). Since then, some visa modalities have changed, but not the durations.

Another pivotal action was to organize a Visit Myanmar Year in 1996, so as to promote the destination. In the framework of this strategy, the junta sent for the first time a delegation to a Tourism Fair (in Paris) to advertise about the country. Amidst a booming Southeast Asia, the very isolation of the country by the military and its catastrophic consequences were reformulated and re-exploited as an asset: authenticity. The mouthpiece newspaper of the junta claimed that

“Myanmar [...] has something fresh and enlivening to offer tourists who seem to have had a surfeit of the standard diversions and amusements provided on the usual tourist beat” (Myanmar Perspectives, 1996a).

During this fair, Myanmar got an award as “revelation of the year”, which was immediately re-appropriated, or even confiscated by the junta which, as often, gave an astrological vision of this achievement:

“The award was made at a special ceremony on 27th March 1996, giving it an added lustre because it coincided with the golden anniversary of Resistance Day (The Armed Forces day) which is one of the principal landmark of Myanmar’s struggle for freedom and independence.

Thus, receiving the French tourism award on this auspicious day augurs well for the future of Myanmar tourism” (Myanmar Perspectives, 1996a).

The Visit Myanmar Year was launched on November 18th, 1996 with a ceremony quite typical of totalitarian regimes (figures 2, 3 and 4): mass event in a stadium full of cheering youth, parachute team of the army, 1200 boys giving presentation of martial arts, 1600 girls dressed with “traditional” ethnic clothes and dancing in rhythm, while hundreds of young people wearing colourful clothes paraded on the field, forming patterns and words in a demonstration of the so-called national harmony (Myanmar Perspectives, 1996b).

The ceremony, attended by the intelligentsia, including the wife of then-Generalissime Than Shwe’s wife, was presided by the number 2 of the military junta, the Lieutenant General Khin Nyunt, who was also the head of the dreadful and powerful intelligence services. His speech reflected very well the significance of tourism as a political strategy to develop the country, showcase the so-called action of the government, and get rid of the “pariah state” label:

“He said that 18th November 1996 was indeed a red letter day, because it was an occasion not only to launch the Visit Myanmar Year, but also declare Myanmar’s commitment to open the doors of the country to the world. [...] He went on to say that the State Law and Order Restoration Council had instituted fundamental changes in the country’s political programme, economic system and administrative machinery and had laid down 12 objectives towards the realization of the national goal to build a peaceful, prosperous and modern state. That due to these efforts, Myanmar today was enjoying peace, stability and economic progress unprecedented in its modern history” (ibid.).

The journalist concluded his enthusiastic report of the event with a “personal” note, which actually reflects the very core of the junta’s strategy: to redeem a respectability on the international stage:

“I would like to say to the rest of the world, instead of reading second hand, the distorted and biased news about our country, come see for yourselves what Myanmar really is” (ibid.).

Figure 2 The opening ceremony of the Visit Myanmar Year: when tourism meets the Army



Source screenshot from the movie “Burma, Bid to encourage tourism”, by Associated Press, 1996

Figure 3 The opening ceremony of the Visit Myanmar Year: a massive “popular event” to showcase the unity of the nation



Source screenshot from the movie “Burma, Bid to encourage tourism”, by Associated press, 1996

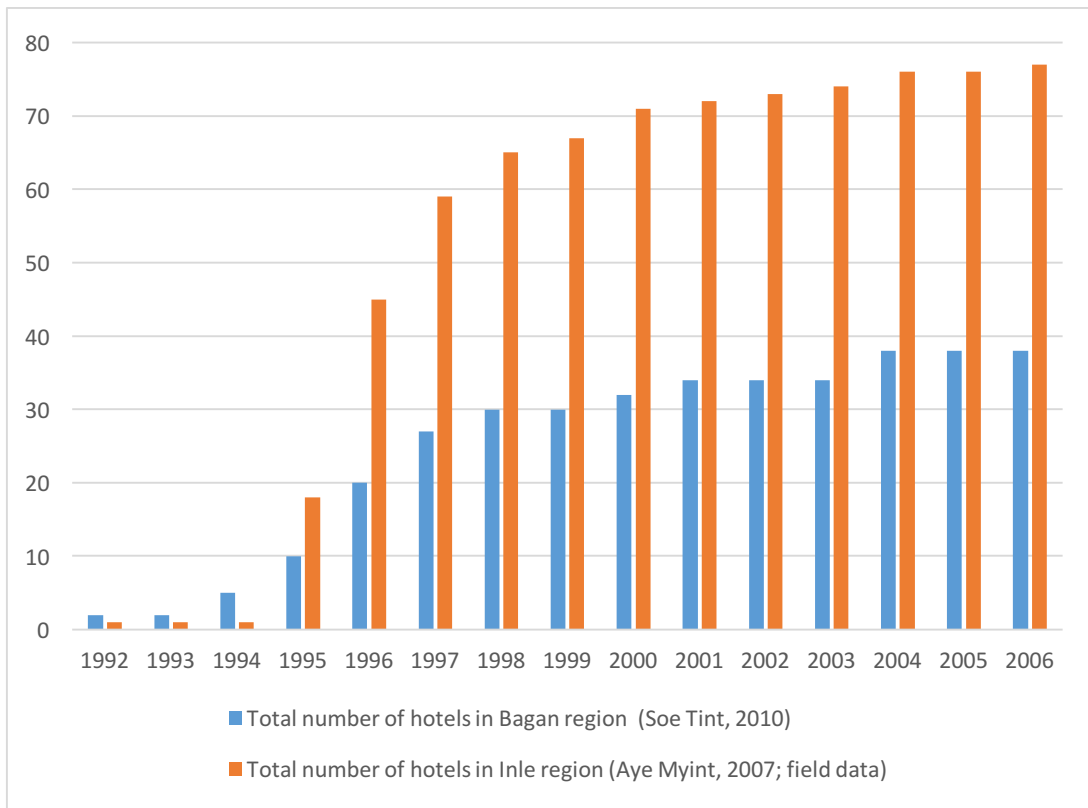
Figure 4 Lt-General Khin Nyunt, with full uniform, salutes before giving the opening speech of Visit Myanmar Year: Tourism at the service of politics.



Source Screenshot from the movie “Burma tourism encouraged with launch of VMY 1996”, by Associated Press, 1996

This operation had a significant impact in terms of infrastructure. According to Henderson (2003): “there was a period of rapid hotel construction and the number of properties rose from 18 in 1988 to 43 in 1993, with a total of 450 by 1997”. At a local scale, the evolution is striking: Bagan and Inle had a very minimal hotel infrastructure in the early 1990s: within a few years, the offer increased a lot (figure 5).

Figure 5 Visit Myanmar Year 1996 and its dramatic impact on the hotel infrastructure in Bagan and Inle.



Beyond raw figures, an in-depth analysis of local situations shows that this hotel flourishing was underpinned by specifically local strategies and stakeholders networks, directly connected to the political context. Indeed, in the Inle Lake region, the number of hotels increased from 1 to 26 between 1992 and 1998 (Aye Myint, 2007); out of the 26 hotel owners, two main profiles appear¹⁹. On the one hand, 15 of them (58%) were merchants from Nyaungshwe town (the main gateway and economic hub of the region). They had accumulated a certain wealth from their activities: rice and sugar mills, cigar workshops, trade of agricultural goods... On the other hand, 9 out of the 26 original investors (35%) were from Taunggyi, the local State capital²⁰, and their profiles were more opaque, ranging on a complex continuum from a notorious drug kingpin to three associates in the construction sector (a corruption-prone activity at that time), and they all had in common to be well-connected to the government at some point.

Those investments can be seen as a support of the government’s initiative to develop tourism, either in a conscious, assumed way, or in a more coercitive, clientelist way, quite typical of the “compensation economy” (Stordahl, 2008) that ruled whole swathes of Myanmar economy at that time²¹. However, beyond the government/businessmen relationship, those

¹⁹ The following information were collected by interviews with some well-informed tourism stakeholders and cross-checked as much as possible.

²⁰ Myanmar is a federal state; Inle Lake and Nyaungshwe town are located in Shan State, the East of the country.

²¹ In such a system, authorities attribute concessions, toll gates or infrastructure work to client-companies. In exchange, the latter have to support the government’s action when needed be, most of the time for free.

hotels can also be considered as very efficient money-laundering structures, and this hypothesis can be backed by nowadays' observations. Indeed, most of those hotels are neglected, some fall in disrepair, and haven't hosted any customer for months: they are nothing but empty shells used to justify the incomes of their faraway owners.

Although the Visit Myanmar Year had a visible impacts in terms of touristic infrastructure, what about its results in terms of visitor frequentation? Statistics widely vary from one source to another, but they all show that the Visit Myanmar Year failed to reach its target of 500 000 visitors: according to Ko Ko Thet (2012), less than 100 000 came; according to Henderson (2003), 251 000. The main cause evocated was the tourism boycott, which thoroughly pervaded the whole question of tourism in Myanmar from 1996 to 2010.

1.4 To go or not to go? The Myanmar tourism boycott issue

Although Myanmar had been under the rule of a brutal military junta since 1962, tourism boycott had not been a clear option until the democracy denial of the 1990 elections, the subsequent imprisonment of Aung San Suu Kyi and her Nobel Prize in 1991. Those events, as well as the charismatic symbol of "The Lady", triggered the sympathy of Western NGOs, among which Burma Campaign and Tourism Concern in the UK, or Info Birmanie in France. Those international stakeholders campaigned actively in favour of a touristic boycott of the destination.

However, the tourism boycott issue was not a consensual one. The main and most emblematic conflict pitted Human Rights NGOs against the Lonely Planet guidebook editors. Indeed, while many companies, including Rough Guides decided to withdraw their Myanmar guidebooks in the wake of the 1996 Visit Myanmar Year, "Lonely Planet continued to claim that their brand of responsible independent tourism would ultimately benefit Burma and refused to give in to the tourism boycott" (Lisle, 2008), drawing the ire of the Nobel Peace Prize Aung San Suu Kyi:

"That's so patronizing! Burmese people know their own problems better than anyone else. They know what they want: they want democracy, and many people have died for it. To suggest that there's anything new that tourists can teach the people of Burma about their own situation is not simply patronizing: it's also racist" (ibid.).

In spite of the critics, Lonely Planet released a 1999 version, and the NGOs reply comes soon after:

"in May 2000, Burma Campaign UK joined forces with the NGO Tourism Concern to launch a public boycott against all Lonely Planet publications until the company withdrew its Burma guidebook from the market. They dumped hundreds of unwanted Lonely Planet guidebooks on the company's London doorstep and launched a postcard campaign saying 'the cost of a Holiday in Burma could be someone's life'" (ibid.).

On June 1st, 2000, another step is taken in the conflict, with an article in The Guardian by Dea Birkett, a close supporter of Lonely Planet:

"Aren't holidays supposed to be carefree times for suntans and self-indulgence? Is it really such a crime to seek out somewhere where you can simply enjoy yourself? Tourism Concern and the Burma Campaign's moral outrage is designed to make us feel bad about being good

to ourselves. To restrict freedom of movement is the hallmark of totalitarian regimes” (Birkett, 2000).

This declaration is considered by Lonely Planet’s opponents as an incongruous Godwin Point (figure 6):

“The opponents of dictatorship, who fight without resources, international support or any military force which might defeat the junta on the field of battle, are totalitarians. Rich Western tourists, by contrast, are the true victims even when they stay in Rangoon hotels built on the site of the homes of the Burmese poor, which were bulldozed without compensation [...]. Discerning liberal consumers are now so self-confident and self-pitying that they pose, without irony, as the victims of Stalin and Hitler when anyone suggests they might make the tiniest moral choice.” (Cohen, 2000).

Figure 6 "The Burma boycott debate"



Source *Tourism concern, 2000*

After this press skirmish, the next years saw the pro-boycott loose ground, while Lonely Planet’s position gained traction. Indeed, in 1999, their books were introduced by two pages to inform the reader about the situation in Myanmar, and introduce the “to go or not to go?” debate; in 2005, the books featured nine pages (Lisle, 2008), with more practical advice about responsible tourism; in 2008, they had no less than 15 pages about how to avoid government-run businesses, about entrance-fee-free monuments, etc... (Lonely Planet, 2008). With so much information available, the traveller can fly to Myanmar with a clear conscience, sure to have the keys to be a responsible tourist:

“With [the 2005 edition], it seems to me that Lonely Planet has effectively mobilised the discourse of humanitarianism to win the argument about tourism in Burma. Lonely Planet travellers can now satisfy themselves that they are *not* supporting the junta when they travel to Burma; rather, they are putting much-needed hard currency directly into the hands of needy local people and therefore strengthening grass-roots democracy” (Lisle, 2008).

Some further elements also emphasize the relative fragility of the tourism boycott. First of all, to what extent were NGOs really audible, did their campaigns have a long-lasting influence on tourists’ minds? This appears to be questionable. In 2007, Hudson handed questionnaires to 378 passengers of a Semester-At-Sea student boat who had just finished a visit to Myanmar. The findings of the survey show that

“the majority seemed in favour of citizen diplomacy as a means of fighting against the repressive regime versus a tourism boycott. Respondents tended to agree that [...] contact with the free world does more good for a country than isolation. Less than half believed that a travel boycott would change the political system in Myanmar [...] most disagreed that for the long-term good of the people of Myanmar tourism should be boycotted”. More specifically, “nearly all (94%) the respondents said that the locals seemed genuinely pleased by their visit, and 72% were in favour of human-rights-conscious travel as a means of fighting against repressive regimes”²² (Hudson, 2007).

Another survey comes to back up those findings: the PhD thesis written by A. Valentin (2009). Titled “To go or not to go? The role of political awareness in backpacker destination decision-making. A case study of Burma travel boycott”, it is based on interviews with 35 backpackers in Thailand. Out of those 35 people, 20 (*i.e* 57%) had never heard of the tourism boycott calls (although they had been voiced by NGOs for more than ten years), which somehow questions the scope of those calls. Generally speaking, travellers seemed to be very little-informed about the country’s situation:

“[when asked what they thought of the “political situation” of the country], participants focused on the safety and security issues at the destination, but not the human rights situation. In fact, only some perceived ‘the political situation’ as a reference to human rights violations. Therefore, safety and security concerns for the individual seem to be more important in the decision-making process than human rights concerns” (Valentin, 2009).

When asked about the tourism boycott specifically, it seemed to draw a somehow limited adhesion: out of 35 people, 23 (*i.e* 66%) were against and only 12 (34%) in favour of the boycott (*ibid.*).

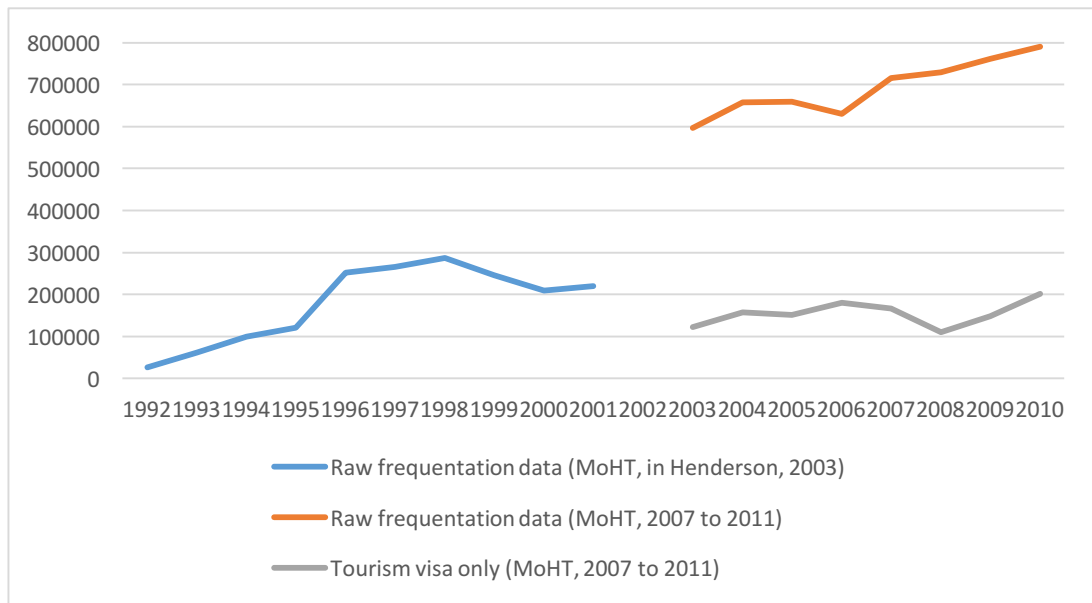
Those pieces of research illustrate quite well that the calls to tourism boycott were losing foot in the late 2000s... But what about the early days of the campaign, in the 1990s and the early 2000s? The disappointing frequentation of Myanmar during the Visit Myanmar Year might indicate that the NGOs’ calls to boycott bore fruits. However, beside the ethic commitment, a more technical reason can very well be given. Indeed, at that time, the

²² However, this survey features a bias which is never addressed by the author: the questionnaires were precisely handed to people who had finished a trip in Myanmar. Therefore, it comes to little surprise that, afterward, they deemed their trip as justified, with a positive yield for the local population. In other words, researching about tourism boycott by interviewing people who chose not to boycott seems a bit paradoxical.

international airline capacity to Yangon in 1996 was 7000 passengers per week (Mahon, 1996), *i.e* 364 000 per year. Considering that land checkpoints were virtually closed to foreigners, it comes to little surprise that the Visit Myanmar Year failed to reach its target. While some visitors may have avoided the country because of its political context, we assume that some were also cooled by the practical difficulties to get into the country.

Another element that may help us better understand the influence of the boycott calls is the tourism statistics provided by the Ministry of Hotels and Tourism (MoHT) (figure 7).

Figure 7 The actual efficiency of tourism boycott calls questioned by tourism statistics.



The Visit Myanmar Year itself shows a clear increase of visitors' flows, from 120 000 people in 1995 to 250 000 in 1996, and the trend goes on for two more years, with 287 000 visitors in 1998. The actual backlash comes later, in 1999 and 2000, when frequentation drops. Such a decline may be due to the tourism boycott, fueled by the Lonely Planet controversy and mediatic campaigns.

However, the data for the 2000s seem to show that the tourism boycott crumbled after a few years, and that the "responsible tourism" promoted by Lonely Planet prevailed upon boycott. Indeed, the flows increased from 122 000 tourism visa delivered in 2003 to 180 000 in 2006, whereas the regime was unanimously ostracized for the 2003 Depayin ambush on Aung San Suu Kyi motorcade and her subsequent imprisonment. In 2007 and 2008, the frequentation slumped because of the Saffran Revolution and the Cyclone Nargis, but that looks rather due to the usual traveller's concern for personal safety than to a proper boycott and political awareness: as soon as 2009, flows bounced back, whereas the regime was under heavy international criticism for its criminal management of those two crises²³. Therefore, it seems that after a seeming success in the late 1990s, the tourism boycott somehow faded: words of mouth of early visitors and the new ethical rhetorics seemingly prevailed upon qualms.

²³ ... and it cannot be interpreted as an anticipation of the country's liberalization, which happened at the end of 2010 : the latter took many observers by surprise (Egreteau, 2012)

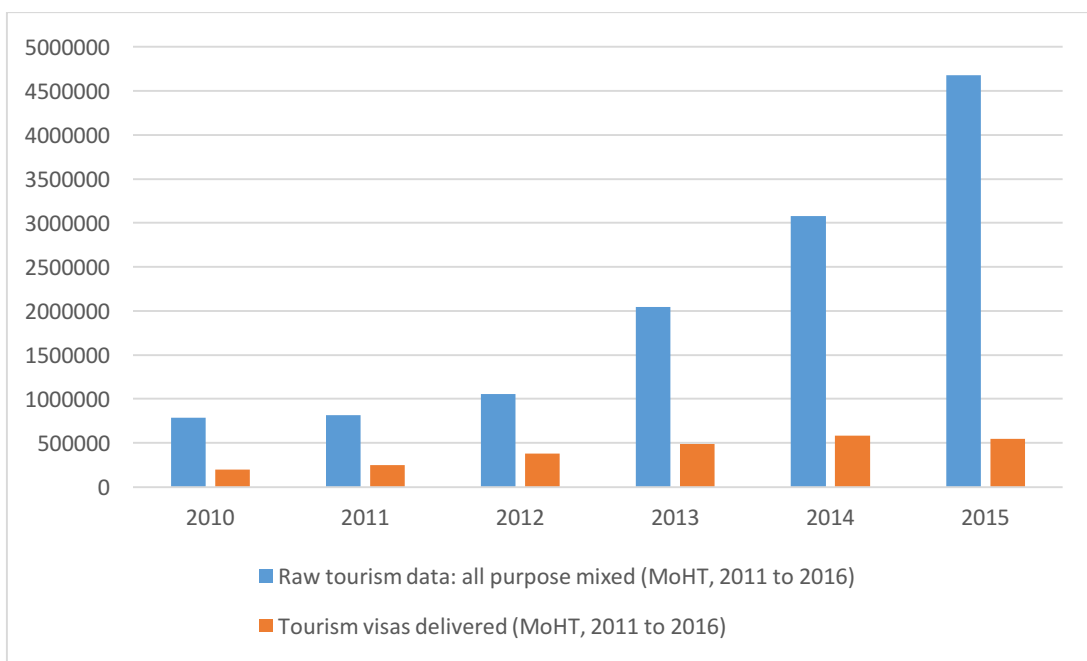
2. The political transition (2010-2015): boom of tourism, but the junta legacy remains

2.1 A step to democracy, and the opening of the doors

At the end of 2010, the military junta surprised the whole world by dissolving itself (Egreteau, 2012), in favour of an officially civilian government led by U Thein Sein, which made a few significant steps towards democracy: many political prisoners were released, the press censorship was eased, etc... This dynamic, supported by all the Western countries, radically changed the representation of the country: instead of being synonym of brutal military regime, it got associated with authenticity, “the last frontier of Asia”. As a result, the regime publicized the so-called skyrocketing of tourism into Myanmar... which may be called into question (figure 8).

Indeed, if one takes into account the very wide UNWTO’s definition of tourism (*i.e* all travel purpose mixed), it appears that the frequentation of the “Golden Land” increased from 790 000 people in 2010 to 4,68 million in 2015 (MoHT, 2011 and 2016), *i.e* a staggering growth rate of 43% per year. However, if one focuses on what we choose to consider as “genuine”, leisure-centred tourism, the findings are different: the authorities delivered 201 000 tourism visas in 2010, and 546 000 in 2015, *i.e* a more moderate – though still significant – rate of 22% per year. We may therefore conclude that the post-transition growth is more due to the business opening of the country (especially short trans-border shuttles between Thailand, China and Myanmar) than to the arrival of foreigners for vacation purpose.

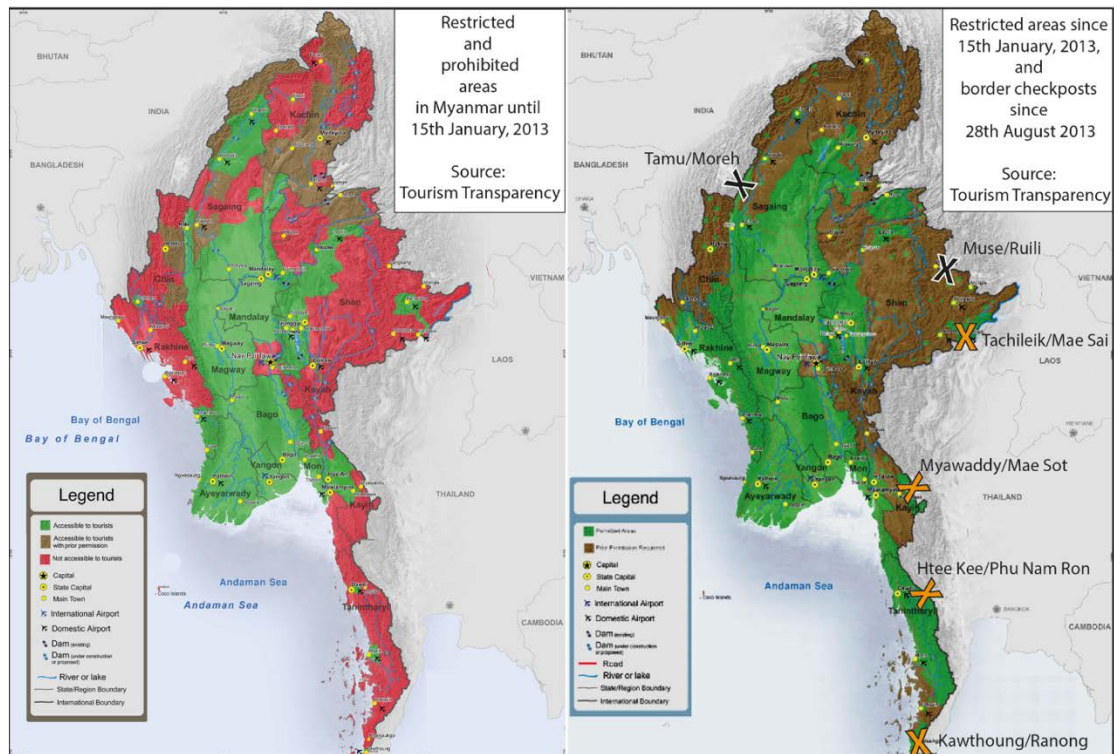
Figure 8: After the junta, the soaring of tourism... But which kind?



The country’s political opening also went along a geographical widening of tourism space (figure 9). While virtually all the peripheries of the country had remained severely controlled by the regime, and off-limit for foreigners for decades, those restrictions were eased: from January 15th, 2013 onwards, most prohibited areas were turned into restricted areas, while some of the latter were wide opened: most of Tanintharyi peninsula and Rakhine State, parts of Kachin State, etc... On August 28th, 2013, another step was taken: while land

checkpoints used to be virtually closed to any foreigner with a tourist visa, the gates opened, mainly to backpackers from Thailand.

Figure 9: The opening of new areas to tourism: in brown, the restricted areas (permit needed), in red the prohibited areas.



Those decisions showed the new government’s clear strategy to promote tourism to Myanmar. The aim of such a move was of course economic: the change of the country’s situation allowed tourism expenditure to soar from 254 million dollars in 2010 to 2,12 billion dollars in 2015²⁴ (MoHT, 2011 and 2016). However, as in 1996, tourism was also considered as a powerful political leverage to improve the image of the country and of the regime: the government contracted with a Western company to set up a “tourism branding” strategy, *i.e.* advertise a clear, coherent and positive representation of the country as a destination to the world, through Internet, media, advertising campaigns, etc. The very name of this company, “Image Diplomacy”, and some paragraphs of their “Branding Guidelines” (Image Diplomacy, 2015), illustrate most clearly the political dimension of tourism:

“Good tourism branding is not just about theory: it is about practice and involves:

- [...] providing a visual counter narrative to the outside world when a nation has been/is misunderstood

- taking control of the global portrayal of the country and repositioning Myanmar’s perceived value as a destination and a riche ‘life experience’ [...]

The truth is that:

- perception has become equity: it is intangible but vital

²⁴ ... and those data may very well be underestimated, as it is the rule for businesses in Myanmar to under-declare their revenues to pay less tax.

- perception is often a more traded currency than reality
- perception must be managed to be a critical asset and to ensure current and future success of a tourism brand”

Therefore, it may appear that tourism in Myanmar has entered a new stage, and that a new era starts. However, it should be kept in mind that all those changes, all those new dynamics take place in a not-so-different framework, still widely marked by the junta legacy.

2.2 Corruption, money laundering and crony capitalism: the old methods in new Myanmar

In spite of the new political context, the stakeholders’ strategies did not change significantly: cronies, their opaque businesses and their money laundering investments have remained a dominant feature of the touristic landscape. For example, in Inle region, hotel sector has been through a dramatic boom: while only five new hotels opened in the region from 2000 to 2012, no less than eight opened in 2013 alone; 14 in 2014; 13 in 2015, and ten more are slated to open in 2016²⁵.

Out of the 41 hotels opened since 2013 about which we have reliable information, 22 (*i.e* 54%) belong to local families (mainly traders, brokers, and a handful of tourism stakeholders) and 19 (*i.e* 46%) belong to outsiders (mainly Taunggyi and Yangon). Among those two categories, one can identify exactly the same transparency issue as during the 1996 Visit Myanmar Year: while local investors feature a quite transparent background and invest in modest assets, the outsiders can be recognized by their massive investments and their blurry wealth. Indeed, out of the 19 outsiders, ten (*i.e* 53%) have opaque backgrounds, ranging on the complex continuum already mentioned above, from the notorious drug trafficker or the teak trader who invests with three generals to the construction material traders with unclear records²⁶.

Some hotels are quite obviously empty shells which are just meant to justify the incomes of their wealthy owners: the construction of the ill-located and colossal Nadi Resort reportedly cost 15 million dollars, but it is empty most of the time. However, this does not seem to be a problem for the owner, very close to the Shan State government, with a wide array of activities and assets, and whose company Phyu Sin was awarded some public tenders in the most opaque way (*cf. infra*). This case illustrates how alive crony capitalism²⁷ still is in transitional Myanmar.

If one looks closer, one notices that it still ruled much of the region’s economy: on the East shore of the lake, the Aureum Palace belongs to U Tay Za, the most famous crony in Myanmar. It opened in 2011, but managed to operate without license (and hence paid no tax) until April 2015. Just a few hundred meters away, the Ananta Resort is officially part of the Amazing group, but the latter is nothing but a cover: it actually belongs to the heavily-blacklisted Senior-General Min Aung Hlaing, the head of the army. On the West side of the lake, the Pristine Lotus belongs to the daughter of General Maung Aye (former number 3 of

²⁵ Source: statistics from the Shan branch of Ministry of Hotels and Tourism, cross-checked by field data.

²⁶ All the information relating to hotel ownership and transparency issues were given by some key players of the tourism sector of Inle region and, when possible, cross-checked. Unsurprisingly, we had rather keep our informers anonymous.

²⁷ “Crony capitalism” refers to a system where close, personal ties between politics and businessmen prevail upon rules and laws.

the Junta), who received it as a wedding gift from the notorious U Tay Za when she married with the son of U Aung Taung, the industry minister of the junta.

Even beyond the hotel sector, crony-capitalism rules the region. For example, the ten-dollar entrance fee to the region that all the foreigners are supposed to pay is not levied by the government, but by opaque companies who won the right to levy this ticket fee. Officially, the tender is auctioned off, but we have good reasons to believe the operation is actually negotiated. Eventually, in the last four years, it appears that only one same company won the tender (under the cover of different sub-companies each year): Phyu Sin, already mentioned above. The money flows involved are at the same time very massive and totally opaque: for 2016-2017 budget year, Phyu Sin paid almost 1,8 million dollars to the government to earn the right to levy the entrance fee for a year, but no one knows the whereabouts of such an amount of money (which part is devoted to the lake's fragile environment's protection? Who controls it?).

However, not only did the corruption and clientele system survive: authoritarianism also subsisted.

2.3 Land grabbing and State violence: hotel zones, bone of contention of Myanmar's tourism

One of the most controversial sides of the development of tourism in Myanmar has been the creation of "hotel zones" throughout the country. Officially, this initiative stems from the government's will to rationalize the tourism development, to frame it, to concentrate touristic infrastructures and nuisances within one perimeter, even though it appears to be just a pretext for profitable land operations (cf. *infra*). In 2012, the government made plans to create such hotel zones in each of the 14 administrative regions of Myanmar but for the time being, there are only five zones in Bagan, three in Nay Pyi Taw, one in Mandalay and one in Inlay region (Wai Phyo Myint, 2015). The two last cases are also the most controversial, and show that those projects are typical of the junta-era top-down pharaonic projects doomed to fail.

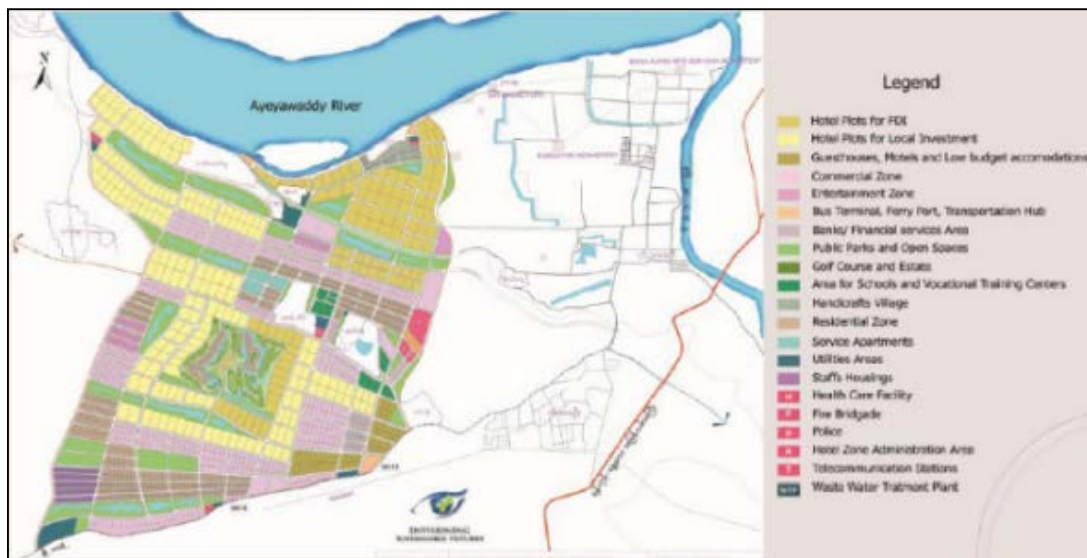
In Mandalay, the hotel zone was slated in Tada-Oo area, around 20 kilometres southwest of the city. Originally, it was meant to be no less than 5422 acres *i.e* 21,9 km², with 192 hotels (figure 10), before being downsized to 2180 acres, *i.e* 8,8 km² with a still unsure amount of hotels (Wai Phyo Myint, 2015). The next stage, acquisition of lands, was the most controversial: the initial offer was 3 million Kyats per acre, *i.e* 0,6 \$/m²; facing the local opposition, compensations were progressively re-evaluated at 10 million Kyats, *i.e* 2 \$/m² (*ibid.*), even though it was not considered as a fair compensation by those who own the most fertile lands: some are still engaged in a contest of strength with the government (MCRB, 2015). For others, although the amounts offered were not enough to purchase other lands and resume agriculture elsewhere, "farmers felt forced to sell, fearing confiscation of the land" (Wai Phyo Myint, 2015).

The negotiations between the villagers and the authorities were typical of the "former times": the police forces were very present, and quelled protests and complaints. However, the conflict didn't only pit the villagers and the authorities; it also divided the community: the early sellers, who sold their lands at a low price because they were afraid of losing it, or because they didn't have the capital (social, cultural) to oppose, harboured resentment towards the late sellers, who could afford negotiating with the authorities, and got better compensations (*ibid.*). The local village leaders were also between a rock and hard place, between the villagers seeking to defend their interests, and the authorities, who used them as

“brokers”, in charge of persuading villagers to sell their lands in exchange of a commission: 0,3 million Kyats per acre sold, *i.e* 240 \$ (ibid.).

Beyond the democratic issues of this project, some very down-to-earth concerns also appear: will investors take the risk to build hotels in what is often described as a “ghetto”, 20 kilometres far from Mandalay (ibid.)? This concern seems justified: in January 2015, the head of the project mentioned that the hotel zone may count around twenty hotels, which is just a fraction of the original target (Myanmar Times, January 19th, 2015). Even now, the combination of conflict and financial risk still seems to paralyze the project: March 2016 satellite images show that not any single structure has been built (figure 11).

Figure 10 Tada-Oo Master plan according to the authorities...



Source Wai Phyo Myint, 2015

Figure 11 ... and the situation on the ground in March 2016



Source Google Earth

In Inle lake region, the situation is quite comparable: the 622-acre (2,5 km²) project, located at the Southeast of the lake, 26 kilometres from Nyaungshwe, is supposed to host 87 hotels. The land development operations have been led by the Shan State government: the latter was supposed to acquire the land, contract with a private company to develop the infrastructure (roads, electricity, water, Internet) and sell the turnkey plots to the investors for a hefty fee: 75 to 95 000 \$/acre, *i.e.* 18,5 to 23,5 \$/m² (U Aung Kyaw Swar, oral information), while some reports even mention a range between 72 and 120 000 \$/acre, *i.e.* 17,8 to 29,6 \$/m² (Wai Phyo Myint, 2015). However, each stage of the process has been marred by irregularities.

First of all, the acquisition of land was made in an authoritarian way: at the end of 2012, the government seized lands from 83 families from six villages, who were only offered the value of three years of crops, without any compensation for the land itself. For instance, according to official project documents we could consult, the farmer U Yan Way, who lost 3,15 acres of beans, got a total of one million Kyats, *i.e.* 800 \$ and U Htun Win, who lost 1,17 acre of paddy, received 1,48 million Kyats, *i.e.* 1184 \$. As one may expect, such amounts are far from enough to buy some new lands nearby: with the intense land speculation and the development of resorts in the region, one acre of land is now worth 40 to 70 million Kyats, *i.e.* 32 000 to 56 000 \$ (U Nyunt Shwe, oral information). The problem was all the more severe as many villagers didn't grow crops, but firewood, which the government refused to indemnify.

According to those same documents, the government registered only 121 acres of land for compensation: the 501 remaining acres of the hotel zone (forests, fallow lands) being considered as a *terra nullius* not eligible for indemnity. The total compensation for the crops on those 121 acres was supposed to amount to 656 million Kyats, *i.e.* 525 000 \$. If one keeps in mind that the remaining 501 acres are not eligible for any compensation, and that the government did not provide indemnities for the land itself, it means that the overall budget for compensations for the whole hotel zone was a mere 525 000 \$. If one considers that plots of land were meant to be sold to the investors for 75 to 95 000 \$/acre (low estimate), it means that the sale of only six acres of land was enough for the government to recoup their investment.

In January 2013, 56 families reportedly accepted those low compensations, because they were pressured by the authorities, and because those amounts were presented as a "take or leave" deal (Myanmar Times, February 25th, 2013; U Phoe Lwe, oral information). However, in spite of the government's promise, the compensations were not paid for months.

In parallel, other families, who had more valuable assets and/or who could afford to protest, refused the compensations offered, instead claiming 40 million Kyats per acre of firewood, *i.e.* 32 000 \$ and 100 million per acre of farmland, *i.e.* 80 000 \$ (Myanmar Times, February 25th, 2013), but the government replied that the compensations offered were already a maximum, because it already had to spend a lot for the infrastructure works (U Phoe Lwe, oral information), which is quite dubious (*cf. infra*). Their opposition was received by a lawsuit from the authorities, which triggered a 100-people march to the tribunals in Nyaungshwe and Kalaw (Myanmar Times, February 25th, 2013). Under their pressure, the authorities increased progressively the compensation offers.

However, the conflict was not limited to a legal debate: it had a violent dimension, quite typical of a junta-style governance. At the very beginning of the project, at the end of 2012, the government promised some indemnities and launched the construction. A few months later, because no compensation had been paid yet, the villagers tried to interrupt the work, clashing violently with police, lying before the bulldozers' crawlers, hurling stones. In August 2013, other clashes happened. Early 2015, a night police raid targeted the houses of the last

opponents in Nyaung Wun, prompting some villagers to take shelter in the forest (Ma Sein, oral information). Generally speaking, the dominant feature of this tense situation was the authoritarian vision of the State's action, well summed-up by a policeman's reply to the villagers' grievances: "protesting is useless; orders come from the government; you cannot oppose a government's project" (U Nyunt Shwe, oral information).

As in Tada-Oo, the government's "divide and rule" strategy bore fruit, and tensions appeared between the villagers and the village leaders, accused of being government's puppets, as well as between the early sellers and the hardest opponents, who got upgraded compensations in September 2013. In response, in October 2013, the early sellers sent a petition to the local government. This document, that we could consult, illustrates quite well the tensions within the community, as well as the way the villagers re-appropriated the regime's rhetoric, with an emphasis of peace and stability and the fear of troublemakers:

"54 peasant farmers have peacefully without any protest accepted compensation for crop on 9/1/2013 [...] As they are simply confident to the government's representation for its own people, they have been awaiting for what should be given as officially agreed. For this reason, the said 54 steadfastly neglected organization and encouragement by activists, they just kept on patiently awaiting reply from the State Government to date.

[But the government paid extra-compensations to the most vocal opponents].

The said 54 people sadly feel that they have been with or without purpose neglected and if they took part in demonstration process like others, they would have received such compensation and grievance. It is now clearly found that those who have never accepted any of such compensation, and who have chosen demonstration and protesting way as well as physical disturbance as a tool to constructing process in the zone can manage to win what they want in final days."

Eventually, the government consented to some extra-compensation, in particular for the land itself, even though it remained far below the farmers' needs: 3 million Kyats per acre of corn (2400 \$), 1 million (800 \$) per acre of bare ground (U Phoe Lwe, oral information), while no compensation for forests have been given yet. All in all, some villagers haven't got any single kyat of compensation yet, and the conflict is still simmering.

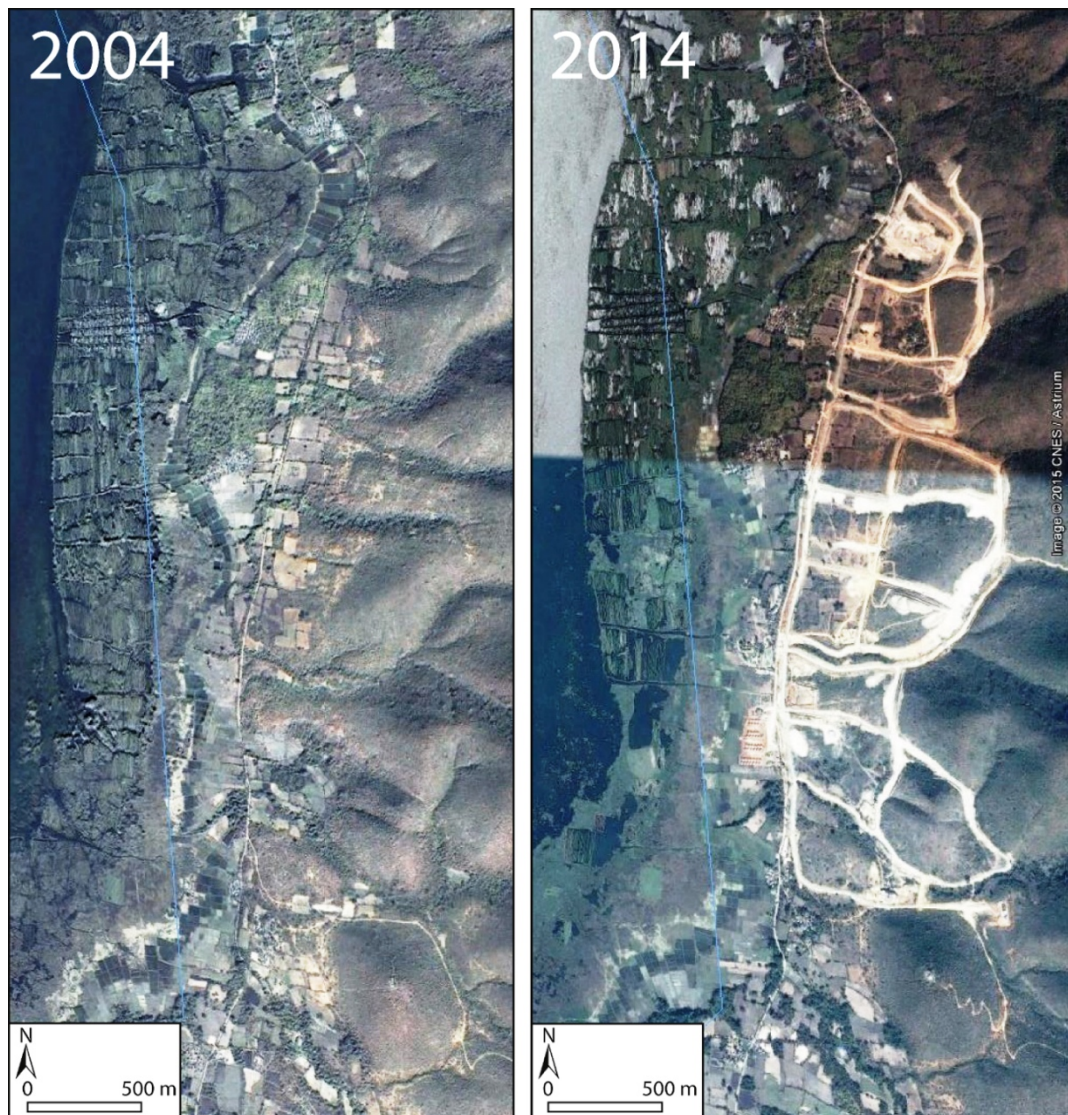
Beyond the land-grabbing issue, some other irregularities can be reported, in particular about the land development. Indeed, right from the start, the Shan government launched the infrastructure work extremely swiftly. It was so fast that some families even didn't have time to measure their fields properly: their boundaries had already been bulldozed, making the compensation process more complicated (U Nyunt Shwe, oral information). The company in charge of the work, the ill-named Phyu Sin²⁸, was awarded the contract in a very opaque way, without open tender (Wai Phyo Myint, 2015), which is not very surprising, considering that this company is a key player of local crony capitalism and very close to the local authorities. According to some well-informed sources, works were made for free, probably a return of favor to the Shan government for the numerous privileges given to this company (such as the right to levy the visitor entrance fees to the Inle zone). Therefore, it is highly possible that the land development operations cost actually very little to the authorities, therefore increasing the profit they would make when selling the plots to the investors.

From a technical point of view, the earthwork was colossal, with a deep ecological footprint (figure 12): barren slopes and subsequent erosion, deep trenches cutting through the

²⁸ "Phyu Sin" means "purity" in Burmese.

hills (figure 13), obstruction of local creeks, etc... As agreed, a dual two-lane road winds through the hills, brightly lit at night by dozens of lamp-posts. However, the infrastructure work appears to have been half-done only: each plot should be fenced with water wells, should be connected to the electric and water sanitation network and to Internet. For the moment, it is far from being the case.

Figure 12 The landscape impact of the Inle Hotel Zone



Source Google Earth

Figure 13 Heavy works on Inle Hotel Zone site.



Picture by Martin Michalon, Spring 2016

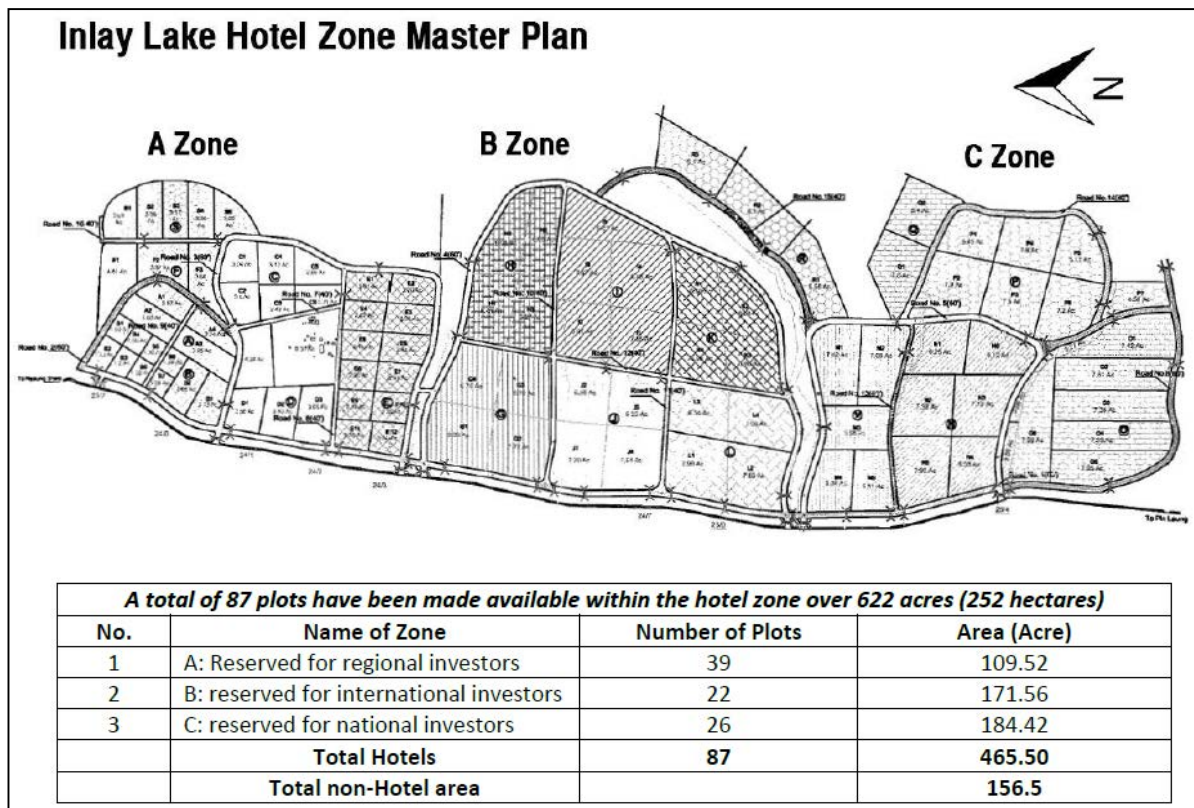
The third grey area of the hotel zone project has been financial, even from the very beginning. Indeed, according to some well-informed sources, Shan State was heavily indebted because of financial mismanagement and systematic misappropriation. Therefore, it had to resort to predatory strategies: “revenues from the Hotel Zone plot sales will fill the coffers of Shan State Government... but they will also go to the non-official budget of the government... which is more massive than the official one!” According to another informant, the local government launched this operation to make a last major financial operation during the 2011-2016 mandate, which they felt would be their last: “All the government staff wants to keep the money for themselves. They can feel it’s the final time for them, so they really want to get money before leaving”.

If one has a closer look at the few documents available, the financial interest of the operation is quite clear: out of the 622 acres of the hotel zone, 465 are for sale (the rest is roads, creeks, common spaces...). If we base on the range of prices we were indicated and the amount of acres for sale (figure 14), we can have two estimates of the total amount of sale:

- if we consider the lower range (75 000 \$/acre in zone A, 85 000 \$ in zone B and 95 000 \$ in zone C, U Aung Kyaw Swar, oral information), the government earned a total of 40 million \$;
- if we consider the higher range (72 000 \$/acre in zone A; 96 000 \$ in zone B; 120 000 \$ in zone C, Wai Phyo Myint, 2015), the sale amount would be closer to 46,5 million \$.

Considering its low investment in terms of land compensation and infrastructure works, the benefit for the Shan Government is tremendous.

Figure 14 Master Plan of the Inle Hotel Zone: an oversized project, but very profitable for the Shan government.



Source: MIID, 2014

According to our informants, the 87 plots were bought by a fifty-odd investors from all over Myanmar, whose identities are virtually unknown, and whose strategy is essentially speculative: 90% of them purportedly don't have any plan to build anything; they are just waiting for the political transition to go on, for the country to open up to foreign investment, before selling the plots off. Therefore, it comes to little surprise that three years after the end of the infrastructure work, the hotel zone is still virtually empty (figure 15): only one hotel is genuinely under construction.

Figure 15: *The Inle Hotel Zone three years after the end of the development work: a major failure and a long-lasting impact.*



Picture by Martin Michalon, Spring 2016

His owner matches quite well the usual portrait of the “crony”: a rich businessman who runs a hotel chain and lives in Nay Pyi Taw. However, he also appears to be in conflict with the authorities, who cashed in million dollars from the investors without providing water, proper networks or properly landscaped environment, and who was not able to manage the anger of villagers. He also pointed out the lack of dialogue with the authorities: when he tried to make a press conference to publicize the shortcomings of the authorities, the event got prohibited; when we asked him whether he would sue the government, his reply is unambiguous:

“Those people don’t abide by the rules; they have no rules, they can do whatever they want. Those people are bigger than the government. It’s useless for me to hire a lawyer; those people don’t care... They have guns! The government doesn’t hold the rules, they hold the guns!”

Therefore, it appears that an in-depth analysis of the stakeholder relations comes to nuance and diversify the usual opposition government + cronies *versus* villagers: government can lead some operations at the expense of cronies and deal with them in an authoritarian way, and the villager community is more divided than it seems to be.

3. The challenges of tourism in a fresh democracy (2016 - ?)

On November 8th, 2015, general elections were held to elect members of Parliament, who were to choose the president of the Union of Myanmar. After the tightly-controlled elections of 2010 (Egreteau, 2012), some observers dreaded a widely-rigged poll. However, apart from a few local controversial results, the elections were quite transparent (ICG, 2015) and led to a landslide victory of the National League for Democracy and of its leader Aung San Suu Kyi, with 77% of the votes (The Guardian, November 23rd, 2015). In spite of this sweeping victory, the transition took five months, and the new NLD government was not sworn into power before April 1st, 2016.

The new minister of Hotels and Tourism, U Ohn Maung, is no stranger to Inle lake area: he is one of the most prominent figures of the region. Indeed, he is a former political prisoner and a leading entrepreneur: he opened the first local guesthouse in 1977, the very famous Inle Princess Resort in 1998, and was a key advisor for several organizations. In the field of tourism, he has to face a few challenges.

First of all, what to do with the ambitions of the Thein Sein period, such as the Tourism Master Plan, which aimed at reaching 7,5 million visitors in 2020 and set up several hotel zones (MoHT, 2013)? Although “the government will continue the tourism policies set by its predecessor — aiming for maximum growth” (The Irrawaddy, August 2nd, 2016), this continuity sounds hardly compatible with the new emphasis on Community Based Tourism wanted by U Ohn Maung (The Irrawaddy, May 5th, 2016). In such a context, the fate of hotel zones is most unsure: on the one hand, the realization of the original plans is hard to imagine for political and technical reasons; on the other hand, cancellation is virtually impossible; in Inle case, this would imply that the Shan State government repays the investors, which is “impossible; nobody knows where this money has gone!” (U Tun Hlaing, oral information).

After decades of corruption, cronyism, tax avoidance and laissez-faire, another challenge is to have laws enforced. For example, since 2011, it has been prohibited to build new hotels along the shores of the lake, but it has not slowed the pace of construction: according to one of our informants, “with military, it is quite special: bans target only people who have no connections with them; but their friends have all the rights!” Similarly, from 2013 onwards, no new hotel license was supposed to be delivered in Nyaungshwe town, so as to concentrate hotels in the hotel zone. However, hotels have been flourishing in town, some even operating without any license, and another well-informed observer wondered “which kind of law can stop the building in Nyaungshwe?”

Therefore, it comes to little surprise that a government which campaign was centred on the “rule of law” tightens its grip on the tourism sector. For instance, the numerous unlicensed tourism businesses were warned to apply for a license before May 31st, 2016 (The Traveller journal, May 30th – June 5th, 2016). Similarly, local guesthouses have always been supposed to host Myanmar nationals only, but many of them welcome foreigners as well; they were recalled the rule by the ministry, and ordered to feature Burmese-only signboards so as to keep foreigners at bay (The Irrawaddy, September 14th, 2016).

The last challenge is to head towards more inclusive and sustainable tourism, and give a second wind to tourism, especially in the tourism highlight regions. For example, in Inle region, there is a growing demand for new forms of tourism. Indeed, visitors have flowed to the area for decades, with a first acceleration after 1996 and a second one after the 2010 political transition: according to many tourism players, the authenticity of the region has faded away, visits have become too commercial, and customers are now seeking new experiences (H. Fléjo, P. Leduc, B. Chagnon, Ko Min Hsu, oral information). One of the solutions promoted by the NLD government is Community-Based Tourism (CBT). Six pilot regions have already been identified nationwide, and the authorities and international organizations support them (The Irrawaddy, May 5th, 2016). However, some new, micro-political issues can also appear. The most emblematic case is the Southern Shan State project.

The latter is led by the Pa-O National Organization, a political movement which claims to represent the Pa-O ethnic group, which lives in the hills around Inle Lake. After years of guerrilla against the government, a ceasefire was signed in April 1991. Since then, it has got quite close to the junta and to the Thein Sein government, which even granted it a Self-Administered Zone in the 2008 constitution. Its relations with the Intha ethnic group, living in the low lands around Inle Lake, have been tense for years; the latter blame the group for its

close links with the military, for being above the law, and for its authoritarian and aggressive behaviour: an Intha leader declared that “there are many ethnic groups in Southern Shan State, but they don’t have weapons... But Pa-O do have guns!”, and another that “Pa-O and USDP [Thein Sein Government] have good relationships... because Pa-O have guns. But Inthas don’t have guns”.

In 2014, PNO launched some CBT projects in the already-touristy hills on the East side of the lake and since the government change, they have tapped on the latter’s focus on CBT to promote its own project: to equip nine villages with a touristic accommodation and train some villagers to provide a touristic service to the trekkers. The cultural, and even nationalistic dimension seems to outweigh its economic aspect: the project manager explained that “other ethnic groups don’t speak their own languages, don’t wear traditional clothes anymore; with this CBT project, our goal is to keep our culture alive; and the second priority is to get additional income” (Khun Htun Oo, oral information).

The political dimension of the project also appears through its genesis: while most CBT projects come from a local demand, and constructed by the community, the Pa-O one was a top-down initiative, led by the PNO which decided which villages would be part of the guesthouse network (U Nyi Nyi, oral information). Moreover, even though CBT is officially forbidden and there is no proper license for it, PNO went ahead with its project thanks to its connection with the government: “PNO has a CBT project, because they have the verbal blessing from the government”.

The PNO has had a key-role in the upstream work, but it also has a dominant position in the upstream part, by cashing in most of the economic benefits. Indeed, the price of the trekking package is extremely high: a two-day/one-night trip for two people amounts to 202 \$/person and even 472 \$/person for a four-day/three-night trip²⁹, while communities get a limited share of those amounts: eight dollars per trekker go to a “village fund”, six to eight dollars are paid to the community for the meals, and the villagers who work for the guests during the stay (housekeeping staff, cook, etc...) get 2,4 \$/day (Khun Htun Oo, oral information). Therefore, it seems quite clear that most of the package price goes to the PNO, officially to develop its Self-Administered Zone, provide education and health to its inhabitants, even though the system is most opaque. All in all, it appears that the Pa-O CBT project is at the service of the PNO’s nationalistic, political and economic strategies, and this goes along with some conflicts.

Indeed, PNO sees this project as quite exclusive: the CBT infrastructure can only be used by Pa-O guides affiliated to the PNO; if outsiders (tour operators, local travel agencies) want to use it, they have no choice but buy the PNO packages (Ko Khun Htun Oo, oral information). This rule, not explicitly formulated, was anyway enforced quite clearly: in September 2015, non-PNO guides were denied the access to a large trekking area (Ko Min Hsu, oral information) (figure 16); the situation remained tense for months, with threats from Intha tourism stakeholders to refuse Pa-O staff and guides in Inle lake area (U Than Htay, oral information). During that time, the then-government, quite close to the PNO, did very little to solve the situation, and not before April 2016 and the arrival to power of the new NLD government did the minister put pressure on the PNO to open the trails (Ko Min Hsu, oral information).

This “geopolitics of trekking” is all the more tense as none of the nine PNO project villages is actually located within the Pa-O Self-Administered Zone: even though their

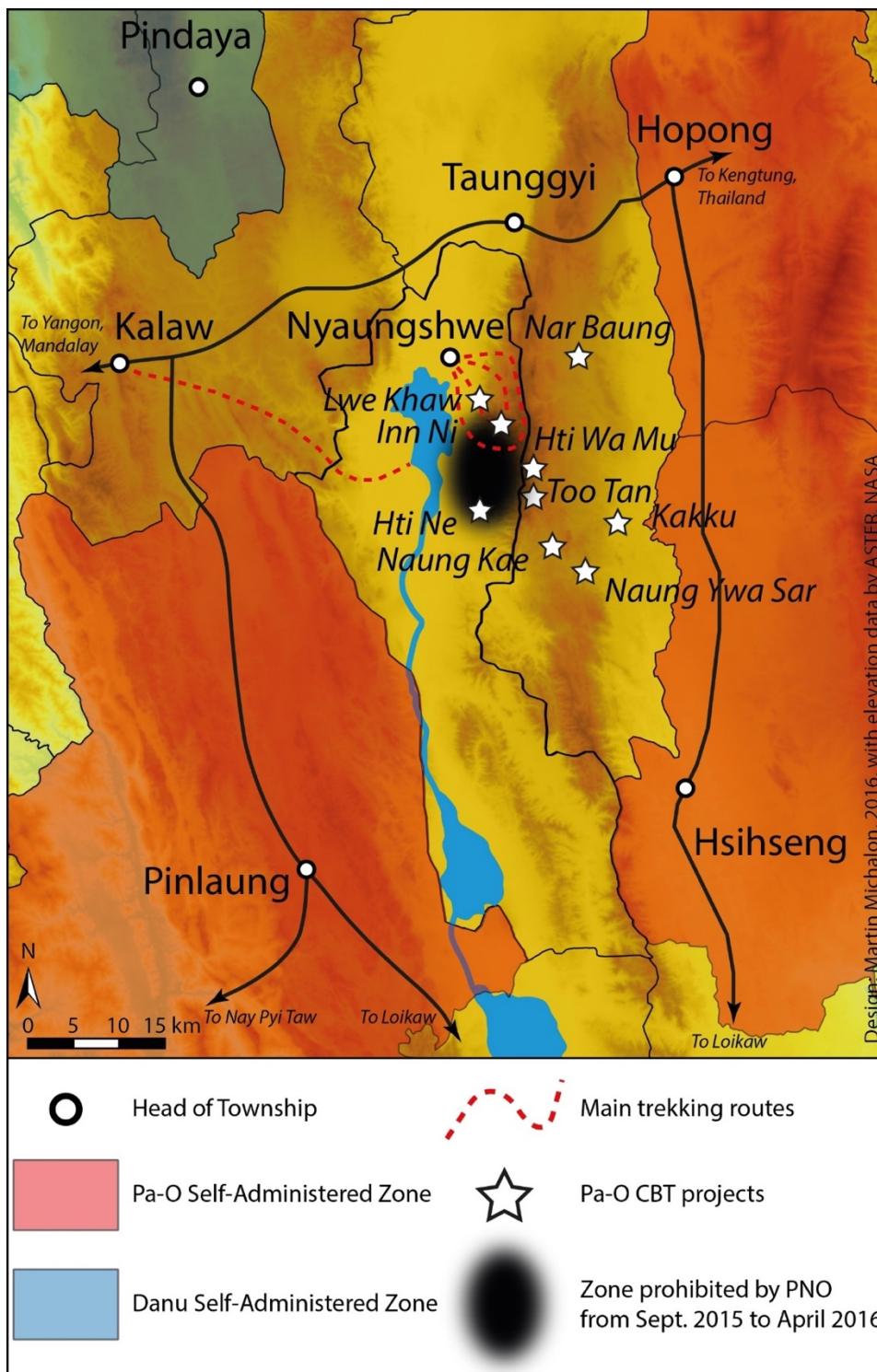
²⁹ Source: Catalogue of the project.

population is widely ethnic Pa-O, six of them belong to Taunggyi Township and three to Nyaungshwe Township. According to the PNO, their quasi-government comes to fill a vacuum:

“[Some villages] are in Nyaungshwe area, but who is developing this region? Nyaungshwe is very developed, many tourists come; if tourists go to the mountain villages, travel agencies in Nyaungshwe get a lot of money; but villages can't get so much benefit. Government doesn't support them. If nobody supports them, PNO will have to do it” (Khun Htun Oo, oral information).

However, Intha leaders rather consider this CBT project as one more evidence of the Pa-O expansionism. They readily remember that when SAZ's outlines were drawn in the late 2000s, Pa-O asked Nyaungshwe and Inle Lake to be included within the Pa-O SAZ: nowadays, their initiatives in the hills is reportedly a logical follow-up of those ambitions. This threat is one of the main reasons why Intha as well are now striving to get their own SAZ, which would sanctuarize their territory (U Win Myint, U Tun Hlaing, oral information).

Figure 16 The geopolitics of trekking in Inle region.



Therefore, it appears that the political transition at a national scale has led to the saturation of some areas and, in response, to the promotion of new forms of tourism and the touristification of more peripheral areas. However, this extension can locally create some new kinds of conflicts, fuelled by old resentment and underpinned by political strategies. In this context, it will be a challenge for the authorities to lead tourism on a new way.

Conclusion

A diachronic analysis of tourism in Myanmar illustrates quite well that tourism and politics have been closely linked in Myanmar: fear of tourism during Ne Win era (1962-1988), promotion of tourism for political and personal gain during Than Shwe period (1988-2010). Aware of this very connection, Western visitors' stance towards tourism in Golden Land has been mixed and evolutionary, between political boycott and commitment to - or rhetoric of - responsible travel. Since 2010 and the transitional government, another stage has been taken, and tourism has evolved towards mass tourism. It is therefore quite clear that political transition and touristic transition have gone together, one strengthening the other. However, it also appears that while the national, macro political context has dramatically changed, the local, micro political arena, with its complex mosaic of stakeholders, has changed much more slowly, and that beyond the image of change, the sector remains heavily marked by the legacy of the former times. In such a context, an in-depth restructuration of the tourism sector to transform it into a real contributor to the national development is full of challenges.

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Food Tourism, Halal Tourism

Food Tourism Development Based on Sufficiency Economy Agriculture in Chom Chaeng Village: Conceptualizing Thai Cuisine with the Japanese Dietary

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This research aims to study the potential of community resources toward food tourism development based on the implementation of Sufficiency Economy Agriculture (SEA) in Chom Chaeng village, San Pa Tong district, Chiang Mai province. The contribution of the case study guidelines some considerations in planning the tourism strategy for promoting food tourism in the village and other rural communities in Thailand, and conceptualizes the values of Thai cuisine with the Japanese dietary for being designated in the UNESCO's intangible heritage list. It also encourages the agricultural system of SEA to be registered as the Thailand's Globally Important Agricultural Heritage Systems (GIAHS).

The study of food tourism potential was conducted by the SWOT analysis of the farming system of SEA and its food related community resources, and the potential assessment of those community resources at the initial stage of food tourism development process. The assessment was made by ten persons who were five key informants of Chom Chaeng village and five outsiders. The results from the SWOT analysis and the potential assessment revealed that the community resources in the village appeared to have a high potential to attract tourists and have a reasonable level of food tourism development ($\mu = 8.42$). The guideline suggested that in promoting food tourism, the village should develop food trails for cycling and food events by integrating the activities of culinary tourism with other forms of rural tourism such as agritourism, health tourism, and ecotourism.

In planning the tourism strategy at the second stage, identifying the values of Thai cuisine were conceptualized with the characteristics of the Japanese cuisine "Washoku" resulting from the agricultural system of "Satoyama" which is similar to the farming system of SEA. The values of Thai dietary emerged as four characteristics. They comprised of 1) the simple ingredients with a harmonious blend of flavors and aroma, 2) the medical cuisine and healthy dietary culture, 3) the delicacy culinary art reflecting the abundance of foods throughout the year, and 4) embed in the custom of food offering as a way of making merit. These values were suggested to present in food tourism programs of Thailand's rural communities so as to advocate Thai cuisine to be inscribed as the UNESCO's intangible cultural heritage and encourage the SEA to be proposed as the Thailand's GIAHS.

Keywords: *Food tourism, sufficiency economy agriculture, Thai cuisine, Japanese dietary*

Introduction

The cultivation, preparation, and consumption of food have long been considered as a form of cultural heritage (Brulotte and Di Giovine, 2014; Cang, 2015), and is central to the heritage of an area (Povey, 2006). The United Nations, Educational, Scientific, and Cultural

Organization (UNESCO) defines heritage as "our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations" (Robinson, 2012: 95). As a cultural heritage, food has currently been a legal category of intangible heritage under the UNESCO designation system (Cang, 2015) since the Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage established in 2008. For the term of intangible cultural heritage, it defines as "traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants." As of December 2013, UNESCO has recognized 327 items of Intangible Cultural Heritage worldwide, of which 22 are Japanese (Bestor, 2014).

Washoku, the name of Japanese cuisine is one of those intangible cultural heritages, which was inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity by the UNESCO in December 2013. It designated after the four traditionally diets registered in 2010. Those are the "Gastronomic meal of the French" of France, "Traditional Mexican cuisine" of Mexico, the "Mediterranean diet" (Spain, Greece, Italy, and Morocco), and Turkey's "Ceremonial Keşkek tradition" (Cang, 2015). As the globalization of food has raised concern in social and economic structure, the registration of Washoku increases the government's hopes of enhancing its global recognition. It attracts more foreign tourists, boosts exports of the country's agricultural products, and encourages younger generations to recognize the value of Japanese dietary culture (Kyodo, 2013). One of the unique characteristics of Japanese cuisine derives from the various fresh ingredients with respecting for their natural flavor to keep nutritionally well-balanced and being healthy diets, which attributes features to "Satoyama," the self-sufficiency traditional agricultural system maintaining the abundance of the ecosystem. Recently years, some agricultural landscape sites of Satoyama has also been designated as the Globally Important Agricultural Heritage Systems (GIAHS) by Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), for example, Noto's Satoyama and Satoumi in Ishikawa prefecture and Minabe-Tanabe Ume system in Wakayama prefecture.

From the expectation of being a world's food heritage as Japanese cuisine is, it considers that the food culture honored by UNESCO will be used as a brand of the country image to serve a reliable signal of quality and confidence value of local food consumption. Such notion may advocate the promotion of local food as one of the essential strategies for socioeconomic development, particularly through tourism. Focusing on travel, even without a brand given by UNESCO, local food is one of the integral components of the tourist experience (Hall and Sharples, 2003; Povey, 2012; Symons, 1999). Both for travelers who consume food as a part of travel experience and those tourists who are interested in food tourism. The unique local food is the single resource that may use as marketing tools to get more visitors in many countries, for example, Canada and Australia target the culinary tourism segment as the central part of their tourism policy by promoting local cuisines to their tourists (Shenoy, 2005). As a result, local food culture has become a significant factor influencing the economic and rural growth in regions suffering recession (Tellström, 2006), and play a major role in the sustainable diversification of farm and rural economic (Ohe, 2014).

As for Thailand, food had heavily promoted with tourism during the "Amazing Thailand" years since 1998. Later, the government had launched the policy "Thai Kitchen to the World Project" since 2004. This scheme is to achieve the increasing of Thai restaurants in every corner of the world (Sompong and Rampai, 2015) and sets the principles "From Farm to Table" as the national strategy for food safety production, and a global leader in growing safe food products (Supaphol, 2010). This movement advocates the consumption of Thai food worldwide and inspires tourists to visit Thailand to enjoy a pleasant experience on Thai dish. Thai food or "Ar-Han-Thai" is one of the most famous cuisines in the world due to the uniqueness taste of five

flavors in a dish and dominant differing from the other countries (Sompong and Rampai, 2015). According to a worldwide online poll of 35,000 people by CNN travel in 2011, seven of Thailand's favorite dishes made it to the list of the "World's 50 most delicious foods", which had more dishes on the list than any other country. They were Tom yam goong (4th), Pad thai (5th), Som Tam (6th), Massaman Curry (10th), Green Curry (19th), Thai fried rice (24th) and Moo nam tok (36th) (Cheung, 2011). Regarding with this vote, it implies that many Thai dishes are well known for good images, resulted in the promotion of Thai food globally and increasing the number of foreign tourists visiting Thailand. Lertputtarak (2012) surveyed 476 foreign tourists in Pattaya City on Thai food image, the result revealed that they perceived that Thai food image as a good cultural experience, unique serving style, delicious, nourishing food, and exotic cooking methods, respectively.

As such the general perception of Thai food, it should be conceptualized to identify its distinctive characteristics for inscribing in the UNESCO's intangible cultural heritage list. Through this notion, the conceptualization of Thai cuisine, therefore, should be taken into account with the lesson learned from the Japanese dietary, a successful case study of the intangible cultural heritage designation, which is by rice culture and self-sufficiency agricultural system as same as Thai cuisine. As recognition in the intangible world heritage list, Japanese Washoku becomes the highlight of food tourism in Japan and around the world due to the globalization of food.

In enhancing the Thai dietary culture to be inscribed as the UNESCO's intangible cultural heritage, the traditional local cuisine should promote in the form of food tourism to characterize the distinctive of Thai cuisine. Food tourism can be performed the variety of activities through the integration of other types of tourism. For instance, in promoting food tourism and agritourism in rural villages, tourists can pick vegetables and herbs from the garden to cook the local dishes, or regarding ecotourism, they can cook rice in the bamboo when to go camping in the forest. In Thailand, currently there are more than 150 rural villages operate their own tourism business within the concept of community-based tourism and most of the food serving for tourists is from their farm which based on the self-sufficiency agriculture. It is called "Kaset Porpeang" in Thai word or Sufficiency Economy Agriculture (SEA) in English definition (Khaokhrueamuang, 2014a).

Chom Chaeng village in San Pa Tong sub-district, Chiang Mai province, is one of Thailand's rural communities implementing the sufficiency economy agriculture and the villagers want to run their tourism business in the form of green tourism. This village, therefore, is a challenging opportunity for promoting Thai cuisine through the integration of food tourism and green tourism. To support their tourism business in the future, the study of the potential of attractions and resources toward food tourism is crucial due to a risk of failure in this business. It is important to realize that many small tourism enterprises fail because the operators didn't do enough research or planning before they set up their business. So, the community wants to make sure that if it decides to go into tourism, the business is likely to be successful (Fausnaugh et al., 2004).

The aim of this study, therefore, is to assess the potential of community resources toward food tourism development based on the implementation of Sufficiency Economy Agriculture in Chom Chaeng village, San Pa Tong district, Chiang Mai province. The contribution of this study will also help to conceptualize and advocate Thai cuisine for inscription in the UNESCO's intangible heritage list as the Japanese traditional dietary "Washoku" inscribed on the list due to its uniqueness which attributes features to "Satoyama," the traditional agricultural system maintaining the abundance of the ecosystem. Similar to the

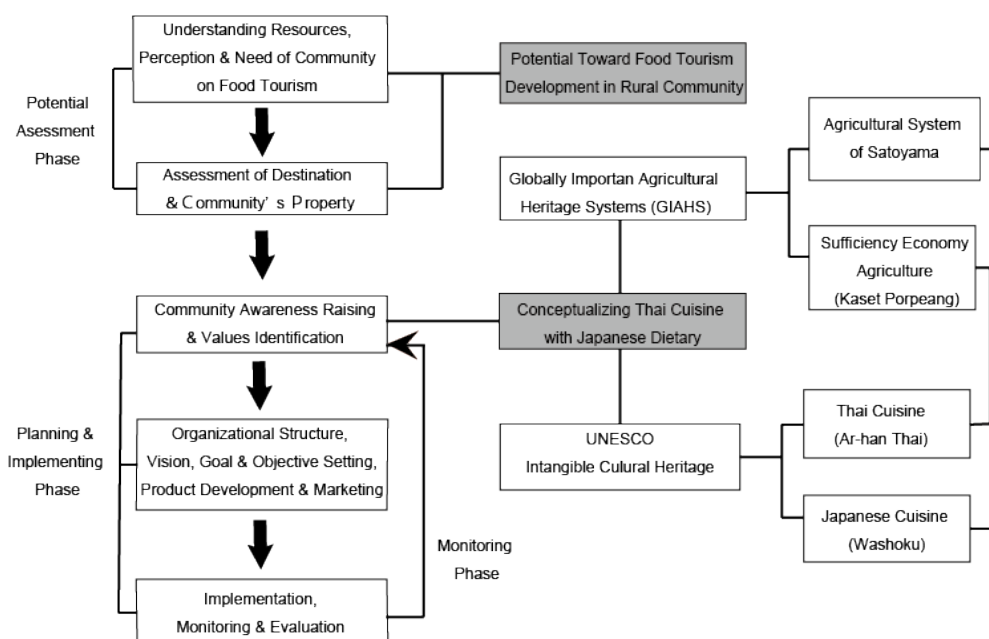
authentic Thai food is significantly generated from the system of Sufficiency Economy Agriculture (SEA), the traditional farming practice which respects in utilizing the natural resource and produces the safety and healthy food from different consumption of organic herbs and local vegetables. As such notions, not only in Chom Chaeng village, developing food tourism based on the SEA should be hugely promoted in other Thailand's rural tourism communities to characterize the authenticity of Thai cuisine globally. Furthermore, the landscape of SEA should be taken into account to register as the Globally Important Agricultural Heritage Systems (GIAHA) of Thailand.

Conceptual Framework of Food Tourism Development in Thailand's Rural Communities

In the 21st century, the enormous shift from mass tourism to the special interest niche markets has to offer great opportunities for tourism development in remote areas. The resource-based economies have put immense tensions in many rural communities as they struggle to retain a viable economy and culture resulting from the most negative impacts from uneven tourism development (George, 2009). To counter such the problems, many researchers suggest that tourism communities should plan their evolution more systematically at the beginning (Reid et al., 2004). The process of tourism development may start with a community assessment, then move to the community awareness and values clarification, organization structure, vision creation, action planning, and implementation along with procedures for monitoring growth (George, 2009 and Reid et al., 2004).

Food tourism, one of the specialized niche markets that can draw attention to the rural communities, also involved the staged process of tourism development in supporting gastronomy. Tourism related food promotion such as culinary tourism offers new chances for communities to integrate tourism and regional food systems to revitalize the local economy and restructure the cultural heritage of the region (Green and Dougherty, 2009). Such a big challenge, many communities are now promoting themselves local gastronomy and employing food and beverages as attractions (Getz et al., 2014), and most of which treat tourism as a commercial form (Reid et al., 2004). As a consequence, planning tourism with the systemic process is crucial for running the tourism business. The conceptual framework for food tourism development of Thailand's rural communities in this research, therefore, emphasizes the application of the staged process of tourism development with the notion to conceptualize Thai cuisine to be designated as a world intangible cultural heritage, which is the value identification for Thai food (Fig.1). The ideas for adding values of Thailand's rural gastronomic promotion derived from the cultural heritage designation of GIAHS and UNESCO, a successful case of Japan.

Figure 1 The conceptual framework of food tourism development in Thailand's rural communities



Source The author

According to the conceptual framework shown in figure 1, the first phase of food tourism development process is an assessment of the community potential of generating tourism resources as food-related tourism products and services. The local food movement is taking a variety of competitive forms (Green and Dougherty, 2009) with its value identification and marketing strategy on specific products and experiences. Examples are included food trails and tours, restaurants and cooking schools (Getz et al., 2014), farmers' market, agriculture-based community projects, farm-based food festivals (Sidalı et al., 2013), and farm shops and pick-your-own-farm. Note that any forms of food tourism related business cannot avoid competing. Starting the new business, therefore, the destinations need to evaluate their community resources as a valuable asset to understand the tourism potential at the outset. A self-assessment instrument should at least consider what communities inherit and how communities compete. Getz et al. (2014) suggest the examples of comparative and competitive advantages on community properties that the destinations should take into account for listing the self-assessment tool in food tourism as shown in Table 1.

Table 1 Comparative and competitive advantages in food tourism

Considering themes	Comparative advantage What destinations inherit	Competitive advantages How destinations compete
Location and accessibility	Proximity to large cities; good access to, and within the destination	Investment in transport infrastructure Cultivation of resident demand for food experiences Develop food trails and tours Cluster services and attractions
Climate and natural resources	A climate attractive to tourists and favorable for certain activities/events	Investment in fishing, farming, and food/beverage processing Sustainable food production practices

	Fresh and local produce available seasonally or all year Unique food products	
Accommodation	a range of quality accommodations for international tourists	develop urban and rural food tourism cluster and packages
Export-ready food experiences	existing quality restaurants, farms, fishing fleets, tours, events	develop a portfolio of food events foster entrepreneurship and innovation in food and tourism invest in mass, social and online communications to foodies
Culture	friendly and hospitable for visitors attractive traditional cuisine and beverages	food culture cultivated through the work of chefs, cooking schools, media management develop food precincts in towns and cities
Economy	cost advantages; low inflation strong agriculture and fishery sectors	develop the food brand supply- chain management; adding value through food tourism cluster development
Social conditions	a substantial population able to cultivate food and beverage interests (i.e., lifestyle)	promote healthy eating ; encourage fresh and local markets
Health conditions	healthy food and healthy eating high food safety standards and enforcement	position the destination for healthy eating
Professionalism	proven leadership a strong destination marketing organization education/training available for event management and event tourism	constrain efforts to improve strategy, planning, marketing and investment industry-education linkages strengthened mentorship and apprenticeship programs
Food events	exciting food events that are popular with residents and tourists alike a healthy portfolio of permanent local and regional food events	build on local strengths to create hallmark food events build iconic events for foodie segments sophisticated portfolio creation and management

Source Getz et al., 2014.

Agricultural system of Satoyama and Japanese dietary culture compare to Sufficiency Economy Agriculture (SEA) and the characteristics of Thai cuisine

The farm system based on the concept of Satoyama is an ideal model for Japan's traditional landscape, where nature and human lives coincide and sustainable (Dublin, 2015, and Ishii, 2015) as a hub of rich biological diversity (Horiuchi et al., 2009 and Yumoto et al., 2012). "Satoyama" is a Japanese word which means a place where human beings have long coexisted with nature. "Sato" means village, and "Yama" means "mountain," however, it refers to the forest utilized by humans even on a flat land near the village when it is combined with the word "Sato" (Miruyama, 2009). The area of Satoyama consists of a mosaic of secondary woodlands, orchards, grassland, rice paddies, and irrigation ponds or canals along with human

settlements. (Horiuchi et al., 2009, Kada, 2012, Yumoto, 2012, and Ishii, 2015). The concept of Satoyama dates back to 1759, Hyoemon Terauchi, a forester recorded the term of Satoyama to describe the human-managed landscapes surrounding rural mountain woodland communities, and later reintroduced the concept in the 1960s by Tsunahide Shidei (Horiuchi et al., 2009). Humans have developed the Satoyama's nature and it provides an important habitat for living organisms (Ishii, 2015) and ecosystem services. They include provisioning services such as food and water, regulating services such as flood and disease control, cultural services such as recreational benefits, and supporting services such as soil formation (Kada, 2012).

As it is a human-made ecosystem, the agricultural landscape of Satoyama makes many people feel a sense of "homeland" and "seasons" (Yumoto et al., 2012,) that reflects one of the characteristics of Japanese cuisines. The tradition of Japanese diet has been based on rice and seafood (Berglund, 2008) served with seasonal vegetables and fish and other marine products, which is a highly sophisticated form in the Edo period (1603-1868) (Web Japan, 2016) and remains the basis of currently Japanese cuisine. In ancient Japan, Buddhist culture forbade eating four-legged animals (Suzuki, 2014 and Naomichi, 2006). This belief influences the Japanese traditional cuisine. It centers on the staple of rice, which is served with *miso* soup (soybeans soup), fish, *hijiki* (sea vegetables), *hiyayakko* (cold tofu), *tamagoyaki* (Japanese omelet), *natto* (fermented soybeans), and *tsukemono* (pickles) (Web Japan, 2016). Japanese food today is a mixed international cuisine such as French, Italian, and Chinese style meals that can be seen in restaurants, supermarkets, and convenience stores, which is a part of Japan's contemporary food culture. But the UNESCO designation as an intangible cultural heritage is for "traditional Japanese food culture" called Washoku.

Washoku embodies the Japanese people's spirit of respect for nature which features into four characteristics (Suzuki, 2014 and GaijinPot, 2015), resulting from the traditional agricultural system of Satoyama.

1. A rich variety of fresh ingredients and respect for their natural taste

Due to wealthy of biodiversity of crop cultivation and a variety of natural resources in the agricultural system of Satoyama, Japanese Washoku is made from a unique variety of fresh ingredients in each part of the country. Cooking methods and utensils those components are trying to keep the original flavors.

2. A nutritionally well-balanced and healthy dietary culture

The traditional Japanese dietary culture which is based on rice served with one soup and three side dishes is considered as a nutritional balance with the minimal use of animal fats. Furthermore, food ingredients from the Satoyama system are produced for self-sufficiency of consumption, chemical uses such as fertilizer and pesticide are limited. Safety foods from this system serve a role in the longevity of the Japanese people.

3. An emphasis on the beauty of nature and seasonal changes

Presenting the beauty of nature differentiating four seasons is one of the attractiveness for Japanese art on food. This culture influenced by the season changes related to the beautiful landscape of Satoyama in the different season. Washoku enjoys seasonality by decorating dishes with seasonal flowers and leaves reflecting the sense of seasons in the homeland of Satoyama.

4. A deep tie to regular annual events of traditional rites and rituals

With the feeling of homeland inspired by the Satoyama's communities, Japanese food closely ties to Japan's traditional rites and rituals for the participation of people in the family and local communities. For example, eating the traditional *osechi-ryori* (special food served in

stacked boxes) on the ceremony of New Year, having the outdoor cooking party of *imonikai taro* by locals.

As such characteristics, UNESCO designated the Japanese Washoku as a social practice based on a set of skills, knowledge, practice, and traditions related to the production, processing, preparation, and consumption of food. It associates with an essential spirit of respect for nature that is related to the sustainable use of natural resources (Cang, 2015). It can be assumed that these features characterized by the attributions of the agricultural system of Satoyama.

In Thailand, the traditional farming has created landscapes unique to Thai dietary culture similar to Japanese's Satoyama. It is commonly called "Kaset Porpeang" in Thai language or "Sufficiency Economy Agriculture (SEA)" in English technical definition presented in this paper. This agricultural system based on "the new theory," a set of principles of proper management of lands and water resources to benefit small-scale farmers underpinning the philosophy of sufficiency economy (Khaokhrueamuang, 2014b) proposed by H.M. King Bhumibol Adulyadej in 1993 (Suksri et al., 2008). Actually, before establishing the new theory, the philosophy of sufficiency economy has enunciated in the speeches of His Majesty since 1974, but it was advocated to practice after the country encountered the economic crisis in 1997. The sufficiency economy agriculture allows farmers to become self-sufficient, self-reliant, and frugal in sustainable natural resources management in a three-stage process (Khaokhrueamuang, 2014b) which tied to the traditional farming of diversified crops cultivation for consumption and production.

At the first stage, the agricultural system of sufficiency economy aims to secure adequate food by optimizing farmland in the ratio 30%:30%:30%:10%. The first 30% is designated as a pond to store water and raise aquatic animals. The second 30% is rice paddy for self-consumption. The third 30% is set aside for growing fruits, perennial trees, vegetables, field crops, and herbal plants. The last 10% is retained for housing, animal husbandry, and other activities (Suksri et al., 2008 and Khaokhrueamuang, 2014b). The second stage includes pooling of efforts and resources by a group of farmers executing cooperative production and marketing. The third stage involves networking and coordination to establish the social capital, which can also integrate to tourism as agri-food tourism encompassing rural enterprises and farm activities such as pick-your-own farms, farm shops, farm stays, and working holidays (Khaokhrueamuang, 2014b).

The concept of sufficiency economy agriculture has promulgated as national policy under the Eighth National Economic and Social Development Plan (1997-2001), which emphasized in promoting the sustainable agriculture that is relevant to various forms of agricultural practices such as integrated farming, organic agriculture, and agroforestry. The implementation of sufficiency economy agriculture requires farmers using their local wisdom and practices of traditional agriculture, (Yenjabok et al., 2005) for example, utilizing livestock manure and human waste, making the traditional irrigation system such as ditch and dike landscape, and small reservoirs.

The Satoyama landscape in Japan and the sufficiency economy agriculture landscape in Thailand are both the result of traditional farming and land-use. The landscape of Satoyama featured by the woodland of small mountains and arable lands with the irrigation systems. While the landscape of Thailand's sufficiency economy agriculture is not necessary relied on the ecosystem of mountains, but the forest can grow in the flat land of farms. Similarities and differences of these traditional farming landscape shown in Table 2. However, they represent the self-sufficiency farming economy based on rice and the diversity of local products.

Therefore, the Japanese dietary culture is the rice, fish and seafood (Berglund, 2008) which is similar to the traditional Thai cuisine serving fish and vegetable dishes with rice.

Table 2 *The similarities and differences of the characteristics of Japan’s Satoyama and Thailand’s sufficiency economy agriculture*

Japan’s Satoyama	Thailand’s sufficiency economy agriculture
Rice-fish-seafood culture	Rice-fish-vegetable and herb culture
Diversified crops cultivation: forest, rice, fruit, vegetable, and marine products	Diversified crops cultivation: forest, rice, fruit, vegetable and herb, aquatic and land animal products
Terracing and irrigation systems of arable fields	Ponds or irrigation systems of arable fields
Fertilized by litter, livestock manure, and human waste	Fertilized by litter, livestock manure, and human waste
Characterized by small mountains, hills or sea shores called “Satoumi”	Characterized by flat land, few small mountains or sea shores

Source *adapt from Berglund, 2008*

According to the heart of the Japanese philosophy of eating, Japanese cuisine presents the relationship of the existence between how food is used and nature. Therefore, food is eaten as keeping the natural taste that is the real taste of food, mainly eaten raw or only lightly cured with vinegar or salt (Kazuko, 2002). On the other hand, the Thai cuisine relies on five primary flavors: salty, sweet, sour, bitter, and hot (Bastyra, 2003). Like Japanese Washoku that Buddhist culture avoids eating four-legged animals, large chunks of meat are eschewed in originally Thai cuisine. Aquatic animals such as fish and shrimp, plants and herbs are major ingredients. A traditional Thai meal made from simple local ingredients depends on the region. The proper Thai meal consists of an herbal soup or curry, a sour-spiced salad, a dip with accompanying fish and vegetables served with steam or sticky rice. Bastyra (2003) an author of the Asian recipe characterizes Thai cuisine that “The Thai cuisine is founded on simple ingredients of excellent quality. Fresh fish from the sea, rice from the fields, aromatic herbs and spices and locally grown fruits and vegetables are just a few of the wonderful ingredients that are enjoyed throughout Thailand.”

This distinctive feature results from the traditional agricultural system and landscape of integrated farming on the waterway settlement, which is later modified as the Sufficiency Economy Agriculture that provides various edible plants including vegetables, herbs, and fruits. Most of the populace making use of unique vegetables or fruits for flavors, spices or condiments in the traditional Thai cuisine is an effective medical plant such as lemongrass and galangal (Murakami et al., 1994).

Research Methodology

The food tourism development in Chom Chaeng village is based upon the staged process of food tourism development in a rural community proposed in the conceptual framework which divided into three phases; potential assessment, planning and implementing, and monitoring. This paper focuses on the first step of the development process.

At the initial phase, the study of potential on food tourism development in Chom Chaeng village was conducted in two ways: 1) the analysis of farming system based on the Sufficiency Economy Agriculture and its food-related community resources, 2) the potential assessment of community resources by the tourism stakeholders. The data of farming system and its food-related community resources obtained by interviewing farmers and field observation. The derived data was analyzed by SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats) to evaluate the potential of food tourism development.

The potential assessment of community resources by the tourism stakeholders was taken by using the evaluation tool which comprises four aspects, natural, cultural, built, and human resources. Each resource feature consists of five items which are the considered elements for the evaluation of food tourism potential. The assessment instrument constructed by three sources. They were from the concepts of self-assessment for the farm and country tourism (Fausnaugh et al., 2004), the consideration guidelines for food tourism business suggested by Getz et al., (2014), and the information from the villagers' interviews and field observation in Chom Chaeng village. The lists of community resources assessment shown in Table 9.

The assessment was made by ten persons who were five key informants of Chom Chaeng village and five outsiders. The average assessment score indicates the level of tourism potential as follow:

Score 8.0 - 10.0 High tourism potential

The community appears to have a reasonable degree of tourism potential.

Score 5.0 - 7.9 Medium tourism potential

The community may have sufficient magnetism to attract tourists.

Score 0.0 - 4.9 Low tourism potential

The community appears to have no potential to attract tourists.

The results of the study were discussed with the ideas of food tourism development in a rural community. They contributed encouraging the community awareness and value identification of Thai food promotion through the conceptualization of Thai cuisine with the successful case study of Japanese concepts on food tourism support, which overlaps to the phase of planning and implementing of the food tourism development process as shown in the conceptual framework.

Information on the Research Area: Chom Chaeng village

Chom Cheang village is situated in Nam Bo Luang Sub-district, San Pa Tong district, Chiang Mai province, 29 kilometers southwest of Chiang Mai city (Fig.2) The village is located on the Khan river basin and the foothills of Thanon Thong Chai Mountain Range, about 300 meters above sea level. The community was formed by a group of 19 farmers migrated from Hang Dong village hundred years ago. Communities adjacent to Chom Chaeng are Nong Ha to the north, Sun Nue to the south, Rong Wua and Nam Bo Luang to the east, and Den in Ban Mae sub-district to the west. The village is a part of Vieng Mae, the ancient town of Lanna kingdom, which centers by Chom Chaeng temple on the hill. The community area covers 3.13 sq.km with a total population of 462 persons, divided into three types of land use: the residential area, agricultural area, and forest area (Fig. 3).

The residential area is the smallest part with 0.13 sq.km (4.16%). There are 162 households located in this area along the edge of the foothills and paved road. The agricultural

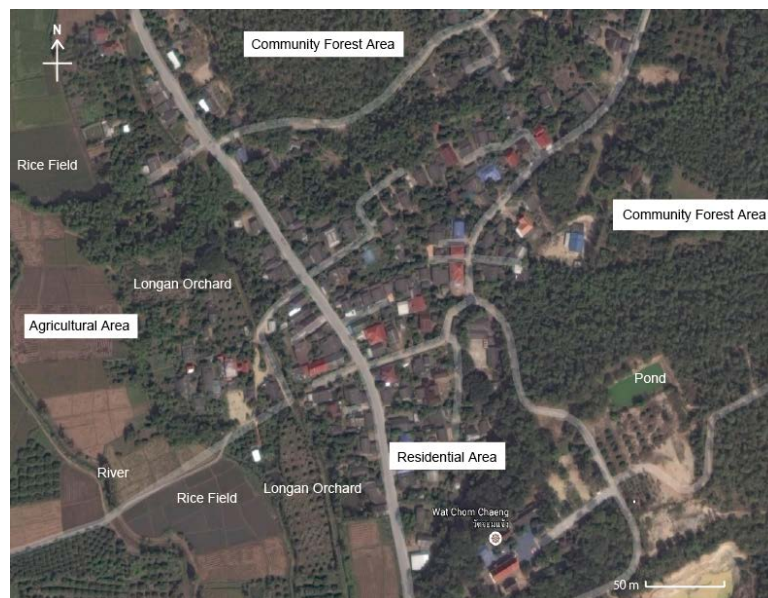
area covers the irrigation system from Khan river to the paddy field and orchard with 0.40 sq.km (13.10%). The most agricultural area especially rice field is located in other villages of Ban Mae sub-district. The forest area is the largest part of land use in the village's hill, covers 2.60 sq.km (82.75%) with deciduous forest and small traditional irrigation ditches.

Figure 2 Location of Chom Chaeng village



Source Based on the google map and wikipedia, photo by the author.

Figure 3 The village land use of Chom Chaeng



Source Based on the google map

Since 2015, the village has started brainstorming and considering green tourism as an alternative approach for sustaining community concerning generating additional income,

developing human resources and conserving the natural and cultural environment. The research project of green tourism development has been doing by a team of local researchers including village leaders, monks, farmers, entrepreneurs and youths, which is underneath the support of The Thailand Research Fund. The focus at the exploration stage of tourism development involves gathering data and encouraging local participation to promote green spaces of agriculture and forest, clean food, and environmentally friendly tourism activities.

Results

1. *The farming system based on the Sufficiency Economy Agriculture (SEA)*

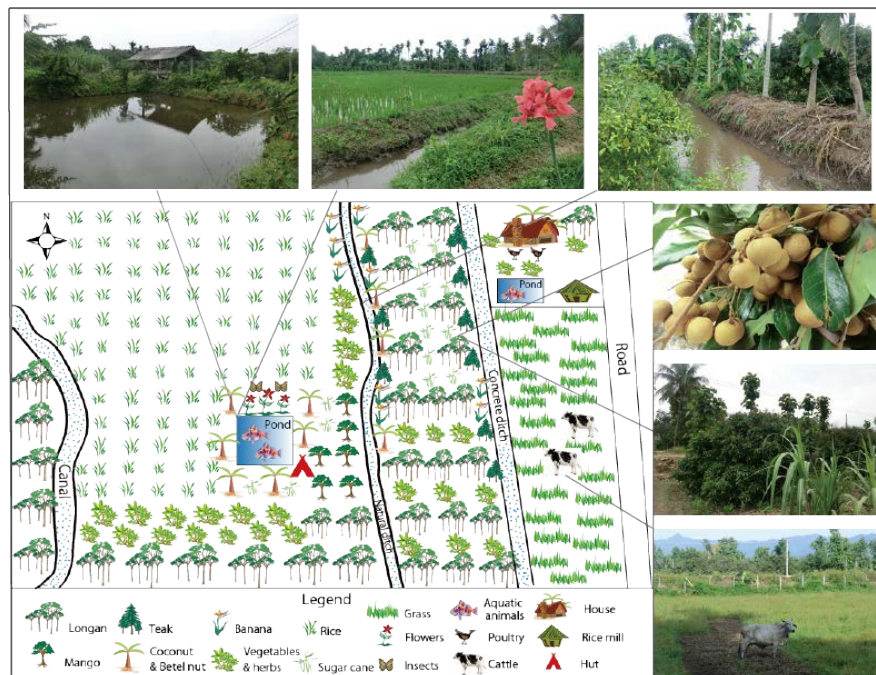
The agricultural system based on the SEA in Chom Chaeng village started in 2001 after the San Pa Tong Community Development Office had established the learning center of Sufficiency Economy for the villagers. The center had introduced the concept of Sufficiency Economy into agricultural practice by setting a demonstrated farm in the public land beside Chom Chaeng temple because there was a pond for taking water to plots in the dry season. Various crops such as rapeseed, yard long bean, eggplant, and Chinese morning glory had mixed cultivated in the same area with growing rice, fruits, and raising aquatic animals. There was also an advocacy of doing the household account to manage revenues and expenses. The villagers participated the project to learn themselves until the end of the project in 2013. During the project, many farmers applied this concept to practice in their farms by dividing the land into four parts in the ratio of 30:30:30:10 as the so-called “the New Theory,” which is the agricultural system of integrated farming.

In 2015, the agricultural practice based on the implementation concept of Sufficiency Economy had been promoted to be a major attraction of the research project on green tourism development of Chom Chaeng village. The farm area of Ms. Chuanpit Punkong has been selected by the community’s research team as one of the best example plots for interpreting the agricultural systems of Sufficiency Economy to visitors. This farm can illustrate the system and landscape of SEA with the Japanese agricultural concept of Satoyama as well.

A farm case study of the SEA

This farmland belongs to Ms. Chuanpit which inherited from her ancestor covering the area of 0.68 hectares. Before practicing the Sufficiency Economy Agriculture, the agricultural system of this farm was a crop rotation which cultivated rice in the rainy season, vegetables in cool season, and beans in dry season. Currently, the land has been managed for growing various kinds of crop and raising the aquatic animals. The newly managed farmland consists of the rice field (0.24 ha), the longan orchard with a pond (0.32 ha), and the residential area with a rice mill and husbandry zone (0.12 ha).

Figure 4 The example of farming system based on the SEA



Source The field observation and photos by the author, August 2016.

Although the land has been reformed for producing diversified crops resulting from the implementation of Sufficiency Economy Agriculture, the former system of crop rotation has still been practiced in the paddy field, namely, planting the onion and rapeseed in the cool season, cultivating soybeans to fertilize soils in the dry season. Furthermore, the rotation crops have also been cultivated between the space of longan plots. Mostly grown edible plants are mixed vegetables and herbs such as eggplants, cucumbers, sweet corns, pumpkins, chilies, lemongrasses, galangals, basil, and yard long beans. In the area of longan orchard which is the important industrial crop cultivation zone, other kinds of fruits and perennial trees such as bananas, mangoes and coconuts have also been grown alongside with longan trees. Also, the orchard area has been retained for the pond to store water using in the dry season and to raise the aquatic animals. The area around the pond is used for growing not only the mixed fruit trees and various herbs but also planting the flowers to allure insects such as butterflies and bees for pollinating crops, especially longan. Besides managing the cultivation areas, the smallest part of the land that kept for housing and husbandry is a crucial element of the concept of Sufficiency Economy. Establishing the rice mill and raising animals such as chickens and cows to support farmers to get their additional income (Fig.4).

According to the example farm of Ms. Chuanpit, the diversified crops and animals can generate the self-sufficiency food for consumption and sales throughout the year. However, the seasonal food can also be provided from the farm resulting from the traditional agricultural system of a crop rotation, integrated farming, and its abundant ecosystem as shown in the agricultural calendar of Table 3.

The agricultural system based on the philosophy of Sufficiency Economy involves not only the management of farmland underpinning the principle of natural resource maintenance

to satisfy the highest profit of land, but also directly tied with the forest conservation which generates water and woods for the cultivation. In Chom Chaeng village, the community forest on the hill is well preserved and managed with rules of mutual utilization by the villagers which have been supported by the Airports of Thailand Public Company Limited (AOT). This organization cooperates with the villagers to build and maintain many small irrigation ponds for storing water in the rainy season. Constructing the small irrigation systems for cultivation is Lanna's traditional local wisdom in the agricultural practice from the ancient time and still be continued until now.

The community forest covers the vast protected area of small mountains in which the Chom Chaeng temple, an old ruin of Vieng Mae is located as the sacred site for respecting the forest. From the temple to the top of the hill which is about 400 meters high from the sea level, the indigenous deciduous forest is maintained by the mixed tree including edible trees and timber. The edible forest supports the source of seasonal food such as bamboo, mushroom, many varieties of rare medicinal efficacy plants and wild fruits including animals (Table 4). The timber forest provides the economic wood such as teak and agarwood. This forest was created following the king's advice of "three forests, four benefits," meaning growing a mixed forest with three kinds of trees for fruit, for fuel, and for timber with the added advantage of increasing humidity and soil retention. The community forest connects to the logan orchard and grassland for cattle, the residential area for living and husbandry, and the arable land for the mixed crops cultivation and rice paddies which form the unique landscape of the sufficiency economy agriculture in the village as shown in figure 5.

Table 3 The harvesting calendar of seasonal food from the farm

Types of food	Common Name or Local Name	Dry Season		Rainy Season						Cool Season			
		Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb
Cereal	Rice												
	Corn												
	Soybean												
Vegetable	Onion												
	Bamboo Shoot												
	Rapeseed (Pak Gad)												
	Pak Gum Pa (local plant in the rice field)												
	Pak Hued (local tree)												
Fruit	Longan (season)												
	Longan (off-season)												
	Dragon Fruit												
	Jackfruit												

Animal (in the irrigation system and rice field)	Fish, Prawn, Crab, Frog												
	E Niaw (Baby Dragonfly)												

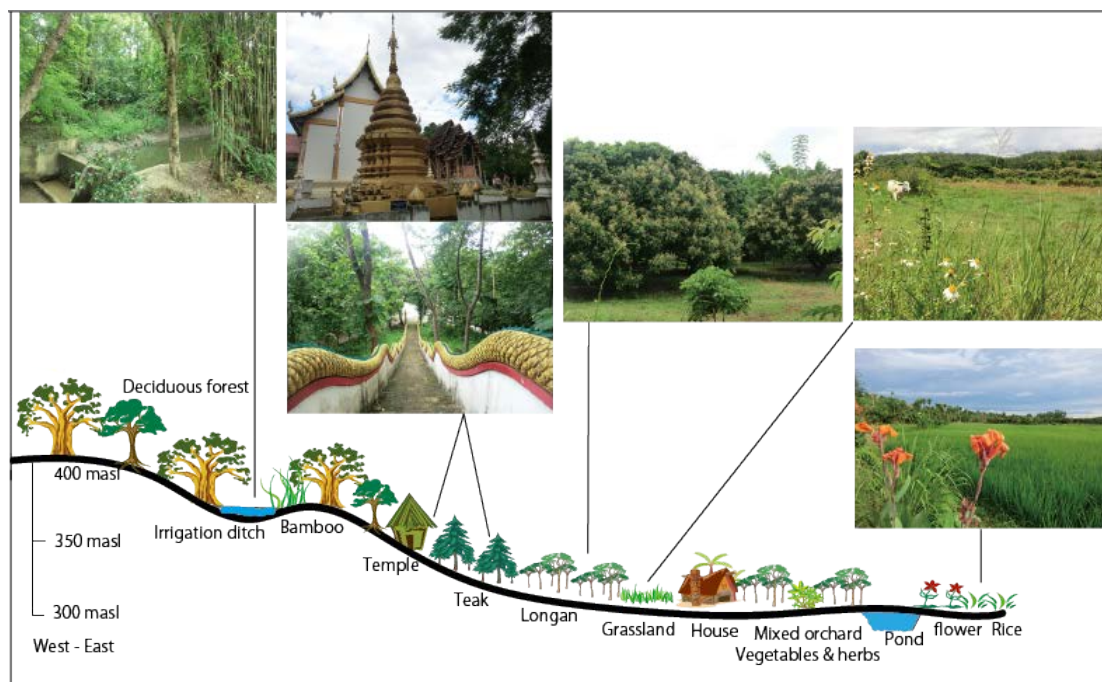
Source The farmers' interviews and field survey by the other, August 2016.

Table 4 The harvesting calendar of seasonal food from the community forest

Types of food	Common Name or Local Name	Dry Season		Rainy Season						Cool Season			
		Mar .	Apr .	Ma y	Jun .	Jul .	Aug .	Sep .	Oct .	Nov .	Dec .	Jan .	Feb .
Vegetable and herb	Bamboo Shoot												
	Mushroom												
	Pak Wan Pa (local plant)												
	Salae (local plant)												
Wild Fruit	Nom Wua (local plant)												
Animal	Red Ant Egg												
	Subterranean Ants												
	Banded Bullfrog												
	Tadpole												

Source The farmers' interviews and field survey by the other, August 2016

Figure 5: A sample of land use transect of Chom Chaeng village.



Source: Field survey and interview, August 2016. Photos by the author.

2. The community resources related to food tourism development

The second stage process of the Sufficiency Economy is the strengthen of sharing the benefits generating from the agricultural products and other community resources, which can be formed as cooperatives, groups, enterprises, or local organizations executing production and marketing. Considering the resources is a tremendous community asset for food tourism development which is not only a focus on natural resources such as agriculture, community forest, and the village landscape, but culture, built, and human resources related to the farming system of SEA emerge the formation of food tourism business. The attributes of those community resources and their application to food tourism are shown in Table 5,6,7 and 8. The data were used for assessment of food tourism potential by the SWOT analysis in the discussion part.

Table 5 Natural resources

Natural Resources	Resource Features	Linkage for Food Tourism
Agriculture	Integrated agricultural products generated from the Sufficiency Economy Agriculture.	Agro-food tourism activities on plant growing or crops harvesting such as rice, longan, and vegetables for a cooking program.
Community forest	Indigenous and planted deciduous forest with the construction of irrigation system such as small dams and ponds. Being the sources for food and herbs called "the Bank of Food".	Eco-food tourism activities for a seasonal cooking program such as picking the mushrooms, bamboo, and herbs in rainy season and finding the red ant eggs in dry season.

Village landscape	The landscape of an arable land which is similar to the Japanese Satoyama, comprising the small hills covered with forest and longan orchard from the west to the paddy field and the small river in the east.	Eco-food tourism activities for a picnic by walking or cycling on the hill or farm land to the ancient sites.
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Table 6 Cultural resources

Cultural Resources	Resource Features	Linkage for Food Tourism
Thai and Lanna cuisine	Healthy food with seasonal vegetables and local ingredients from a variety of edible medicine plants.	Culinary tourism activities such as Thai and Lanna healthy dishes and the traditional dessert cooking, the herbal drink making, and the Lanna style “Khan Tok” dinner table setting.
Handicrafts	Various kinds of unique art works made from local materials such as bamboo wicker works, wood craving, jewelry making, drum making, and the traditional Lanna lantern and candle making used for the Loy Krathong festival.	Cultural tourism activities on handicrafts making related to the kitchen wares such as spoon wood craving, and sticky rice container bamboo weaving.
Buddhist and local belief culture	Embed in ways of life of villagers from their births to deaths.	Cultural tourism activities related to food such as offering food for monks in the morning, cooking local cuisines on the Buddhist day (e.g. Buddhist Lent) or traditional events (e.g. wedding ceremony and funeral).

Table 7 Built resources

Built Resources	Resource Features	Linkage for Food Tourism
Ancient ruins	The archeological sites of Vieng Mae, an ancient town in the Khan river basin, consisting of many ancient ruins such as Chom Chaeng temple, Huay Phra Chao ruins, and Noeng (incline) pogođa.	Combining the sacred places to be a part of food tour programs such as historical study, participating Buddhist events and festivals (e.g. bathing rite the Buddha relics, giving food offerings to the monks on the End of Buddhist Lent Day called ‘Tak Bat Thewo’), making merit and offering food for monks at the temple.
Lanna style old houses	The wooden houses on the high pillars with the tire roofs.	Gentrified as homestays and places for a cooking program or studying the traditional local kitchen.
Lanna’s traditional barn	The wooden barns on the high pillars with the tire roofs similar to the small houses, storing the local agricultural instrument such as plough	Being a traditional asset for learning the instruments of rice cultivation and food production.

Table 8 Human resources

Human Resources	Resource Features	Linkage for Food Tourism
Food enterprise	<p>Producing Thai food and desserts, registered as an enterprise on 13 December 2005 with 9 members. The products are classified into 4 groups. General Thai and Lanna dishes such as Kang Khanun (Jackfruit soup), Sai Aua (Lanna herbal sasage)</p> <p>Nam Prik (chili sauce for side dishes) such as Nam Prik Ta Daeng (red chili dipped sauce), Nam Prik Num (Lanna style young green chili dipped sauce)</p> <p>Thai and Lanna sweets such as Pun Sib Sai Pla (fried puff with fish filling), Krob Khem (sweet and salted pie), Thong Muan (coconut rolled Thai wafer), Khanom Pea Khai Khem (Chinese pastry with egg york), and Khanom Pea Sai Tua (Chinese pastry with bean), and Khao Tom Yuan (Lanna sticky rice with pork shopped in banana leaves)</p> <p>International desserts such as banana cake, dry shrimp cookie, cereal cookie, and shrimp curry puff.</p> <p>Khanom Pea Khai Khem (Chinese pastry with egg york) has been awarded as the first star rated quality product of the project "One Tambon (sub-district) One Product (OTOP)" of Chiang Mai province.</p>	Being a place for culinary tour program such as a cooking school or cooking class. Developed the unique quality products from the village's agricultural products and herbs such as longan or rice for being the souvenirs.
Farmer group	Organic crop cultivation group based on the farming system of Sufficiency Economy Agriculture.	Taking tourists to visit farms as interpreters or local guides.
Artisans and housewife group	A group of producing handicrafts and local food for gaining the additional income supported by the Non-formal and Informal Education Office of Nam Bo Luang sub-district.	Being constructors for handicraft making and cooking program, managing homestays, and providing meals served for tourists in homestays.
Lanna musical group	Making drums and performing the traditional Lanna music in any events.	Performing the Lanna music for a welcome show, meals, and other tour programs.
Local herbs group	A group of senior people who expert in herbal and local medicine uses, including herbal sauna and massage.	Offering health tourism program such as healthy menus from local herbs, herbal sauna, and traditional massage.

3. The assessment of food tourism potential

At the first stage process of food tourism development in Chom Chaeng village, an assessment tool was used for getting an overall comprehension about the potential of community resources of Chom Cheang village. The assessment was made by ten persons who were five key informants of Chom Chaeng village and five outsiders who live and work outside the village. The tourism resources to be assessed consist of 4 aspects: natural, cultural, built, and human resource features. The rating scale of zero to five was used with six

meaning: strongly agree (5), agree (4), somewhat agree (3), somewhat disagree (2), disagree (1), and strongly disagree (0). The characteristics of each community resource to be assessed and the points they scored out of 25 were shown in Table 9. The mean value score of the potential assessment from Table 9 was summarized and presented in Table 10. According to Table 10, the mean value of community resources was 8.42 which indicated that Chom Chaeng appeared to have a reasonable level of food tourism potential development.

Table 9 The assessment of community resources for food tourism potential

Lists of the resource audit		Local Assessment					Outsider Assessment				
		1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Nature	The natural resources and agricultural landscape are distinctive and attract visitors.	4	4	5	5	4	4	3	4	4	3
	Plenty of seasonal edible plants for tourist cooking and local consuming such as mushroom, bamboo, and herbs.	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	5
	Plenty of sources of protein for tourist cooking and local consuming such as fish, frog, shrimp, and red ant eggs.	4	4	5	4	4	3	5	5	4	4
	The irrigation systems (river, canal, pond etc.) facilitate the activities of agritourism and food tourism, for example, catching aquatic animals in the river, picking the local vegetables in the ditch.	3	4	5	3	4	3	5	5	3	4
	Proximity to the other natural tourist attractions that can be linked to the trip.	3	4	5	4	4	4	3	5	5	4
	Total 25	19	21	25	21	21	18	21	24	21	20
	Mean	21.4					20.8				
Culture	There are attractive indigenous sites such as temples, and historical buildings.	3	4	5	4	4	3	4	3	4	4
	There are attractive agricultural products and lifestyles attribute to the sufficiency economy agriculture.	4	5	5	4	5	4	5	4	3	4
	There are natural and cultural conservation programs such as forest growing, irrigation ditch constructing, handicraft making, musical and traditional dance performing.	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	5
	There are interesting examples of traditional equipment for farming and cooking that can be used to offer visitors understanding the food culture.	3	4	5	5	4	3	5	5	4	3
	There is a unique Lanna cuisine or local food that is considered to be of great interest to tourists or foodies.	4	5	5	3	5	3	5	5	4	3
	Total 25	19	23	25	21	23	18	24	21	19	19
	Mean	22.2					20.2				
Built	Electricity is available to all households and public roads.	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
	Sufficient water is available to meet the extra demands for tourist use.	5	5	5	4	5	5	4	2	4	4
	The sewerage treatment facilities are sufficient for the demands of villagers and prospective tourists.	4	4	5	4	4	3	4	2	4	4
	Roads and pathways are well maintained, and there is a space for parking.	4	4	5	3	4	5	4	4	4	4
	House or farmhouse is available to be gentrified as accommodation for homestay or farmstay.	3	4	5	1	4	3	3	2	3	3

	Total 25	21	22	25	17	22	21	20	15	20	20
	Mean	21.4					19.2				
Human	The village leaders have a good vision toward food tourism development.	4	4	5	4	5	4	3	2	4	4
	The villagers have the necessary interpersonal and hospitality skills required to operate the tourism business.	4	5	5	4	5	4	4	4	4	3
	Farmers have the skills necessary to effectively interpret and describe the sufficiency economy agricultural practice.	3	4	5	5	4	4	4	5	4	4
	The villagers have the skills to demonstrate and interpret how to cook Thai food or Lanna cuisine for visitors.	4	5	5	4	5	3	4	5	4	4
	There is a person who can teach the art related food decoration such as fruit and vegetable carving, Lanna style dinner table setting.	4	4	5	3	4	2	4	5	4	4
	Total 25	19	22	25	20	23	17	19	21	20	19
	Mean	21.8					19.2				

Table 10 The mean value score of community resources toward food tourism potential

Resource Features	Local Assessment	Outsider Assessment
1. Natural resources	21.4	20.8
2. Cultural resources	22.2	20.2
3. Built resources	21.4	19.2
4. Human resources	21.8	19.2
Net resource characteristic scores	8.90	7.94
Mean value = 8.42		

Discussion

Potential on food tourism development in Chom Chaeng village

This section discusses the potential of food tourism development in Chom Chaeng village by considering from the attributions of the farming system based on the SEA and its related community resources. To this end, the tourism phenomenon occurring in the peripheral area of the village and other information derived from field surveys which have not revealed in the result section are also considered for SWOT analysis to evaluate the tourism potentiality and identify values of Thai cuisine in planning the strategy for the food tourism promotion in rural communities.

Taking into account the strengths and opportunities, the location of the village advantages the development of food trials for cycling due to the proximity to the city. The proposed guideline results from the variety of agricultural products from the farming system of SEA (Table 3) and the seasonal food from the community forest (Table 4), and trends in cycling. Currently, a trend in biking to the countryside seems popular in Thailand. Because of the health campaigns promotion launched by the government like "bike for mom," cycling as a recreational activity is fashionable for Thai nationals. And due to the global trend of slow life and slow travel in the condition of sustainable tourism (Fullagar et al., 2012), biking in the

outskirts of Chiang Mai is also favorable in groups of international cyclists. With this trend, the bike lanes are available on the new highway, of which pass the nearby communities of Chom Change village. Promoting food trails to support this trend can additionally be synergized by healthy seasonal food programs and exciting food events as Getz et al. (2014) suggested in the consideration advantages of health conditions and food events in Table 1.

One of the competitive benefits of community resource for promoting food trails and food events includes longan and onion. These commercial crops can provide the unique food and beverage products of the village such as longan rice or noodle, sweet sticky rice with longan and coconut cream, longan juice, longan cookies, and local salad or soup from the onion. Like other food festivals or food events, these created cuisines can promote in the harvesting seasons with the program of longan picking as a fruit buffet or pick-your-own farm. Developing longan products by the application of pick-your-own-farm, although it is not a new approach, it extends the distribution channel through introducing city residents to the tourism element of farm operation which provides sufficient revenues in addition to sustaining agricultural activities and maintaining the rural landscape (Takuya, 2010).

Besides agricultural products and seasonal food generated from the agricultural and forest systems which considered as a natural resource (Table 5), the abundance of other types of community resources are also the competitive advantages which can integrate with the various forms of niche tourism into food tourism. For examples, ways of local people life (Table 6) and the traditional buildings such as the ancient temple, the old Lanna style houses, and barns (Table 7) create the food-related cultural allure. Groups of occupation (e.g. farmers, artisans, housewives, and Lanna musicians) (Table 8) cooperate to build food-related tourism activities. For instance, utilizing local herbs such as the traditional herbal sauna features health tourism activity and health products.

One of the challenges of food tourism development is the creation of healthy food cluster, which should be a linkage between culinary tourism and various forms of rural tourism such as agritourism, ecotourism, and health tourism by the business cooperation of civil associations and rural communities. Particularly, Chom Chaeng village which is in the exploration stage of tourism development, and lacks of experience in managing tourism. Transferring tourists from cooking schools in the city to learn to do sustainable agriculture and to pick safety Thai food ingredients from the SEA farms in the village is an interesting guideline for making a cluster tour on food tourism. This program can connect with other tourism activities such as cooking, cycling, fruit picking, herbal sauna taking, dining with the traditional music, and staying overnight at homestays. This activity does not only revitalize the urban-rural economy but also interacts urban dwellers and rural people. As Singsomboon (2013) states on his research findings that one of the weaknesses of Thailand's culinary tourism promotion is the lack of cooperation, network or association among Thai culinary tourism entrepreneurs which mostly clustered in major tourist areas.

On the other hand, promoting the scheme of food tourism in the village may be affected by the utilization of some chemical substances outside the area of SEA. This weak point can find on producing a large sum of logan and rice for trading. Meanwhile, the threat of an uncontrolled chemical fertilizer and pesticide absorption through the irrigation systems from the non-practical Sufficiency Economy Agricultural area of nearby villages may effect to the cleanliness and safety of food produced in the area. As a result, in planning the food tourism strategy, creating the value added of food products through healthy food cluster development is a crucial consideration.

However, when to compare the list number of strengths, opportunities, weaknesses and threats shown in Table 11, the competitive advantages from the strengths of community resources and chances of developing food tourism are much more. This consideration can assume that community resources in Chom Chaeng village have a high potential for food tourism development, which conform to the result of assessment by the evaluation instrument of the tourism stakeholders shown in Table 10.

Table 11 SWOT analysis of Chom Chaeng village

<p>Strengths Proximity to the city of Chiang Mai Plenty sources of food (i.e. integrated farming based on the concept of Sufficiency Economy, community forest) Economic crops (i.e. longan, onion) feature the distinctive food products Plenty of community resources to create various forms of niche tourism related to food culture Different occupational groups for support tourism development Active community participation</p>	<p>Weaknesses Lack of experience in planning, operating, marketing tourism due to the exploration stage of tourism development Some chemical use in economic crops cultivation for trade and export</p>
<p>Opportunities Develop food trail with a cycling tour from the city Promote healthy seasonal food program and exciting food events Adding value of food products through the healthy food tourism cluster development resulting from the agricultural system of Sufficiency Economy and being the world heritage encouragement of agricultural landscape and food</p>	<p>Threats A risk in obtaining the chemical substances from rice paddies and longan orchards in nearby villages</p>

Identifying values of Thai cuisine for food tourism promotion in rural communities

In planning and implementing plans for food tourism, the preliminary step is raising the community awareness and identifying values of food. According to the SWOT analysis, adding a value of food promotion in Chom Chaeng village including other rural tourism communities can be identified by the commodification of agricultural system and landscape created by the implementation concept of Sufficiency Economy nourishing ingredients for Thai cuisine. Similar to the agricultural system of Satoyama that characterizes the distinctive attributions of the traditional Japanese cuisine, the cultivation system and landscape of Sufficiency Economy Agriculture can contribute to the identity of Thai cuisine which there has been similarity and difference from the value of Japanese Washoku in four characteristics as shown in Table 12.

Table 12 *The conceptualization of Thai cuisine from the Japanese dietary*

Japanese dietary	Thai dietary
Rich variety of fresh ingredients and respecting natural taste	Simple ingredients with a harmonious blend of flavors and aroma
Nutritionally well-balanced and healthy dietary culture	Medical cuisine and healthy dietary culture
Emphasis on the beauty of nature and seasonal changes	Delicacy culinary art reflecting the abundance of foods throughout the year
Tie to traditional rites and rituals	Embed in the custom of food offering as a way of making merit

1. Simple ingredients with a harmonious blend of flavors and aroma

Japanese cuisine respects in the natural taste from fresh ingredients, in the different way of culinary technique, Thai cuisine prefers mixing many kinds of components. Therefore, one of the featured characteristics of Thai cuisine is the variety of tastes that created from the simple ingredients. A Thai dish is commonly the harmonious blend of flavors and aromas (Tangkanakul et al., 2009) with five flavors as Bastyra (2003) notices that it comprises a taste of salty, sweet, sour, bitter, and hot. For example, Tom Yam Kung, a famous sour-spiced shrimp soup. The sour and bitter taste derive from lemon, lemongrass, and kaffir lime leaf, the sour and sweet taste are from tamarind and tomato, the salty taste is both from salt and fish sauce, and the spicy gets a flavor from chili and galangal. These simple ingredients mostly cultivated in the farming system of SEA for self-consumption that becomes an important part of the Thai kitchen.

2. Medical cuisine and healthy dietary culture

Like Japanese Washoku that nourishes health and makes a well-balanced nutrition from the natural flavor of fresh ingredients, the traditionally Thai food obtains such benefits from herbs. Besides emerging the harmonious blend of flavors, most of the Thai dish made from medicinal plants. Those plants do not only contain a variety of phytochemicals, but they also provide nutrient contents and health benefits such as antitumor, antimutagen, and antioxidant properties (Tangkanakul et al., 2009, Sompong and Rampai, 2015). An example of being medicines for maintaining health is revealed in research findings of Murakami et al.(1994) that the potentiality of Thai edible plants as efficient antitumor promoters seem to be high such as lemongrass and galangal, traditionally used as flavors or condiments for Tom Yam Kung.

3. Delicacy culinary art reflecting the abundance of foods throughout the year

While the culinary art of Japanese Washoku emphasizes on the decorating dish with the beauty of nature and seasonal change, Thai cuisine decorates with a national heritage delicacy art of food, mainly fruit and vegetable cravings which are replicas of nature (Panprom et al., 2013) for pleasantly and being easy to eat. This culinary art reflects the plenty of foods from the agricultural system and forestry which results from the diversified crops of the abundant ecosystem based on the concept of Sufficiency Economy.

4. *Embed in the custom of food offering as a way of making merit*

Although the typical recipes created for special events and rituals not much identified in patterns as well as Japanese cuisine, Thai dietary culture and etiquette closely linked to the foundations and teachings of Theravada Buddhism by offering food for monks and people as a way of making merit. On every Buddhist holy day or a special celebration such as New Year's Day, Buddhists like to prepare various savory dishes, fresh fruits, and desserts for monks and guests as donations and gifts. As a result, the tradition of merit-making by offering food has become an inherent part of most ceremonies and celebration (Bastyra, 2003). The custom of food offering seen as an outcome of plentiful agricultural products generated by the traditional farms which is adapted to be the system of SEA.

According to the four values of Thai cuisine, they should be taken to promote food tourism in Chom Cheang village and other Thailand's rural communities. For instance, there may be a cooking program of healthy Thai and Lanna cuisine which fresh and safety ingredients are picked up from the integrated farming system of Sufficiency Economy. This program may provide the training course of craving fruits and vegetables to decorate dishes in the Lanna style table set called "Khan Tok" and offer tourists to take their prepared food to make merit at the temple. This example implies not only a sense of authenticity in consumption of Thai cuisine but also encourage the awareness of locals and consumers in adding values and importance of the traditional farming system based on the concept of Sufficiency Economy that should promote as Thailand's Globally Important Agricultural Heritage Systems (GIAHS). Furthermore, four attributes of Thai cuisine which characterized from the Sufficiency Economy Agriculture should be emphasized its value and advocated to designate as the UNESCO's intangible cultural heritage resulting from the mobility of food tourism in the urban-rural area.

Conclusion

This study has attempted to guideline some of the ways in which the concept of Sufficiency Economy can be used in identifying values of Thai cuisine for promoting food tourism in Thailand's rural communities. The application concept into agriculture was examined with the potential assessment of community resources for creating food tourism related business in Chom Chaeng village to propose outlines in planning the tourism strategy, which was the second stage of food tourism development process. The potential of community resources in Chom Chaeng village was a reasonable level of food tourism development. The considerations from the SWOT analysis suggested that creating food tourism activities should be integrated with culinary tourism and various forms of rural tourism such as agritourism, health tourism, and ecotourism. Culinary tourism should cooperate with cooking schools to transfer tourists in the city to the village for participating a healthy Thai food cooking program with other optional tour activities. For example, agritourism should offer a fruit and vegetable picking activity, health tourism should provide programs of having herbal meals and taking the herbal sauna, ecotourism should focus on cycling and walking or trekking.

In the second stage, encouraging community awareness and identifying values of Thai cuisine was discussed. The values of Thai cuisine were conceptualized from the characteristics of Japanese dietary attributing features to the agricultural system of Satoyama, which is similar to the traditional framing system based on the SEA. The system of SEA created four values of Thai cuisine. They comprised of 1) the simple ingredients with a harmonious blend of flavors and aroma, 2) the medical cuisine and healthy dietary culture, 3)

the delicacy culinary art reflecting the abundance of foods throughout the year, and 4) embed in the custom of food offering as a way of making merit.

Four values of Thai cuisine should take into account in the implementing plan such as cooking the healthy food made of the ingredients from the SEA farm, craving fruits and vegetables, and taking prepared food to make merit at the temple. This implementation helps to advocate Thai cuisine for inscription in the list of UNESCO's intangible cultural heritage and the farming system of SEA to be registered as Thailand's Globally Important Agricultural Heritage Systems (GIAHS).

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The Satisfaction Structure of Japanese Female Food Travelers

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This study aims to investigate the characteristics of customer satisfaction structure for travelers with high expectations of dining in contrast to those with low expectations from the perspective of marketing/management. Specifically, the perception of service quality and overall customer satisfaction of dining experiences in their previous travel destination were measured for 228 Japanese female outbound travelers with high expectations of dining experiences before travel (food traveler group) and 185 Japanese female outbound travelers with low expectations of dining experiences before travel (non-food traveler group) using Likert-type scale. To examine the structural difference in the relationship of satisfaction and service quality perception between the groups, a linear multiple regression analysis was conducted on each group's data independently using the overall customer satisfaction score as the dependent variable and the service quality perception scores of dining experience as the independent variable. As a consequence, the four independent variables of service quality perception (actual feeling of experiencing local specialty, rich variations of tempting menu items, good taste of food, and good presentation of dishes) were significantly influential to customer satisfaction in the food traveler group. On the other hand, three variables --- good taste of food, actual feeling of experiencing local specialties, and attitude of restaurant(s) staff --- were significantly influential to customer satisfaction of the non-food traveler group. To the destination management/marketing organizations (DMOs) and the restaurant industry promoting food tourism to Japanese food travelers in this era of food globalization, it is suggested that they should develop marketing strategies carefully while using the key attributes of service quality demonstrated in this study.

Keywords: *travel dining, local specialties, presentations of dishes, Japanese traveler*

Introduction

Tourism studies over the previous decade have shown that experiencing food and beverages during travels is one of the key elements of the tourism experience (Chang, et al., 2010; Du Rand & Heath, 2006; Hall & Sharples, 2003; OECD, 2012; Quan & Wang, 2004; Richard, 2002). Some studies strongly suggested that food can be a major motivation for travelers to decide their destinations (Björk & Kauppinen-Räsänen, 2013; Correi, et al., 2009; Kivela & Crotts, 2006). In addition, it was confirmed that travelers perceive restaurants as an important attribute of traveler destinations (Sparks, et al., 2003).

As if in response, on the supply side of tourism products, many destination management/marketing organizations (DMOs) have developed specific marketing strategies and actions related to food and beverages to attract travelers interested in food and beverages in tourist destinations (Du Rand & Heath, 2006; Horng & Tsai, 2010; World Tourism

Organization, 2012). On the other hand, consuming food and beverages is also a daily activity that satisfies one's biological needs. Therefore, some travelers may not be especially interested in food and beverages in their travels. Further, some travelers feel threatened by unfamiliar food and beverages in their destinations (Cohen & Avieli, 2004). Therefore, a considerable numbers of travelers would not be motivated by food and beverage experiences when traveling.

Thus, considering travelers as a whole, there should be quite a mix of attitudes towards food and beverages. In the world of marketing, when a single market has heterogeneous customers, it is a common practice to segment them into multiple homogeneous groups to more easily select or target those with the greatest potential. By focusing on the target group(s) and carefully arranging the relevant marketing variables, marketers can expect to satisfy the needs/wants of the target group(s) efficiently (Perreault & McCarthy, 1996). For DMOs and the restaurant industry promoting food tourism in destinations, it is important to develop efficient market segmentation strategies and to conduct marketing actions because they generally have a limited budget.

This study examines the applicability of the market segmentation approach to food tourism, particularly, market segmentation by traveler's expectation of dining experience in the previous vacation and assuming there is psychological heterogeneity among travelers regarding dining experience in their destinations. Specifically, this study aims to compare the customer satisfaction structure of dining experiences among groups segmented by their expectations of the dining experience in their most recent overseas vacation travel. Furthermore, this study aims to bring marketing implications for DMOs and the restaurant industry promoting food tourism in destinations.

This study approaches Japanese outbound vacation travelers. There were approximately 17 million Japanese outbound travelers in 2014 (World Tourism Organization, 2016). Japan is ranked second in Asia after China in terms of the number of outbound travelers. It is also suggested that Japanese outbound travelers tend to rate food service higher than North American travelers do when choosing a vacation destination (Sheldon & Fox, 1988). Therefore, considering the market volume in food tourism, it should be worthwhile investigating the characteristics of Japanese outbound travelers.

Literature Review

Typological segmentation

Mitchell and Hall (2003) proposed a typology of food traveler that uses the concepts of neophilia/neophobia, psychocentrism/allocentrism, and involvement to segment food travelers from the perspective of consumer behavior research after they reviewed demographic and psychographic traveler data. The segments identified were "gastronomes.", 'indigenous foodies," "tourist foodies," and "familiar foodies". For example, gastronomes tend to go to a cooking school and a farmers' market, and to consume "high cuisine" and "rustic food."

Yüksel and Yüksel (2003) applied benefit segmentation to travelers' dining experiences because this approach enables a service provider to implement different marketing strategies for different segments by offering the unique benefits sought by each segment. They developed a typology of travelers about dining out while traveling using systematic multivariate procedures of factor analysis and subsequent cluster analysis to the data of travelers' importance evaluation on multiple attributes of restaurant selection. These types are "value seekers," "service seekers," "adventurous food seekers," "atmosphere seekers," and "healthy food seekers." For example, value seekers, which comprise 19% of the total sample, consider

that value for money is the most important along with food quality and hygiene for restaurant selection while traveling.

Using consumer typologies in marketing is a common market segmentation method in many product categories. Therefore, the market segmentation of travelers by food-related typologies, which may invoke psychological trait theories, seems to follow the traditional marketing paradigm. However, the market segmentation of travelers by food-related typologies would probably face the difficult situation whereby a serious food-motivated traveler defined by these typologies, including the so-called culinary travelers (Yun, et. al., 2011), behaved the same way as a non-food traveler in relation to food and beverages. These typological approaches implicitly assume that a type of food traveler behaves consistently according to their traits with regard to food and beverages when traveling. However, these approaches probably underestimate the flexible and dynamic nature of traveler behavior. Blichfeldt and Therkelsen (2010) argued that typologies of food tourism are unable to explain the versatile nature of travelers' relationships with food: in other words, this relationship varies across holidays depending on one's life phase, travel companions, or other situational factors surrounding the travel. For example, it is possible that one Japanese traveler, traveling to Bangkok for the first time, is mainly motivated to visit Thai food restaurants and a cooking school and food markets as a typical gastronomes traveler. On their second visit to Bangkok, the same traveler spends most of their time appreciating cultural sites and visits the Grand Palace and Wat Arun and dines mostly at a hotel and nearby places because this traveler travels with friends interested in Thai food little. It is likely that a person visits a destination and behaves there as a gastronomes traveler once, while the same person visits the same destination repeatedly and behaves like a non-gastronomes traveler even if such travelers may identify themselves as gastronomes travelers.

Expectations as a market segmentation variable

Motivation to travel as a psychological construct is normally presumed when people plan a vacation and when traveler behavior is regarded as essentially consumer behavior. The motivation for the next vacation would be formed according to not only somewhat stable personal preferences and traits about travel but also by situational factors. Thus, the motivation to go on a vacation should be considered as a dynamic outcome by internal and external factors, trip by trip for each person. Then, the motivation for next vacation would direct the vacation plan and create expectations to be fulfilled by the next vacation before departure. These expectations before departure to a destination are considered to be the needs or desires of the traveler, which is identified by a traveler's feelings regarding what the service provider should deliver before receiving it (Millan & Esteban, 2004). After the traveler has arrived at a destination, their expectations strongly influence their decision-making behavior and, consequently, bring the perception including satisfaction to their service experience when traveling. Thus, expectations before departure are considered as one of the most influential factors in travel behavior after arrival at a destination. In fact, Diaz-Martin, et al., (2000) suggested that quality expectations is a suitable market segmentation variable for the marketing of travel accommodation services. This study also employs expectations as a market segmentation variable because expectations reflect the travel planning of an immediate travel and are assumed to be very influential to the process of a traveler's decision-making behavior after their arrival at a destination.

Service quality and customer satisfaction

In the service marketing literature, many researchers have investigated the relationship between service quality (SQ) and customer satisfaction (CS) (Anderson, et al., 1994; Cronin & Taylor, 1992; Dabholkar, 1995; Sivadas & Baker-Prewitt, 2000). The relationship between SQ and CS has been confirmed across nations and business domains. Brady and Robertson (2001) examined and confirmed that the causal order of SQ and CS is robust across national borders, specifically, in the U.S.A. and Ecuador, in the setting of a fast food restaurant service. In Asia, Lee, et al., (2000) showed a causal relationship between SQ and CS in Korea across three types of business domains: an entertainment park, an aerobics school, and an investment consulting firm. Sureshchandar, et al., (2002) confirmed the same relationship in India's banking sector and Tam (2004) confirmed the relationship and suggested SQ and CS significantly influence post-purchase behavior in the restaurant industry. Therefore, it can be assumed that the causal relationship between SQ and CS in services is very robust.

From the service marketers' viewpoint, the measurement of service quality is very useful as it presents tangible means to improve their service operation. Marketers need to control SQ variables strategically in the long term because SQ is expected to improve CS (Geoffrey, 2013). On the other hand, the measure of CS is a strong benchmark of business performance because CS is expected to positively influence loyalty, word of mouth, and behavioral intentions (Heskett, et al., 1994; Mittal & Kamakura, 2001). Therefore, this study uses the relationship between SQ and CS to compare structural differences between the groups segmented by expectations of dining experience in travel.

Methodology

Population and samples

The market segmentation of Japanese traveler is a common practice to conduct marketing actions efficiently because some groups segmented by demographic characteristics are dominant on the rate of outbound travels (Ministry of Justice Japan, 2012). This study chose one of these dominant groups as the population: specifically, 20—35-year-old women residing in Tokyo and the surrounding area and who traveled abroad on vacation between December 2013 and November 2014.

The samples were invited individuals who were selected via stratified random sampling from panels of one million volunteers registered in the internet survey company. Thus, they were not probability samples of the population. Among the 440 respondents who volunteered to answer the internet survey, respondents who traveled abroad on vacation as independent travelers or in a package tour for individuals were selected as the sample. As a consequence, data from a sample of 413 individuals were used for this study.

Measures of travel dining expectation and SQ perception

The questionnaire measured travelers' before-departure expectations of dining experience at the destination of their latest outbound vacation travel and their service quality perception and satisfaction from that experience using 4-point Likert scales. Respondents were asked to rate the level of agreement (4 = strongly agree, 3 = somewhat agree, 2 = somewhat disagree, 1 = almost disagree). The statement regarding before-departure expectations for the rating scale was "I expected to experience a high level of dining out as a whole."

Table 1 Profile of Respondents (N=413)

Characteristics		%
Age (years)	20—24	28.6
	25—29	32.0
	30—34	39.5
Job profile	Full-time employee	74.1
	Part-time employee	15.3
	Public officer	4.1
	Self-employed	1.9
	Free profession	1.7
	Top management	0.5
	Student	2.4
Marital status	Single	74.8
	Married	25.2
Household composition	Household with children	10.2
	Household without children	89.8
Destination of the last travel	East Asia	29.1
	South East Asia	14.3
	Other Asian areas and Africa	3.6
	Oceania	10.2
	North and South America	23.7
	South and West Europe	10.2
	Central and East Europe	4.1
	North Europe and Russia	4.8

Despite dining being ‘peak experience’ of travel (Quan & Wang, 2004), studies about travel dining experience are limited (Chang, et al., 2011). This study aims to illuminate the CS structure from the perception of travel dining SQ by travelers with high expectations of food and beverages in contrast to that of travelers with low expectations. Therefore, this study employed scales to measure perception of travel dining SQ intensively, rather than scales to measure daily dining experiences.

Statements for the rating scales on travel dining experience

In previous studies on food tourism, local food and beverages have been often suggested as a key attraction to travel (Fields, 2002; Kim, et al., 2009; Kim & Eves, 2012; Yüksel, 2003). Therefore, a scale to measure travelers' perceptions of local specialties was considered an indispensable measure in this study.

The presentation of dishes has been traditionally regarded as an important element of SQ in the restaurant industry. The importance of this visual element is now emphasized more than ever. Dining out is an opportunity to appreciate not only the taste of food and beverages but also dining experience as a whole using all the five senses, particularly in countries where "experience economy" is growing (Pine & Gilmore, 2011). Furthermore, with the diffusion of social networking services (SNS), such as Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter, the visual images of dining experiences are frequently shared. Many consumers are eager to get positive responses to their posted images. An impressive presentation of dishes should delight many travelers and encourage them to post visual images via SNS as a peak experience. Thus, a measure to evaluate visual impression was included in this study.

The scenic views from restaurants when traveling can create memorable visual moments and further opportunities to post in SNS same as with well-presented dishes. Therefore, this study included a measure of perception on scenic views from restaurants, although the studies about travelers' perceptions of scenic views from restaurants are limited (Jacobsen & Haukeland, 2002).

Restaurant guidebooks that contain ratings, such as the Michelin Guide and Zagat, are already well-recognized among Japanese travelers who may look forward to dining at restaurants rated highly by these guidebooks. Therefore, this study included a scale to measure perception that they were able to dine at famous restaurants.

Kozak and Rimmington (2000) showed that travel information, including a restaurant menu written in English as well as in Spanish, influenced foreign travelers' intentions to recommend Mallorca (Spain) as a destination. A foreigner-friendly menu that foreign travelers can understand and order from easily may influence the perception of SQ and CS of dining there. Menus written in foreign languages are quite unusual for Japanese people in daily dining situations. The design of menus may influence the perceptions of Japanese travelers' dining experiences more than those of travelers who are familiar with menus written in a foreign language. Therefore, a scale to measure the ease with which a menu order was made was included in this study.

Table 2 Categories of Travel Dining SQ and their Corresponding Opinion Items for Measurement

Category of travel dining	Opinion items to measure SQ perception
Locality	- I could experience real local specialties of the
Presentation of food	- Presentation of dishes was good.
Scenic views from	- Scenic views from restaurant(s) were good.
Reputation of restaurants	- I could experience famous restaurant(s).
Menu communication	- Menu(s) was well designed to make an order easily.
Food quality	- Food was delicious.
Service quality	- There were the rich variations of tempting menu items.
Price and value	- Attitude of restaurant's staff was good.
Atmosphere	- Volume of dishes was suitable.
Convenience	- Atmosphere inside restaurant(s) was good.
	- Restaurant(s) was easy to access.

In addition to the aforementioned five scales, considering the special characteristics of travel dining experiences, six scales corresponding to the five categories of SQ perception in daily dining summarized by Kim, et al., (2009) and Gagić, et al., (2013), were included in this study. Table 2 shows 10 SQ categories of dining experience and the 11 corresponding perception statements used in this study. Lastly, the CS of dining experience was directly measured by a single 4-point Likert scale responses to a statement that s/he could have a satisfactory dining experience as a whole.

Food travelers and the principal hypothesis of this study

This study employed expectations of travel dining experience as a single market segmentation variable. Then, the food traveler was defined as a traveler who had positive before-departure expectations of dining experience at their travel destination. As a result of measuring the expectation described above, the respondents who “strongly agree” or “somewhat agree” with the expectation statement were operationally defined as the food traveler group. The remaining respondents were classified as non-food travelers. The principal hypothesis of this study was that there would be difference in customer satisfaction structures between the food traveler group and the non-food traveler group: more specifically, there would be a difference in the relationship of SQ and CS between the groups segmented by their levels of expectations of the travel dining experience.

Analysis

To examine the differences in the satisfaction structure between the food traveler group and the non-food traveler group, this study carried out a linear multiple regression analysis for each group, with the CS score as a dependent variable and the SQ perception scores of 11 rating scales as the independent variables. A stepwise analysis technique was employed to achieve the best-fitting models. The following points of comparison were especially focused on the hypothesis:

(i) To identify the SQ perception variables significantly related with the CS variable in the multiple regression model for each group and to compare sets of these significant variables between the groups,

(ii) To identify the relative importance of significant SQ perception variables for each group by standardized partial regression coefficients (β) derived in (i) and to compare the order of these significant variables between the groups, and

(iii) To compare the difference of the coefficient of determination (R-squared value) of the multiple regression analysis between the groups.

IMB SPSS Statistics 20 was used for all statistical analyses in this study.

Data and Findings

Table 3 is a summary of the linear multiple regression analysis for each group. The two independent variables regarding experience of local specialties and taste of food significantly influenced the CS variable across the groups. However, the variables regarding variation of menu items and presentation of dishes were significant independent variables for the food traveler group model only. On the other hand, the variable of attitude of restaurant staff was the significant independent variable only for the non-food traveler group model.

Regarding the order of the significant SQ perception variables, the variables of local specialties and variation of menu items were more influential to the CS variable than other two variables for the food traveler group model, whereas in the non-food traveler group, the variable of food taste influenced the CS variable considerably compared with the other two significant SQ perception variables.

The coefficient of determination of the food traveler group was smaller than that of the non-food traveler group, although the food traveler group had more significant independent variables than the non-food traveler group.

As a consequence, between the multiple regression models of the two groups, there were clear differences in the formation of the significant independent variables as the SQ perception and the resultant coefficients of determination. Thus, the results supported the principal hypothesis of this study that there is a difference in CS structures between food travelers and non-food travelers.

Table 4 provides the means and standard deviations for dependent and independent variables for each group and results of t-tests for differences of their mean scores. The food traveler group perception of dining experience was significantly better than that of the non-food traveler group across all variables, including CS. Therefore, a comparison between the groups by variable was unable to suggest specific structural differences between them.

Table 3 Determinants of Travel Dining Satisfaction

		B	SE B	β	t	Sig. t	R ²	F
Food traveler group	I could experience real local specialties of the destination country.	0.275	0.055	0.284	4.995	0.000	0.467	48.875
	There were the rich variations of tempting menu items.	0.228	0.053	0.259	4.337	0.000		
	Food was delicious.	0.183	0.058	0.193	3.134	0.002		
	Presentation of dishes was good.	0.172	0.060	0.163	2.844	0.005		
	(Constant)	0.449	0.209		2.148	0.033		
Non-food traveler group	Food was delicious.	0.537	0.058	0.541	9.328	0.000	0.595	88.755
	I could experience real local specialties of the destination country.	0.208	0.051	0.233	4.108	0.000		
	Attitude of restaurant's staff was good.	0.136	0.052	0.143	2.620	0.010		
	(Constant)	0.312	0.163		1.910	0.058		

Table 4 Comparison of Means by Variable between the Groups

	Food traveler group			Non-food traveler group			mean difference	t	df	p
	N	M	SD	N	M	SD				
I could experience real local specialties of the destination country.	228	3.33	.595	185	2.91	.852	0.42	5.897	411	0.000
I could experience famous restaurant(s).	228	3.06	.752	185	2.42	.857	0.64	8.022	411	0.000
Food was delicious.	228	3.37	.606	185	2.99	.766	0.38	5.683	411	0.000
Scenic views from restaurant(s) were good.	228	2.99	.715	185	2.37	.864	0.62	7.960	411	0.000
Restaurant(s) was easy to access.	228	3.14	.616	185	2.83	.706	0.31	4.795	411	0.000
Atmosphere inside restaurant(s) was good.	228	3.21	.573	185	2.75	.777	0.47	7.054	411	0.000
Attitude of restaurant's staff was good.	228	3.07	.619	185	2.62	.800	0.45	6.502	411	0.000
There were the rich variations of tempting menu items.	228	3.24	.654	185	2.68	.836	0.56	7.652	411	0.000
Menu(s) was well designed to make an order easily.	228	3.09	.703	185	2.74	.787	0.35	4.802	411	0.000
Presentation of dishes was good.	228	3.23	.548	185	2.58	.777	0.65	9.942	411	0.000
Volume of dishes was suitable.	228	3.14	.649	185	2.68	.745	0.46	6.692	411	0.000
Customer satisfaction	228	3.27	.575	185	2.88	.760	0.396	6.030	411	0.000

Discussion and Conclusion

According to the principles of marketing, customers in different segments should be treated as differently as possible with respect to their likely responses to marketing mix variables (Perreault & McCarthy, 1996). As for the Japanese female outbound travelers market, the results of this study suggest a clear difference in satisfaction structures when this market is segmented by before-departure expectations of travel dining experience. The DMOs and the restaurant industry, which promote dining experiences to Japanese female travelers should understand such structural differences and choose a target segment to develop a suitable marketing mix. In practice, the first segment to be satisfied should be the potential travelers with high expectations of travel dining experience. Monroe and Krishnan (1985) found that when customers with high expectations perceived high service performance, they reported high levels of satisfaction. High levels of CS created by good service quality has been expected to be linked to customer loyalty, expressed by repeat purchases and word-of mouth, which brings high profitability to the service—profit chain (Heskett, et al., 1994).

This study showed that the subjective impression of local specialties influenced CS in the both groups: furthermore, it was the most influential variable to CS for the food traveler group. These results are consistent with studies emphasizing the importance of local food and

beverages for food tourism (Fields, 2002; Kim, et al., 2009; Kim & Eves, 2012; Yüksel & Yüksel, 2003).

Japanese people living and working in metropolitan areas experience international dining environment in their daily lives, both quantitatively and qualitatively, as Tokyo is known as “a nirvana for foodies”(Demetriou, 2016). Therefore, the potential Japanese food travelers from metropolitan areas would have often experienced the local specialties of their travel destinations before they visit there. For example, Japanese food travelers planning to travel to Thailand on vacation could already have tasted Tom Yam Khung several times and even compared their tastes before they experience Tom Yam Khung in Thailand. Therefore, it is not easy to make these Japanese food travelers feel they can really experience the “real Tom Yam Khung” in Thailand. Thai restaurant operators in Thailand should assume that they have often experienced Thai food at Thai restaurants in Japan. Furthermore, they expect Thai food dining in Thailand to be a peak experience (Quan & Wang, 2004). In other words, they would expect an unforgettable dining experience of Thai food in Thailand.

This study quantitatively confirmed the findings of Chang, et al.’s (2011) qualitative study that Asian travelers consider rich variations of menu items to be very important in travel dining. It should be assumed that Japanese female food travelers expect rich variations in menu items with quality because of today’s globalized international dining. Thus, this group may not be satisfied with menus of stereotypical items designed for foreign travelers.

As emphasized in the methodology section, the diffusion of SNS is changing consumer behavior of dining out, including its purpose. An increasing number of consumers enjoy not only experiencing restaurants but also immediately posting their experiences and visual images via SNS. In Japan, the most posted visual images in SNS are food and beverages (JustSystem Corporation, 2016). It is possible that Japanese female food travelers choose restaurants when traveling according to the posted images in SNS.

Similar to other developed countries, the dining experience in Japan has become globalized. Japanese female food travelers tend to expect a high level of travel dining experiences. Therefore, it is suggested that the DMOs and the restaurant industry, which promote dining experiences to this segment, develop strategies after considering three key attributes of service quality demonstrated in this study: local specialties, rich variations of tempting menu items, and presentation of dishes.

Limitations

This study used recall-based measurement scales. The responses from the sample may be influenced psychologically by respondents’ memories. This study also used a limited number of non-probabilistic samples of Japanese females living in the metropolitan area. Thus, these factors may limit the generalization of the results.

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Halal Food and Prayer Facilities as Predictors of Halal Tourism

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Halal tourism has become one of the most discussed topics in tourism management. In 2015, some cities were nominated for the Best Halal Tourism Destination Award by the World Halal Travel Summit and Exhibition in UAE, including Lombok, Kuala Lumpur and Istanbul. Research on this topic continues to grow, answering what characteristics a tourist attraction must exhibit to be called halal and Sharia-compliant, and what features Muslim tourists find important in halal tourism. This paper aims to determine whether halal food and prayer facilities become predictors of halal tourism in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Turkey and to reach this objective, the authors surveyed a total of 100 Muslim tourists in each country. Data from Pearson Correlation reveals a significant correlation between the predictors and dependent variable in all three countries studied. Meanwhile, the result from One-way ANOVA test shows that the relation between demographic characteristics and dependent variable varies among countries.

Keywords: *Halal tourism, tourism management, consumer behavior*

Introduction

Tourism as a socio-economy progress has become one of the biggest players in the international commerce and represented at the same time one of the main income sources for many countries (UNWTO, 2015). Not only common tourism, the estimated market value of halal tourism in 2013 was up to US\$140 billion and it is expected to be US\$230 billion in 2020 (Islamic Conference Organization (OIC), 2014). The Muslim population is also predicted to continuously increase from year to year. In 2010, there were approximately 1.6 billion Muslims globally and it's predicted to rise up to 2.8 billion by 2050 (Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life, 2011).

Halal industry is still in its early stage of development. Following the Islamic banking phenomena, halal industry and halal tourism, in particular, are also driven by market demands (Kamali, 2013). In Muslim countries like Jordan, for instance, this industry has a niche position where Islamic banks are doing well in satisfying their SMEs' customers (Maswadeh, 2015). In Turkey and Pakistan, religion becomes a primary reason Muslim customers choose Islamic banking products (Okumus, 2005; Khattak & Rehman, 2010).

Religion indeed plays an important role in the consumption behavior of Muslims. It affects people's attitude, values, and behaviors in individual and social level (Mokhlis, 2009). A spiritual tourism has been accepted as a growing tourism segment in business and research, which has been marked as a new marketing strategy (Haq & Wong, 2010). That also explains why halal products and services have been developed as the element of commitment to religion (Hanzaee & Ramezani, 2011). Over the past two decades, halal has been transformed into a dynamic phenomenon of the global market from an exclusive, niche market to Muslim consumers (Nassar, Mustofa & Reisinger, 2015).

Literature Review

Halal Tourism

The origin of the word 'halal' comes from the Arabic language that implies 'lawful' or 'allowed', and applies to all spheres of activities including food, clothing, banking and finance, infrastructure, personal hygiene, health and medication (El-Gohary, 2014). It is a subcategory of religious tourism, which is geared towards Muslims families who abide by Sharia rules and towards people who prefer the Halal regulation but not based on religious belief (Mohagheghi, 2014). According to Battour and Ismail (2015), halal tourism is any tourism object or action permissible according to Islamic teachings to be used or engaged by Muslims in the tourism industry. The definition considers the Sharia law as the basis to deliver tourism products and services to the target customers who are mainly Muslims, such as halal hotels, halal resorts, halal restaurants, and halal trips.

As a form of religious tourism, halal tourism is commonly associated with Middle Eastern countries especially when it comes to Hajj and Umrah packages for pilgrims (Henderson, 2010). However, the growing middle-class Muslim consumers and the increase in the degree of interconnectivity are gradually changing the tourism preferences of Muslims from traditional destinations such as Mecca to top holiday destinations and resorts (Elasrag, 2016). The increasing level of education and income of conservative upper-middle-class has also increased the demand for halal tourism (Duman, 2011). El-Gohary (2015) argued that Muslims are allowed to conduct halal tourism activities for other reasons, such as to visit the Prophet, to study local traditions, to worship God, to search for knowledge, and to learn lessons and receive reminders.

In general, halal tourism is created for Muslim demography that prefers destination that does not serve alcohol and has separate facilities such as swimming pools accordingly to gender (Henderson, 2010). El-Gohary (2015) gives more specific characteristics of halal tourism, such as; no alcohol and only halal food to be served, no nightclubs, Muslim staff members with separate floors for male and female staff, gender-segregated prayer rooms, in-house religious figures, conservative TV channels with appropriate entertainment, prayer mats and copies of Quran in each room, markers indicating direction of Kiblah, art that should not depict human forms, beds and toilets positioned as not to face the direction of Mecca, and so on. In a different study, Chookaew et al. (2015) also produced similar elements in measuring the standard of halal tourism management and administration that are applied for hotels, restaurants and transportation.

Halal Tourism in Indonesia, Malaysia and Turkey

The overall tourism industry in Asia Pacific has been growing for the past few years. Economic growth, favorable political environment, and improved infrastructure have sustained continual growth in visitor numbers from long haul and intra-regional markets (Tolkach, Chon & Xiao, 2015). Earlier in 1992, Mak and White studied Asia Pacific countries including Japan,

Hong Kong, Taiwan, China, Korea, Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines, Indonesia, Australia, and New Zealand, as well as island microstates in the Pacific and concluded that tourism development in the region will depend on continued economic growth and the willingness of governments to open their countries to foreigners and to allow their own nationals to travel freely abroad. A research by the UNWTO found that Muslim travelers such as those coming from UAE accounted for more than 40 percent of spending on overseas travels (\$4.9 billion), with an average of \$1,700 per trip or about \$500 more than the average amount spent by European travellers (Michael and Beeton, 2007 in Armstrong, Badran & King 2011).

In Malaysia, the local halal industry is contributing less than 2% of gross domestic product but it is expected to increase to about 5.8% by 2020. (Povera, 2010 in Said et al., 2014). Halal tourism per se has also shown a high and consistent growth rate since 2001 (Mohd Salleh et al, 2010 in Samori, Salleh & Khalid, 2015). Ever since the September 11 incident, Malaysia has become one of the top Muslim tourists' destinations (Hamzah, 2004 in Samori et al, 2015). In 2007 alone, the country was reported to receive approximately 40,000 visitors from the UAE (Khaleej Times, 2008).

Data from the World Bank in 2013 revealed that the total inbound international tourists to Malaysia amounted at 25.7 million. Policies related to Kuala Lumpur at the national level emphasize the promotion of the tourism industry in the development of physical, social, and economic factors. This is due to the existence of an active tourism industry in Kuala Lumpur, economic opportunities, enhanced trade, and investment that will provide opportunities and benefits to local communities (Nazrin et al, 2013). As a result, the tourism sector is now the 6th largest contributor to the national economy, contributing a total of RM161 billion (14.9% of GDP) in 2014. In spite of a year of Malaysia Airlines tragedies, the country's tourism industry still managed to attract 27.44 million tourists, with RM72 billion in tourist receipts to boost in 2014 (The Sun Daily, 2015). By 2020, it aims to obtain 50 percent arrivals from Southeast Asia and the balance from the rest of the world. Higher-spending tourists will bring in more revenue as they spend twice as much as ordinary tourists (eTN, 2008).

The existence of the universal standard of Sharia-compliant hotels has been an important element in promoting and developing halal tourism in Malaysia. It could be a competitive advantage for the hotels because the demand for Islamic goods and services are increasing (Salleh et al., 2014). A neighboring country, Indonesia, also has a good opportunity in halal tourism, due to having the largest Muslim population globally. For a country that was once primarily known for beach and sunshine holidays based on resorts such as those of Bali, the growth of halal tourism offers an opportunity to turn to potentially higher income markets more congruent with many of its own value systems (Ryan, 2015).

From the 2013 data, it was shown that the total inbound international tourists to Indonesia reached 8.8 million (The World Bank, 2013). In the recent State of the Global Islamic Economy report, Indonesia may score lower than Malaysia and other Muslim countries in terms of inbound Muslim travel, but its halal friendly ecosystem is rated as excellent as its competitors. It also aims to get more Muslim tourists coming through its promotion to Middle East countries. By January 2016, the number of Middle East tourists visiting through Jakarta, Batam, and Bali raised significantly, especially those coming from Egypt, UAE and Bahrain (Ministry of Tourism Republic of Indonesia, 2016).

Meanwhile, in Turkey, the number of foreign tourists coming to the country contributed to an income of USD 37.8 billion in 2013 (The World Bank, 2013). The high volume of tourism demand of Turkey and the member countries of the OIC becomes one of the major strengths for Turkey in halal tourism (Dincer, Dincer & Yilmaz, 2015). The second international halal

tourism conference that took place in Konya, Turkey, has given an opportunity for Turkey to invest and improve its performance in Muslim travel market (Al-Monitor, 2016).

The geographical condition has made Turkey the most substantial transit country between the West and the East. This chance helped Turkey develop its tourism both for Muslim and non-Muslim tourists and provide a distinct need between tourists coming from Muslim and non-Muslim countries (Dincer et. al. 2015). In order to strategically promote its halal tourism, Tourism Strategy of Turkey-2023 has now been implemented since 2007, in line with the Tourism Incentive Act in 1982 (Duman & Tosun, 2010). The legal status of halal tourism products in Turkey has been legislated by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The hotels and resorts that use the halal concept are required to fulfill the requirements of the ministry and at the same time adjust to the concept, for example, non-alcoholic beverage serving. The separation between gender, age, and marital status also leads into a term for an unlawful discrimination (Duman, 2011).

In 2015, the Ministry of Tourism and Culture of Abu Dhabi, UAE, organized The World Halal Travel Summit and Exhibition and several tourism awards were presented, including the Best Halal Tourism Destination Award (Halal Focus, 2015). The nominees for this particular category were Abu Dhabi (UAE), Amman (Jordan), Antalya (Turkey), Cairo (Egypt), Doha (Qatar), Istanbul (Turkey), Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia), Lombok (Indonesia), Marrakech (Morocco) and Tehran (Iran). This recognition has proven the capability of Indonesia, Malaysia, and Turkey in providing excellent services for Muslim tourists in the world.

Halal Food

The influence of religion is demonstrated by the role allotted to halal food in Islamic tourism, although the instance has exceptional qualities because of the strictness and scope of the dietary rules (Henderson, 2015). According to Bon and Hussain (2010), halal food includes: a) domesticated animals such as cows, buffalos, sheep, goats, camels, chicken, geese, ducks, and turkeys, b) non-predatory wild animals such as deer, antelope, chamois, wild cows, and zebras, c) non-predatory birds such as pigeons, sparrows, quails, starlings, and ostriches, d) grasshoppers and, e) all fish with scales (including their eggs), as well as shrimps. In short, halal foods are those that are free from any components that Muslims are prohibited from consuming (Riaz and Chaudry, 2003). In relations with halal tourism Battour, Battor and Bhatti (2014) believe halal food has to be made available at tourism sites and places like airports, shopping mall, hotels, and so on.

Some studies had been conducted in the past to see the importance of halal food among Muslim consumers, particularly its relations to halal tourism. A study by Sumaedi and Yarmen (2015) found that the availability of halal food at fast food restaurants in Muslim countries determines the perceived quality of the restaurants. Eid (2015) also found that halal food and prayer facilities are among tangible attributes that predict Muslim tourist perceived value. Furthermore, even a country with a small number of Muslim population like New Zealand has recently taken an interest in the supply of halal food for Muslim tourists in restaurants, as they believe that by ensuring the availability of halal food in restaurants, New Zealand can be promoted as an attractive destination for Muslim travelers (Wan Hassan & Hall, 2003). It has been widely acknowledged that New Zealand is one of the largest halal meat producers and exporters and emphasizing on halal food for halal tourism will give an advantage for the country.

In 2010, Malaysia embarked on setting a higher standard on halal restaurant at hotels in order to satisfy Muslim tourist by encouraging hotels to obtain halal certificate at least for common restaurants (Abdul Hamid, 2010 in Samori et al, 2015). Said et al. (2014) surveyed

a total of 740 participants of the World Halal Forum 2011 and World Halal Research Forum 2011 on their perception towards Malaysia's halal food. It was found that purchasing halal food is considered mandatory, thus its availability is critical. Also, Turkey as one of the prominent destinations for Halal tourism gains an advantage in halal tourism for ensuring the availability of halal food for tourists. According to the Muslim Travel Index Europe 2014, 97% of consumers surveyed suggested the provision of halal food to be 'important' (Mohsin, Ramli & Alkhulayfi, 2015).

Prayer Facilities

The availability of Islamic attributes, along with conventional destination attributes, could delight Muslim tourists when they spend a vacation at a particular destination (Battour, Battor & Bhatti, 2014). Among these attributes, Masjid (mosques) and prayer facilities at tourism sites, airport, shopping malls, hotels, and conference halls are considered the most important. In Malaysia, it is even required for shopping malls to provide a prayer room, ablution facilities and halal restaurants (Islamic Tourism Centre, 2015 in Samori et al, 2015).

Studies found that the need for halal food goes together with the need for prayer facilities among Muslim tourists. The presence of mosques and praying facilities and halal food becomes two most critical attributes in Malaysia, according to Shafaei and Mohamed (2015). In Dubai, a Sharia-compliant hotel, besides serving only halal food and no alcohol, must have markers in each room to indicate the direction of Kiblah so guests are made easy to perform prayers (Rosenberg & Chouvany, 2009). Asian Muslim tourists visiting Andaman Gulf of Thailand were surveyed and the majority of them also demonstrated high needs towards mosques and the placement of Kiblah direction in a hotel room (Sriprasert, 2014). This explains why a large number of organizations issue halal certification to hotels to reassure Muslim guests about their adherence to Islamic law during their stay at the hotel (Mohsin et al, 2015).

Methodology

The objective of this study is to determine whether halal food and prayer facilities become a factor Muslim tourists choose their halal tourism destination. Of nine countries nominated in the World's Best Halal Tourism Destination Award, the authors selected Indonesia, Malaysia, and Turkey as the sample. To achieve the research objective above, a hundred Muslim tourists visiting each city (Lombok, Kuala Lumpur and Istanbul) from February to July 2016 were surveyed.

A total of 300 distributed questionnaires were collected. The questionnaire consists of two sections where tourists were asked to indicate the level of agreement towards halal food and prayer facilities as predictors for halal tourism in the first section, and their demographic characteristics in the second section. There were 20 questions in the first section using a Likert-scale measurement, ranging from (1 – Strongly Disagree), (2 – Disagree), (3 – Neutral), (4 – Agree) to (5 – Strongly Agree), while the second section asks about tourists' gender and age. To ensure that each correspondent met the criterion as a Muslim tourist, the author did a short screening before they completed the questionnaire. Data collected were then analyzed using SPSS Statistics to find whether halal tourism and prayer facilities are related to halal tourism in each country studied.

Data Analysis and Findings

A pilot test to evaluate the questionnaire was done prior to the distribution. From the Reliability Analysis, the values of Cronbach's Alpha indicate that the questions were valid and reliable. Table 1 presents the result of Reliability Analysis for this study.

Table 1 Reliability Analysis

	No. of Items	Cronbach's Alpha
Independent Variable		
Halal Food	6	.803
Prayer Facilities	8	.867
Dependent Variable		
Halal Tourism	6	.821

There were 100 Muslim tourists surveyed in each country, making 300 correspondents in total. There isn't any significant contrast found among countries in terms of gender, but there are more female than male correspondents in Malaysia and Turkey. As for the age, the majority of correspondents in the three countries are between 21 and 30 years old. The complete demographic profile is presented in Table 2.

Table 2 Demographic Profile

	Indonesia	Malaysia	Turkey
N	100	100	100
Gender			
Male	54%	48%	41%
Female	46%	52%	59%
Age			
20 and below	9%	6%	12%
21 – 30	83%	80%	82%
31 and above	8%	13%	6%

As explained earlier, there was a total of 20 statements in the questionnaire, using a Likert-scale measurement ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). The findings show no significant discrepancy among countries for the Mean and Standard Deviation scores, as seen in Table 3.

Table 3 Mean Scores and Standard Deviation

	Indonesia		Malaysia		Turkey	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Halal Food						
<i>The availability of Halal food in Istanbul/ Kuala Lumpur/Lombok is one of the reasons this city could be categorized as a Halal destination.</i>	4.19	.692	4.40	.651	4.45	.592
<i>It is easy to find Halal restaurants here.</i>	4.48	.502	4.42	.572	4.41	5.88
<i>Halal restaurants here display Halal logo.</i>	3.35	1.038	3.96	.634	3.36	.791
<i>Halal restaurants here display Halal certificate.</i>	3.20	1.025	3.67	.805	3.63	.917
<i>I am confident about the Halal-ness of the food here.</i>	4.03	.893	4.06	.633	4.15	.730
<i>Traveling here, I believe Muslim tourists do not need to pack their own Halal food from home because it is available there.</i>	4.42	.554	4.19	.706	4.58	.496
Prayer Facilities						
<i>It is easy to find Masjid there.</i>	4.69	.465	4.44	.499	4.71	.456
<i>Most, if not all, public places like shopping malls here have a prayer room.</i>	4.29	.456	4.23	.601	4.30	.644
<i>There are signs on the street that show nearby Masjid.</i>	3.80	.791	3.95	.730	3.80	.888
<i>When going to public places like shopping malls, the prayer room is comfortable.</i>	3.85	.539	3.57	.714	3.57	.856
<i>When going to public places like shopping malls, the prayer room is clean.</i>	3.74	.597	3.67	.697	3.85	.845
<i>Praying while on vacation to this destination is convenient.</i>	3.97	.559	4.02	.603	4.09	.621
<i>When you ask local people the direction to Masjid or prayer room, most or all of them do know.</i>	3.95	.845	3.96	.764	4.27	.679
<i>The overall quality of praying facilities in here is satisfactory.</i>	3.92	.598	3.93	.624	3.92	.646
Halal Tourism						
<i>Halal Tourism does not only mean Hajj or Umrah.</i>	4.30	.772	4.46	.610	4.36	.798
<i>'Halal Tourism Destination' is not limited to the Middle East only.</i>	4.24	.726	4.43	.624	4.40	.603
<i>Being able to provide Halal hospitality is an advantage.</i>	4.21	.769	4.60	.492	4.35	.642
<i>Providing Halal hospitality for Muslim tourism is a sign of respect.</i>	4.15	.809	4.55	.539	4.61	.618
<i>Providing Halal hospitality for Muslim tourists does not harm the non-Muslim tourists.</i>	4.23	.863	4.52	.659	4.65	.520
<i>The overall environment here is Muslim-friendly enough.</i>	4.15	.592	4.14	.697	4.24	.638

A Pearson Correlation test was performed to determine the correlation between independent variables and dependent variable in each country. From this test, it was found that in all three countries, halal food and prayer facilities are both correlated to halal tourism. Table 4, Table 5 and Table 6 present the results of the test.

Table 4 Pearson Correlation (Country: Indonesia)

Correlations		Halal Food	Prayer Facilities	Halal Tourism
Halal Food	Pearson Correlation	1	.168	.207*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.095	.038
	N	100	100	100
Prayer Facilities	Pearson Correlation	.168	1	.450**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.095		.000
	N	100	100	100
Halal Tourism	Pearson Correlation	.207*	.450**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.038	.000	
	N	100	100	100

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Table 5 Pearson Correlation (Country: Malaysia)

Correlations		Halal Food	Prayer Facilities	Halal Tourism
Halal Food	Pearson Correlation	1	.715	.409*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000
	N	100	100	100
Prayer Facilities	Pearson Correlation	.715	1	.390**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000
	N	100	100	100
Halal Tourism	Pearson Correlation	.409	.390**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	
	N	100	100	100

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Table 6 Pearson Correlation (Country: Turkey)

Correlations		Halal Food	Prayer Facilities	Halal Tourism
Halal Food	Pearson	1	.428	.475*
	Correlation			
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000
	N	100	100	100
Prayer Facilities	Pearson	.428	1	.320**
	Correlation			
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.001
	N	100	100	100
Halal Tourism	Pearson	.475	.320**	1
	Correlation			
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.001	
	N	100	100	100

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Looking at the three tables above, it could be seen that the halal food and prayer facilities have a positive correlation with halal tourism in all countries. At the same time, the low Significance scores explain the high degree of such a correlation, automatically answering the research objective. Furthermore, the author performed Multiple Linear Regression and found the R Square value of .22, .187, and .227 for Indonesia, Malaysia, and Turkey respectively. These relatively low values tell that 22 percent of halal tourism in Indonesia, 18.70 percent in Malaysia, and 22.70 percent in Turkey, are explained by halal food and prayer facilities, while the remaining percentage is explained by other factors non included in this study.

From the same test, the authors obtained the following findings that are later employed to finally build linear regression models for the three countries, as seen in Table 7.

Table 7 Multiple Linear Regression Result

		Unstandardized Coefficients	
		B	Std. Error
Indonesia	(Constant)	4.715	3.969
	Halal Food	.137	.092
	Prayer Facilities	.538	.115
Malaysia	(Constant)	16.286	2.220
	Halal Food	.244	.120
	Prayer Facilities	.138	.090
Turkey	(Constant)	14.279	2.287
	Halal Food	.376	.089
	Prayer Facilities	.092	.063

The linear regression model for Indonesia is, therefore:

$$Y_i = 4.715 + 0.137X_{i2} + 0.538X_{i3} + \varepsilon_i$$

the linear regression model for Malaysia is, therefore:

$$Y_i = 16.286 + 0.244X_{i2} + 0.138X_{i3} + \varepsilon_i$$

and the linear regression model for Turkey is, therefore:

$$Y_i = 14.279 + 0.376X_{i2} + 0.092X_{i3} + \varepsilon_i$$

To test whether gender and age are related to halal tourism, a One-way ANOVA test was performed and revealed different Significance values among countries. For Indonesia, the values are .075 and .002 for gender and age respectively, indicating that age is related to halal tourism while gender is not. Turkey shows the opposite result, as indicated by Significance value of .023 for gender and .984 for age. And for Malaysia, the values for gender and age are .963 and .183 respectively, which means neither of the two characteristics is related.

Discussion

Religion plays a role in business as it affects consumers' purchasing decision, not only in goods but also in services. Past studies have shown how strong religion could determine the behavior of consumers in certain countries. In tourism too, consumers are still driven by religious belief when selecting their destination and types of tourism services. With findings similar to past studies, this research contributes to the improvement of literature for halal tourism and could become a reference for decision makers in the industry.

Halal food and prayer facilities both predict halal tourism in Indonesia, Malaysia and Turkey. This means that Muslim tourists coming from other countries consider these two elements as critical, even though there is a discrepancy in their gender and age. This supports the findings of Battour, Ismail and Battor (2012) that both halal food and prayer facilities explain halal tourism, and the findings of other scholars such as Eid (2014), Said et al. (2014), Sriprasert (2014), and Shafaei (2015).

Being able to serve Muslim tourists with halal services gives an advantage for the providers, such as halal hotel and halal restaurants. However, being halal means strictly abiding by both Sharia law and halal standard in each country. Consumers need to be made sure that the halal goods and services they enjoy during their trip are really halal. Fortunately, each country studied in this research has its own national body that works to authorize halal standard and certification. As an example, Indonesia has the Institute for Food, Drugs and Cosmetics (LPPOM) under Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI), Malaysia has the Department of Islamic Malaysia (JAKIM), and Turkey has the Association for the Inspection and Certification for Food and Supplies (GIMDES).

The author studied some most frequently visited public places in Lombok, Kuala Lumpur and Istanbul to check whether they reflect halal tourism characteristics. At Lombok International Airport, Kuala Lumpur International Airport (KLIA), KLIA 2, and Istanbul Ataturk Airport, tourists can easily find a prayer room and many halal restaurants. From their observation, it was found that places like shopping malls are also equipped with comfortable and easily-accessed prayer rooms and halal restaurants. Some major shopping malls even have the signage written in Arabic in order to ease tourists from the Middle East. However, not all restaurants claimed to be halal display a halal certificate, and some hotel rooms do not display a sign for Kiblah direction.

An observation conducted by the authors in Istanbul has shown that some hotels claim to be Halal and Sharia compliant. The authors visited Marmaray Hotel, Rixos Pera, Deluxe

Golden Horn Sultanahmet, and Vialand Palace Hotel in the city and found that they provide special services related to Halal tourism, such as ladies-only leisure and room suitability. In addition, compulsory Halal services such as the availability of Kiblah sign direction, Sajadah and Quran, halal food, and no alcohol policy were found in the said hotels.

What the authors have found from their observation strengthen the findings in this research about halal food and prayer facilities being predictors for halal tourism. Being able to serve halal services in the tourism industry could give an advantage to the tourist service providers. In order to build customer trust, it is recommended that those providers follow the Halal standards set in their respective country. Also, as the competition becomes more immense, more promotion needs to be done in order to attract more Muslim foreign tourists.

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Religious Practices or Guidelines? The Invention of Tacit Knowledge in the Development of Halal Tourism Market in Japan

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The objective of this paper is to explore the discussion of the concept of halal by focusing on the development of entrepreneurial environments for halal tourism for Muslim tourists in the case of Japan. Two specific topics will be discussed in the paper: the development of standards for halal tourism in the Japanese tourism industry and a discussion of the halal standards utilized by stakeholders.

The method of the paper is the empirical research in the field of innovation and entrepreneurship study. The data of the paper is based on the related articles from Japanese newspaper and magazines, and interviews from related halal consultant figures.

There are two findings in the research. Standards for halal tourism in the Japanese tourism industry are developed by private halal consultants engaged in the halal certification business. These entrepreneurs introduce explicit halal standards based on a halal certification system in Southeast Asian countries. These guidelines, however, reveal contradictions and challenges in the Japanese tourism industry by creating gaps in the halal consciousness between marketing analyses and Muslim tourists in Japan. Throughout the process, stakeholders began to construct a concept of halal based on both Islamic and Japanese social values through constructive criticism and negotiations.

As for a discussion of the halal standards utilized stakeholders, the Japanese tourism industry began to recognize the importance of the tacit aspects of halal knowledge shared through individual Muslims and social practices, rather than through explicit guidelines. Stakeholders are eager to promote grounds for continuous negotiations and interactions between Muslim tourists and Japanese society in order to modify the concept, and create halal practices based on Muslim and Japanese social contexts.

Keywords: *Muslim tourists, Halal, tacit knowledge, Japan, entrepreneurship*

Introduction

Since 2012, the Japanese tourism industry has focused on Muslim tourists from Southeast Asian countries. The Japan Tourism Agency and the Japan National Tourism Organization (JNTO) have drafted policies to attract Muslim tourists, and local administration agencies and private companies have endeavoured to create a favourable environment for this category (JTA 2013). In order to achieve this goal, the agency promotes tourism in this category in cooperation with the JNTO and the ASEAN-Japan Centre, and holds several meetings, seminars, and conferences in various cities throughout Japan. As a result, locations have been prepared for Muslim tourists in addition to providing halal foods and beverages and

making accommodations in public areas such as hotels, restaurants, shopping malls, and airports (Yasuda 2014, 2015).

Although halal and Islam are less familiar in Japan because there are fewer Muslims in the country, some stakeholders in the tourism industry actively promote halal tourism through developing a tourist-friendly halal environment. Halal consultants, who are engaged in developing a halal environment within the country, play a standing role in the field by cooperating with public administrators and the private sector. Through their activities, the Japanese tourism industry began introducing various halal products, services, and infrastructure based on halal standards provided by JAKIM, MUI, and MUIS (Yasuda & Kim 2013). However, the growth of the use of halal standards in the Japanese tourism industry has raised serious discussions regarding the concept of halal in the field. In their discussions, gaps in halal consciousness between marketing analyses and Muslim tourists in Japan are frequently referenced, and how the halal concept affects Muslims in their actual practices is also considered in the tourism field (Adachi 2013).

This paper, therefore, explores the discussion of the concept of halal by focusing on the development of entrepreneurial environments for halal tourism in the case of Japan. Two specific topics will be discussed: the development of standards for halal tourism in the Japanese tourism industry and a discussion of the halal standards utilized by stakeholders. In this paper, we will discuss how today's concept of halal is embedded in contemporary society and how both Muslims and non-Muslims are influenced by interactions in the field of tourism.

Literature Review: Islamic Marketing, Entrepreneurship, and Tacit Knowledge

In recent tourism studies, halal tourism is one of the main topics reflecting a rise in the number of Muslim tourists in the international tourism market. Previous literature, therefore, focused on the development of halal tourism from the marketing perspective (Pink 2009; Haq & Wong 2010; Stephenson et al. 2010; Alserhan 2011; Temporal 2011; el-Gohary & Eid eds. 2014; Haq 2014; Jafari & Scott 2014; Stephenson 2014; el-Gohary & Eid 2015). Paul Temporal and Baker Ahmad Alserhan show that the development of halal products, services, and infrastructure based on Muslim halal consciousness has promoted halal tourism in the field (Alserhan 2011; Temporal 2011). In their discussions, they state that halal consciousness is one of the most important foundations for Muslim consumer demands, and those demands shape a particular consumer market. They explain that Muslims prefer to consume halal (or Islamic) products in various markets rather than ordinary commodities. In order to clarify the halal consciousness for branding, stakeholders in the market introduce a certain standard for halal products, whether or not the elements fit the guidelines, and promote marketing strategies to specify their segmentation (Temporal 2011). As a result of the development of marketing studies on halal tourism and Muslim consumer behaviour, marketing reports have been published such as *Global Muslim Lifestyle Tourism Market 2012: Landscape & Consumer Needs Study* and *MasterCard-CrescentRating Global Muslim Travel Index 2015* (DinarStandard & Crescentrating 2012; MasterCard & Crescentrating 2015).

However, the marketing approach based on consumer behaviour and halal consciousness does not fully disclose the market norms. Johan Fischer shows the contradictions between the development of halal consciousness based on standards, scientific guidelines and certification system, and individual Muslim's practices in everyday practices (Fischer 2015). He clarifies that the halal consciousness and market have not been shaped by individual Muslim practices, rather formed by industrial and governmental policies (Fischer 2015: 33-48).

The approach, therefore, assumes a strong consumer with firm demands in the market, which does not exist in actuality. Rather, Muslim consumers are influenced by various stakeholders in the market, and their demands are also formed by interactions among related figures. Some studies focus on entrepreneurs and their strategies that play an important role in shaping market norms and consumer demands (Schumpeter 1936; Bull & Willard 1995; Russell & Faulkner 2004). The role of entrepreneurs is usually defined as being willing and able to convert new ideas or inventions into successful innovations, creating new markets and products. Moreover, they resolve discrepancies among stakeholders and establish shared values to adjust to new situations. In their management, they reveal tacit aspects of knowledge that produce transaction costs in a particular market, as Ikujiro Nonaka and Hirotaka Takeuchi indicate based on Michael Polanyi's tacit knowledge study (Nonaka & Takeuchi 1995).

As conceptualized by Michael Polanyi in his study, tacit knowledge is the aspect of knowledge that is often unexplainable to individuals. As he states, "We can know more than we can tell" (Polanyi 1966: 4). This knowledge is often implicitly shared in a particular community or society, and it is revealed through practice in a particular context and is transmitted through social networks (Schmidt & Hunter 1993: 8-9). In the business context, Ikujiro Nonaka and Hirotaka Takeuchi redefine the concept of tacit knowledge in relation to management activities by identifying the SECI model of knowledge dimensions and showing that interactions between tacit knowledge and explicit knowledge such as standards, guidelines, and routine tasks in management promote shared knowledge among stakeholders (Nonaka & Takeuchi 1995). These studies indicate that explicit knowledge reduces transaction costs among stakeholders (Williamson 1975, 1985; Nonaka & Takeuchi 1995). Because of the high transaction costs in developing a new market, stakeholders are often subject to heavy bargaining costs in promoting their products and services suitable for the market. Conversely, consumers are also subject to high search and information costs that are incurred in determining whether the required goods are available on the market. To reduce transaction costs, innovative entrepreneurs clarify the costs, risks, and capabilities of the market for the stakeholders. Tourism always provides an entrepreneurial environment through interactions between guest values and host values. This cross-fertilization brings about new, innovative ideas as well as contradictions and challenges.

The tacit aspect of the concept of halal explains this ambiguity. Katharina Graf presents the situation of Muslims in Morocco who do not care about an explicit halal certification or guidelines; rather, they pay more attention to the process of negotiations and the interactions with others to determine whether or not the products correspond with their implicit norms (Graf 2016). She explains that consumers in Morocco prefer *beldi* (local) foods that they judge halal based on their knowledge of the local daily practices (Graf 2016: 84-87).

The same trend is seen with Chinese Muslims. Sai Yukari and Johan Fischer clarify the differences between the explicit guidelines and actual daily practices in the Chinese Hui halal concept (Sai & Fischer 2016). They state that the Chinese government promotes halal based on explicit guidelines for the sake of food exports, but local Chinese Muslims practice the *qingzhen* ("Islam" in Chinese) concept, which is based more on their daily practices and tacit knowledge (Sai & Fischer 2016). These cases imply that the concept of halal in local Muslim communities is not fully dependent on the explicit guidelines provided by government and business stakeholders, but rather, it is based more on their tacit knowledge of the local Hui Chinese daily practices (Sai & Fischer 2016).

In the case of Turkey, John Lever and Haluk Anil show a transformation of the halal concept in Turkey by describing a shift from implicit knowledge to explicit understanding (Lever & Anil 2016). In their discussion, food production in Turkey is embedded in a local context,

and the fulfilment of halal standards is unquestioned in the society. As the Turkish governmental policy to internally promote Islamic values and export halal products in the international arena develops, there is an increasingly higher demand for an explicit understanding of halal among Turkish people (Lever & Anil 2016: 52).

These examples recognize the fact that the concept of halal is more based on related halal practices among stakeholders which are more dependent on social context and process, and continually being redefined among stakeholders.

Methodology and Data

The paper is based on the empirical research in the field of innovation and entrepreneurship study. The data of the paper is based on the related articles from Japanese newspaper and magazines.

The Development of Halal Tourism in Japan

The development of halal tourism in Japan must be seen within the larger sphere of Japanese inbound tourism policy. Beginning in 2003, Japan shifted the focus of its tourism policy from domestic and outbound tourism to inbound tourism (Yasuda & Kim 2013). During this period, Prime Minister Koizumi proposed the goal of increasing Japanese inbound tourism by doubling the annual number of foreign tourists from five million to ten million. In order to reach this goal, the government began to support activities all over the world that promoted tourism to Japan (Yasuda & Kim 2013). JNTO initiated the 'Visit Japan Campaign' and other related promotional events in several Western and Asian countries. As a result of the promotion and market development for inbound Japanese tourism, stakeholders began to recognize the demand and potential related to inbound tourism and shifted the structure of the tourism industry.

As a result, many tourism figures became actively committed to inbound tourism. The Japan Tourism Agency and JNTO formulated policies to attract inbound tourists from East and Southeast Asian countries as well as those from the West, and local administration agencies and private companies endeavoured to create a favourable environment for this category. The Japanese government and local administrators specifically focused on Southeast Asian tourists and became closely involved in related improvements in order to diversify the dependency on international tourists (JTA 2013). As the Japan Tourism Agency pointed out in its Annual Report (White Paper) on Tourism in 2013, the agency promotes a comfortable environment for Southeast Asian tourists such as those from Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Vietnam, and the Philippines, especially Muslim tourists from these countries, by removing all obstacles that might hamper their travel (JTA 2013).

As the potential profits from Muslim tourists began to be recognized, stakeholders in Japanese tourism began to take interest. However, the Japanese tourism industry does not record enough information and marketing data regarding the characteristics of Muslim tourists and Islam. As a result, most major players are reluctant to participate in the Muslim tourist market. Motonari Adachi, executive director of JNTO Singapore, complained that the Japanese tourism industry was reluctant to participate in the field due to scepticism regarding the market potential and that this reluctance was based on a lack of information (Adachi 2013). The lack of information on Muslim tourists and Islam in general immeasurably increases the transaction costs both for the Japanese tourism industry and for Muslim tourists themselves. The former is subject to high bargaining costs when negotiating with stakeholders to alter their products and services for Muslim tourists and to adequately estimate the needs of their customers. The tourists themselves must pay costs related to searching for information to

investigate the quality of the halal environment in each destination. As a result, the gap between hosts and guests results in high transaction costs and obstacles in developing a halal tourism market. To bridge the gap between customers and suppliers and to create more favourable conditions for developing the market for Muslim tourists, entrepreneurs began to participate in the field.

To reduce transaction costs for both the Japanese tourism industry and Muslim tourists, halal consultants, who were originally engaged in increasing the availability of halal foods for Muslim residents in Japan and the export of Japanese foods to Islamic countries, became actively committed to developing a market and customer base. The Japan Halal Association (JHA), one of the field's first entrepreneurial organizations, was established as a non-profit organization in December 2010 to provide halal foods for Muslim residents in Japan; it has since actively committed to organizing a halal tour in Japan in cooperation with Miyako International Tourist Co. (JHA 2015). JHA has promoted networking activities and developed close ties with both Japanese tourism companies and international halal institutions to organize halal tours in Japan. In 2011, the association launched a halal tour in Japan and gradually gained recognition among the stakeholders. After accepting the success of halal tourism in Japan, stakeholders in various other fields began to engage.

Currently, more than 90 institutes serve as halal consultants, though most are not professionally trained in the field (Hayashi 2015). Their backgrounds range from Muslim residents and community members in Japanese cities and individual Muslim academics specializing in agriculture and food systems, to Japanese business persons familiar with Islamic countries as well as religious organizations. They introduced halal standards based on the standards set forth by JAKIM, MUI, and MUIS and developed basic guidelines for the Japanese tourism industry to promote infrastructure such as special kitchens to prepare halal foods and prayer facilities in public spaces (JTA 2013, 2015; HJBA 2015; JHA 2015; MHC 2015; NAHA 2015). They also promote halal products such as food, beverages, souvenirs, and other products related to tourist activities (JHA 2015).

Moreover, some consultants have begun to concentrate on the need for human resources in the form of mediators with professional knowledge and experience with halal tourism and Muslim tourists in the Japanese tourism industry (JHA 2015; HJBA 2015). To cultivate these human resources, halal consultants actively design educational systems and curricula for halal tourism and share their knowledge through training courses, international exhibitions, seminars, and conferences. For instance, JHA provides two-day training courses for halal hospitality directors in collaboration with JAKIM. These courses cover general knowledge regarding Islam and halal, as well as case studies of halal tourism (JHA 2015). Similar training courses are offered by other halal consultants, and these courses are becoming a networking space for stakeholders. The Halal Japan Business Association provides international and domestic business seminars for halal tourism in Japan, in cooperation with both domestic and international stakeholders such as JAKIM, the International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM), and the Japan Muslim Association, one of the most important Islamic institutes in Japan (HJBA 2015).

As a result, competition among consultants has emerged, focusing on the standardization of halal products, services, and infrastructure in the Japanese tourism market. Some consultants validate their halal certification by engaging Muslims who are residents of Japan. Others cooperate with foreign halal certificate institutes such as JAKIM, MUI, and MUIS. Most consultants, therefore, are focused more on the reduction of transaction costs by simplifying the halal concept and characteristics of Muslim tourists, thus increasing the

customer base. As a result, the Japanese tourism industry is presented with an over-simplified concept of halal tourism.

Findings and Discussion: Between Tacit Knowledge and Guidelines

The development of the entrepreneurial environment for halal tourism based on halal certification system and guidelines raises serious issues regarding the concept of halal in the Japanese tourism industry and in society (Yasuda 2014, 2015). Discussions range from the criticism of profit-based marketing activities in the halal environment provided by halal consultants to gaps in the halal concept in the Japanese tourism industry. As noted above, some articles in Japanese newspapers and magazines condemn the profit-oriented attitude of some halal consultants and describe their activities as focused on moneymaking, which is far removed from the concept of the Islamic values that Japanese society recognizes. For instance, Tokyo Shimbun (Tokyo Newspaper) criticized the extravagant certification fees and loose management by halal consultants in Japan and illustrated the dubiousness of halal certification as a whole (Hayashi 2015). Some Muslim residents in Japan also condemn the situation because of the lack of understanding of the concept of halal and the lack of a general knowledge of Islam promoted by halal consultants.

Regarding the latter point, some Muslim communities in Japan is seriously condemn the interpretation of halal concept in the business field. They say that the simplification of the concept of halal in order to reduce transaction costs frequently veils the actual characteristics of individual Muslim tourists and Islam and the Japanese tourism industry and society. This discourages an understanding of Muslims and Islam, as well as attempts to bridge the gaps between their values and their everyday practices. Therefore, Japanese tourism stakeholders such as JNTO and local tourist associations frequently advise stakeholders that halal guidelines do not always reflect the lives of Muslim tourists, and they should consider the gaps between the explicit halal guidelines provided by the consultants and the actual situation of each Muslim tourist (JTA 2015). This contradictory environment confuses stakeholders in the Japanese halal tourism market, and some of them demand unification of the standards through governmental leadership. Japanese governmental institutions, however, clearly decline involvement in these activities because of the principle of the separation of politics and religion.

These discussions in the Japanese tourism industry gradually reveal recognition of the concept of halal from the standpoint of Japanese society. Ryoichi Namikawa, a Japanese scholar who specializes in food and the halal certification system, points to the gap between the explicit guidelines and their implementation (Namikawa 2012, 2015). He illustrates the ambiguity of the halal certification system from the aspect of the food labelling system and explains that it is based on religious as well as 'scientific' values, and that religious values often carry tacit and unwritten rules that are shared among Muslims and are difficult for non-Muslims to understand (Namikawa 2015).

These examples illustrate the importance of the tacit and implicit aspects of the halal knowledge that is embedded in the social culture and values of each community. In the discussion of the halal concept in Japan, the stakeholders have recognized that halal is not a concept where the components of each product and service obey an explicit halal standard; rather, it is part of a core Muslim value based on the social beliefs and ethics that are learned through tacit knowledge. The discussion implies the importance of individual and social practices related to halal rather than guidelines based on doctrine.

Some Japanese scholars who specialize in Islamic philosophy point to this perspective. Kumiko Yagi states that the halal concept in Islamic law and writings is more

focused on social practice than product components (Yagi 2015: 73-125). By quoting Alfred Schütz's Phenomenology of the Social World, she clarifies that the halal concept of the previous era was a natural practice of their daily life based on the habitual, automatic, and semiconscious (Schütz 1967; Yagi 2015: 115). On the contrary, contemporary Muslim society is based more on daily negotiations in their consumption (Yagi 2015: 115). Therefore, Yasushi Kosugi explains the change in Muslim attitudes by saying that halal is not based on products but on individual practices for Muslims, a lifestyle that he calls 'Muslim life philosophy' (Kosugi 2015).

Although the tacit aspects of halal create 'ambiguity' for non-Muslims in the explicit guidelines, they promote innovation and new shared halal knowledge and practices among people. Through the interactions between Muslim tourists and Japanese society, a new halal concept is emerging by introducing halal practices not dependent on halal certification system. Lemon Shiori, a Japanese Muslim and the owner of JHA who introduced halal tourism in Japan, attempts to incorporate the halal concept with Japanese social values by promoting "Walal" (Japanese halal branding) in the international context (Kawabata 2014; JHA 2015). Moreover, other private halal consultants and Japanese tourism industry begin to create communication channels with Muslim stakeholders to find a halal practices that are suitable for the sustainable development of the Japanese tourism market.

The development of halal tourism in Japan, therefore, shows that the concept of halal is constructed through practices in both the Islamic context and that of Japanese tourism. The interactions between Muslim tourists and Japanese society accumulate shared halal values through the interchange of tacit knowledge in their practices in tourist activities. As Yuji Tawada insists in his article, the development of tourism forces interactions between Islamic values and other values, which redefines Muslim norms (Tawada 2014: 162).

Conclusion

This paper explored a discussion of the concept of halal by focusing on the development of an entrepreneurial environment for the halal tourism market in the case of Japan.

There are two findings in the research. Standards for halal tourism in the Japanese tourism industry are developed by private halal consultants engaged in the halal certification business. These entrepreneurs introduce explicit halal standards based on a halal certification system in Southeast Asian countries. These guidelines, however, reveal contradictions and challenges in the Japanese tourism industry by creating gaps in the halal consciousness between marketing analyses and Muslim tourists in Japan. Throughout the process, stakeholders began to construct a concept of halal based on both Islamic and Japanese social values through constructive criticism and negotiations.

As for a discussion of the halal standards utilized stakeholders, the Japanese tourism industry began to recognize the importance of the tacit aspects of halal knowledge and practices shared through individual Muslims and social practices, rather than through explicit guidelines. Stakeholders are eager to promote grounds for continuous negotiations and interactions between Muslim tourists and Japanese society in order to modify the concept, and create halal practices based on Muslim and Japanese social contexts.

In conclusion, the discussion on the concept of halal in the Japanese tourism industry reveals that halal is based on the process of continuous interactions among stakeholders to learn the tacit aspects of halal knowledge and practices. Halal tourism in Japan provides evidence of a new shared concept of halal in a globalized world.

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Mobility, Risk, Impact and Tourism

Escape Mobility: Young Men's Long – term Travel as 'Escape from Hell – Joseon' in South Korea

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This research connects Korean young men's long-term travel with the “Hell-Joseon” discourse popular in Korea nowadays, and explores the so called ‘escape from Hell-Joseon’ phenomenon with the concept of mobility. A participant observation in India found that Korean long-term travelers are characteristic as the followings: 1) Long-term travel is popular among the youth who complains about the social structure and culture of Korea, and their travel reflects the “Hell-Joseon” discourse. So we can call this travel as escape from Hell-Joseon. 2) The travel routes of are differentiated according to the class. This research mainly deals with the circulation route of doing physical labor in developed countries and relaxing in developing countries popular among the lower middle class. 3) Most of the travelers often stay in India for a long time, and their main purpose is detoxification from Hell-Joseon through relaxation, healing, and searching for the self. 4) After they finish the long-term travel, the meaning of 'home' is changed, and their mobility is increased. That phenomenon seems to be entangled with the increasing global mobility, the blurring trend between tourism and migration, and the structural problem which excludes young men from entering the labor market and the society in Korea. To figure out this Korean phenomenon more clearly, a new concept of escape mobility, stressing the character of escape is needed. Researching about the backgrounds, aspects, and results of escape from Hell-Joseon will be a reflective study about Korean society, and help to theorize the new mobilities emerging in Asia now.

Keywords: *escape mobility, Hell-Joseon, lifestyle mobility, lifestyle migration, lifestyle travelers*

Introduction

This research connects Korean young men's long-term travel with the “Hell-Joseon”³⁰(헬조선) discourse popular in Korea nowadays, and explores the so called “escape from Hell-Joseon(탈조선)” phenomenon with the concept of mobility.

Why are the long-term travels of Korean young men new and worth to study? The following conversation with one of the travelers shows the point well.

I: Why are you traveling for such a long time?

Hyunjung (28 years old in 2011): Because I hate to go home. There are many youngsters like me. Most youngsters I met in the South-Eastern Asia were like this. There are

³⁰ Joseon(조선) is the last dynasty of Korea which had a strong caste system.

many who didn't go home for 3, 4 years. Mostly they go to Australia to make big money, and travel around South-Eastern Asia because they don't want to go home. After 3 months of working holiday in New Zealand, I'm thinking about going to Germany and France where working holiday became possible this year.

I met Hyunjung in 2011. Since around that time, I have heard similar stories as Hyunjung said here and there. They earn money as working holiday maker, and then stay long mostly in India and Thailand. They wander abroad, but it's not because they like traveling itself, but they hate living in Korea. They thought the structural problems of Korean society prevents them from living good life, and they had to choose long-term travel.

Of course, in 1990s, there were also many young travelers in South-Eastern Asia and India, but they were not so poor like the youngsters nowadays. The travelers in 1990s were usually university students, and when they work as private tutors, which were the most popular part time jobs of university students at that time, they could earn the registration fee for their university and travel money only within some months. And after graduation, they could get good jobs soon. There were also long-term travelers at that time, but the reasons were personal, not structural, for example, they pursue mystic world or love adventure.

So, the older generation think the long-term travels of the youth nowadays are not "real travels" comparing to their travels, and get angry or sigh for grief. They would have questions like this: What is the reason that the youngsters are increasing who are wandering out of Korea aimlessly? Who are they, and where do they go? Why do they stay long in India and Asian developing countries instead of Western developed countries? After the travel finishes, how are their lives changed?

These are the main research questions of this paper, and I am going to answer representing the youngsters' position.

Literature Review

To explore long-stay tourism, the studies of migration and tourism are the starting point, but not enough to deal with the phenomenon of escape from Hell-Joseon. The first problem is that the concept of migration and tourism are problematic to deal with the long-term travel between migration and tourism. And the second problem is that the researches about migration has dealt mainly labor migrations to developed countries for economic reasons. How can we explain the opposite human flows from developed countries?

There are 3 new concepts for this kind of new hybrid phenomenon between tourism and migration. Lifestyle migration deals with the movement part time or full time, permanently or temporarily, to the countries with affordable prices, for the quality of life (O'Reilly and Benson 2009). This explains the human flows from developed countries to developing countries, but the concept of migration doesn't fit to these highly mobile people. The concept of lifestyle traveler is about the people to whom traveling became the norms and ways of lives. Unlike tourists and travelers who go back to normal lives after trips, lifestyle traveler don't need to go back home (Cohen 2010; 2011). And they can show lifestyle mobility. This came from the mobility paradigm (Sheller and Urry 2006; Urry 2007) which suggests to focus on the mobility itself, not migration or tourism. This highlights mobilities as lifestyle choice. They don't have one home to go back. This concept is about continuous movement, and the increased mobility might make multiple places to belong to, and show transnationality. (Cohen et al. 2013)

This research analyzes Korean young men's long-term travel as escape from Hell-Joseon using those concepts firstly, and suggests the possibility of theoretical supplementation.

Methodology

The main research of this paper was practiced in Rishikesh, India. India is one of the most popular countries for long-term travelers all over the world, and Rishikesh is one of the most popular destinations in India. Rishikesh is so called the world capital of yoga, and full of yoga classes and complimentary alternative medicine and New Age programs. Long-term travelers stay and experience various programs here, and share their personal experiences and ideas about them. That makes the atmosphere very much community-like. So I could do participant observation while participating in the classes and programs, staying the ashrams, and chatting in restaurants and guesthouses together.

I did the research for totally 4 months in 2010 and 2011. The research includes official interviews with 50 people from 17 countries, and 11 of them were Koreans. After this main research for the master's degree, I did follow-up researches for 2 times, and they were totally 2 months. Besides, I also watched my informants' lives and communicated with them closely in Facebook.

Considering the socio-economic positions of the 11 Koreans and their parents, most could be categorized to lower-middle class. Few people had had stable jobs, and especially the people in their 20s had had only part time jobs to earn 700,000-1,300,000 KRW (605-1123USD) per month.

Phenomenon and Findings

The participant observation in India found that the Korean long-term travelers are characteristic as the 4 following points.

1. *Long-term Travel as Escape from 'Hell-Joseon'*

The first characteristic of the travelers is that long-term travel is popular among the youth who have complaints about the social structure and culture of Korea, and their travel reflects the "Hell-Joseon" discourse clearly. When I asked them "Why do you leave Korea to travel?", the answers were similar and could be summarized like this: 'Life in Korea is hopeless, and I was so tired of the inhuman life, so chose to escape.'

Then what are their complaints? The first common complaint is about the Korean culture that judge people by material success. When Youngsu (29 years old, in 2011) got the question like "Why did you come to Rishikesh?" by international friends, his answer was always "To escape from Korea". He also said,

I wanted to go abroad. I felt cramped in Korea. I got too much stress, because I didn't have anything to boast. My friend told me that women don't like me because I don't have anything. That was true. I didn't have a job, money, didn't study much, no success... Why did I want to go abroad? Because staying in Korea was too hard. I didn't know what to do, and working in a gym made me cramped...

He thought that in Korea, people are evaluated not by real experience and ability, but speculations like certificate, occupation, and educational background. He graduated only high school and felt ashamed about that. But he stressed that he has various experiences, is good at all kinds of works, and is attractive, but he never had a regular job. He explained this gap with social irregularities of Korea. According to him, he couldn't get a job in wine industry because of "the strange age cut-off", and he gave up to become an actor because it's necessary to bribe the connected people. To him, Korea was so unfair, unreasonable and

hopeless place. He tries to acquire yoga teacher certificate to get out of hopeless Korea and to make a living as a yoga teacher abroad.

The second common complaint is about the reality hard to get a job in Korea. After graduating a 2 year college, Seoungun (26 years old in 2011) tried to get a regular job for some years but finally gave up. She said she had been irritated and dissatisfied all the time until coming to India. She blamed the “adults” who made her to give up to major in what she really wanted and pushed her study something else which sells in job market well. She followed them, but she became a jobless finally. She made her living doing part time jobs like discount store cashier, but it was boring. She was living in her parents’ house together, and felt pressed to do something new from her mother. Getting depressed from unemployment and the pressure from family members is a very common story especially among young Koreans.

The third common complaint is the labor culture which overstrains people. Inhye (29 years old in 2011) worked as a computer programmer in Korea, which has the longest working hours in OECD countries. She always worked overtime at night from Monday to Thursday and often stayed up all night. Her health became worse, and she quit the job in 1 year and 8 months. But everyone else seemed doing something hard, and she felt anxious feeling that she’s the only one to fall behind. So she started working in another company. The work in this company was even harder, but she overcame that because other people seemed doing well. While she was feeling that she can’t endure that kind of life after becoming a manager, her friend said to go to Australia. She just decided to follow the friend, and flew to Philippines at first. And she has traveled South-Eastern Asian countries and India for a long time. She has always worried that she is judged by someone and became sick and tired of it. She said, “I’ll never go back to a company. I don’t want to live fiercely any more. Even though I earn little money, I want to have more time with myself, and develop what is interesting to me.”

The fourth common complaint is irrational organizational culture. Dalhee (42 years old in 2011) worked as an interior designer. She had continuously overworked and suffered a lot of sicknesses, and finally quit the company. She said about the tiring organizational culture of the company like this;

To stay in the workplace more than 14 hours a day, I had to eat 3 times a day with my colleagues. I had to eat, play, chat, sometimes sleep with them. I had to do so many things together, and because I have too different way of life, the excluded me. That made me hate even working together.

Many Korean young men has similar experience like this, and were brassed off the culture oppressing individuality and diversity.

Those 4 complaints made youngsters decide to get out of Korea, and their stories resonate with the “Hell-Joseon” discourse popular nowadays. Hell-Joseon is a hot newly-coined word in 2015. Joseon was the last kingdom in Korea, and Hell-Joseon means that Korea now is like the hell-like pre-modern caste society. This word has a sharp criticism about increasing inequality and class differentiation in Korea, and another new word “Escape from Hell-Joseon (탈조선)” shows youngsters’ hope to get out of this hell.

Actually, escape from Hell-Joseon phenomenon is not only a discourse, but a statistically proven fact. Korea has the highest rate of committing suicide, which is the worst way to escape from the society. And Korea has the highest rate of nationality renunciation after migration among OECD countries (Herald Economy, April 28, 2014). More shocking fact

is that more people want emigration from Korea. According to Newsis' online survey in a job portal site Saramin, 78.6% of the 1,655 respondents answered that "If possible, I want emigration". And 47.9% of the respondents answered that they are preparing for emigration (Newsis, Jan 18, 2016).

In Hell-Joseon on-line site, what the young men really think about Hell-Joseon are written by themselves. The titles of the postings in the bulletin board show how they satirize and criticize the Korean society: "The reason why I hate Hell-Joseon", "The reason why the question 'Have you tried to the end?' is disgusting", "Hell-Joseon where survival itself became the goal", "The reason why golden spoons³¹ preach that shit spoons are lazy", "The end of who was loyal to Hell-Joseon", "To Koreans, his/her father's occupation=the person's level". Those titles show that the reasons why young men call Korea as Hell-Joseon. That's because of the hard reality to survive, structural inequality and corruption.

Young men also share the ways to escape from Hell-Joseon, like learning welding, plumbing, computer programming and immigrating to USA, Canada and Australia in the bulletin board. However, immigrating to USA, Canada and Australia can't be the only way to escape from Hell-Joseon. To immigrate to the developed countries, high English scores, certificates, enough bank balance, good career, and etc.. So many young men choose long-term travel which includes working holiday in Australia and long stay in India and South-Eastern Asia.

So, I argue that this kind of long-term travels can be called as 'Escape from 'Hell-Joseon' travel. To understand this phenomenon generally, we should study not only the successful migration cases, but various moving routes and all the processes, and figure out the aspects of the new mobility.

2. The dualised route of escape from Hell-Joseon

『Because I hate Korea(한국이 싫어서)』, a very famous novel published in 2015 by the novelist Gang-myeong Jang, shows that escape from Hell-Joseon is a dream winning sympathy by most average young men in Korea.

Why did I leave Korea. To sum up in 4 words, 'because I hate Korea'. In 5 words, 'because I can't live here.' Please do not curse me blindly. Might I hate even a country where I was born? (p.10)... Now I'm going to Australia not because I hate Korea, but for me to be happy. I don't know how to be happy yet, but I learned intuitively that I could be happier easily in Australia. (p.161)... I was asked why I don't love my native country, but my native country neither loved me. In fact, it was indifferent to me. They say the country fed, dressed and saved me, but I also did all the duties keeping the law, getting education, paying taxes. (p.170)

This novel is a story with a form of conversation. In this novel, a woman in her 20s quit the company taking a pessimistic view on her future and immigrate to Australia, and tells us why she did that. This story is a very realistic and average practice of escape from Hell-Joseon portrayed by novelist who was a society reporter covering similar cases elaborately.

As the story of an ordinary young Korean, escape from Hell-Joseon is a wide-spread desire to young people in Korea. An interviewee said that "when I have a chat with friends nowadays, more than half talk about the dream of escape from Hell-Joseon."

However, this dream realizes according to each person's socio-economic class and available resources. The dual structure is like this: youngsters from upper-mid class often take a route from an exchange student or undergraduate student, to graduate student and finally

³¹ 'spoon hierarchial discourse' became popular since 2015. This discourse divides people into golden, silver, copper and soil or shit spoons according to their socio-economic class.

immigration easily. But those from lower-mid class labour in Korea or Western developed countries and then travel to Asian developing countries, and repeat the pattern. This research mainly deals with the latter—a circulation of doing physical labor in developed countries and relaxing in developing countries popular among the young men of lower middle class.

Hyunjung's story of escape from Hell-Joseon shows the latter route quite well: She studied movie at university, but after graduation she couldn't get a job, so she decided to travel India. And then she went to Australia as working holiday maker, and worked for 1 year. Then traveled South-Eastern Asia for a long time. Then went to Australia as working holiday maker, and worked for 1 year again. Then traveled South-Eastern Asia again, and India again. After the visa got expired, she stayed in Nepal for 2 months, and then came to India again, and started yoga teacher's training course and met me. She plans to go to New Zealand after practicing yoga for a while. Like this, she is wandering around out of Korea for 6 years.

Young people like Hyunjung didn't study at good university, didn't have any certificate or good social network. It's firstly because their parents didn't have enough money for them to get private tutors or develop potential talents. So they couldn't get good jobs, and had to work hard. If they make some money in Korea or Australia, they want to relax and heal the illnesses got from overwork and stress, and find themselves. One of the best place to do those in the world is known as India.

3. *Detoxification of Hell-Joseon in India*

Most of the travelers often stay in India for a long time, and their main purpose can be said a 'detoxification of Hell-Joseon' through relaxation, healing, and searching for the self.

In Dalhee's life history, overwork, psychosomatic illnesses, and the feeling of losing herself is entangled with the desire of escaping Hell-Joseon. Kwanwook (26 years old in 2011), a successful student of a top class university found that he had stomach ulcer, anemia, and high blood pressure because of overwork and stress, and this illness narrative was connected why he came to India.

I wanted to keep distance from Korean culture. A kind of social self was too strong for me to listen to the inner voice. So, I thought, if I get out of here, I might feel that directly. My inner voice was urgently needed.

This desire of finding his true self was closely connected with his yoga practice and getting rest in India. Many youngsters have similar reasons to come and try to detoxify Hell-Joseon in India.

Then why is India a suitable place for that? The most important thing is the affordable price in India. If one spend only 300-500 USD a month, one can stay in a clean room, and take good yoga lessons every day, have good meals and relaxed life with Himalayas and Gages river.

Like this, the main reason to move to developing countries and staying long might be to search a better quality of life. In this point, they can be categorized into lifestyle migrants, but the definition of the concept (O'Reilly and Benson 2009) is not quite fit to the young Korean travelers in 2 points. Firstly, the definition of lifestyle migrants are the people who are relatively affluent, but it's mostly Western cases. Korean travelers are not so wealthy like Westerners who have retired or has his/her own business or pension. Secondly, Korean travelers are too mobile to be labeled as migrants. Korpela (2009) called Werstern travelers in Varanasi, India as lifestyle migrants, but actually most of them are staying in India with 3 or 6 month tourist visa, and often visit other countries to renew visa. They also often go back to the native countries to earn money or use medical services. This kind high mobility is not easy to have

the label of migration. That's why I analyze their traveling route, and focus about their mobility more.

4. *The life after the long-term travel as escape from Hell-Joseon*

After traveling many places for a long time, what happens to their feeling about home and way of life? In the starting point of this paper, Hyunjung said "I hate to go home", and added that now she feels home uncomfortable. Dalhee's case is similar. She sometimes entered into the equipment room during yoga practice, and told me the reason like this: If I go home, there's nothing to do. I don't want to go back home. If I stay in Korea, I have to worry about what to do tomorrow, and even what I have done, and what to do in the future.

To the traveler, the home of native family, and the home country becomes more and more uncomfortable, and the practical place to make money, extend visas, and to get medical benefit. This makes them to keep high mobility.

Then what are the aspects of their mobility? The first pattern is to connect the increased mobility with job career, surrounding special activity like yoga. Dalhee come in and out of Korea and India for years to practice yoga, and decided to become a yoga teacher. When I met her, it was her 3rd time to India. She was learning various types of yoga in various places, for some months in each place. And since July 2012, she started teacher's training course staying in Bangkok. She came back to Korea in 2015, and participate in yoga workshops in Thailand and India often. Like her, yoga practitioners often move to enjoy better climate, better yoga classes and special yoga workshops.

This kind of continuous, dynamic, multiple movements shows their lifestyle mobility. This concept does not premise returning to native home like the concept of tourism. Lifestyle mobility can show transnationality showing multiple places to belong (Cohen, Duncan, and Thulemark 2013).

Yoga practitioners' lifestyle mobility can work as mobility capital (Bell 2013: 24) to make them better yoga teachers. Bell categorized music players wandering around as lifestyle travelers, and analyzed them that they have mobility capital instead of economic capital, and they anchor not a geographical place but their career. And their mobility is necessary to succeed, and this is same to yoga teachers. Learning ceaselessly yoga in India and from best teachers can symbolizes the yoga teacher's authenticity, legitimacy, and deep knowledge.

The second pattern is that even though they live mainly in Korea, they try to keep their mindset out of Korea. Jiyeon shows the first and second pattern together. She stayed in India several times, and became a yoga teacher. She goes to Asian countries for yoga workshops and sightseeing a few times every year, and stays in India for 1 to 2 months to practice yoga intensively with top class teachers. She says about her lifestyle as "controlling the living circle not to make unwanted mental stress and relationship as much as possible", and this is "to keep a life not influenced by this Hell-Joseon". She still has all the complaints as other travelers said, but she "changed the lifestyle, and drove a stake into the ground for my life circle not to be hell-Joseon", and she "feels to keep distance from hell-Joseon".

Discussion and Conclusion

This phenomenon of escape from Hell-Joseon is entangled with global conditions and Korean conditions altogether. Macroscopically, the increasing global mobility, the blurring trend between tourism and migration, and microscopically, the stuffy family culture, the structural problem which excludes young men from entering the labor market and the whole society in Korea might be the background of this phenomenon. In this context, the individual,

social changes after their long-term travel might be a very anthropologically interesting phenomenon. To theorize those changes, the next points are worthy of notice.

The first point is that if the travelers could keep the high mobility even getting old. In Western countries, there are old people in their 60s and 70s with high mobility due to the good social welfare system. However in Korea, when the travelers even with 'free spirit's get old, they should pay medical fees for their old parents, and also have to prepare their own future because of the weak social welfare system. But the young travelers nowadays don't have enough career background to earn money. How could this reality change their career life and family life? And how this reality can change the society?

The second point is that whether we connect the long-term travel to escape from Hell-Joseon with lifestyle which is a concept based on consumption. I have tried to describe the phenomenon leaning on the most useful concepts, lifestyle migrants, lifestyle travelers, and lifestyle mobility until now. However, the key point of their mobility is to escape from their home country and culture, rather than lifestyle. So I argue that a new concept stressing the character of escape-'escape mobility' is needed to figure out this Korean phenomenon more clearly.

Focusing on those points, researching about the backgrounds, aspects, and results of escape from Hell-Joseon will be a reflective study about Korean society, and help to theorize the new mobilities emerging in Asia now.

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Effects of Shopping Attributes and Perceived Risks on Tourists' Shopping Satisfaction: A Case Study on Chinese Mainland Tourists' Souvenir Shopping Experience in Chiang Rai

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Shopping is one of the major travel activities which is conducted by tourists at destinations, and souvenirs are one of the dominant products that tourists purchase for themselves or relatives and friends. Shopping attributes (for example products, price or environment) and perceived risks (for example loss of money, lack of shopping time or quality of products) are significantly influencing tourists' satisfaction about shopping experience. The aim of this study is to evaluate attributes and perceived risks that influence Chinese mainland tourists' satisfaction when they are shopping at souvenir shops in Chiang Rai.

The data collection was conducted by means of 400 questionnaires which were distributed at souvenir stores at night bazaar in Chiang Rai, where Chinese mainland tourists are visiting. Descriptive and inferential statistical analysis were used in this study which included T-test, ANOVA. The results show that price, service quality such as communication skills, and competitive price and product value are the attributes which significantly influence Chinese mainland tourists' shopping experience in souvenir shops in Chiang Rai. Meanwhile, among the perceived risks, the satisfaction risk such as product quality, service and interaction was found to be the dominant perceived risk when tourists conduct their shopping in Chiang Rai.

Keywords: *customer satisfaction, souvenir, shopping attribute, perceived risk, Chinese shopper*

Introduction

As one of the countries with the biggest number of outbound tourists, China is persistently producing tourists and the trend is continuously increasing. According to the world Tourism Organization (WTO), the annual number of outbound Chinese tourists will be likely to reach 100 million in 2020 and become the fourth largest source of outbound tourists in the world (WTO, 2003). The potential market of Chinese outbound tourism is too large to ignore. Travel is becoming a part of personal lifestyle for numerous Chinese citizens. In this study, Chinese mainland tourists are the mainstream tourists to be selected, who are only from mainland China excluding areas of Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan.

Thailand is one of the most prominent travel destinations in southeast Asia. Additionally, as one of the most famous Chinese movies - Lost in Thailand was shot in Bangkok and Chiang Mai, a huge amount of Chinese tourists have been continuously attracted to Thailand since 2010. The number of Chinese tourists to Thailand was starting from 3 million in 2012 to 8 million in 2015, Chinese tourists has therefore, become one of the most prominent market segmentation for Thai tourism (Tourism in Thailand, 2016). On one hand, as Chinese

tourists become the mainstream of tourists pouring into the country, they are also trying to find out new destinations. Thus, Chiang Rai is becoming another new leisure destination for Chinese tourists in northern Thailand. On the other hand, simplified visa application process and infrastructure improvement in northern Thailand are also reasons for Chinese tourists getting to Chiang Rai.

Among the majority of tourism activities, shopping was found to be one of the major travel activities interesting for Chinese outbound tourists (Li et al. 2011). Shopping is one of the most common activities when tourists travel in a destination (Cohen, 1995; Mak, Tsang, & Cheung, 1999). Chinese tourists would enjoy the feeling of getting the most value for their money. The Chinese typically spend a large amount of money on shopping in tourist destinations. In fact, over half of Chinese tourists state shopping expenses make up the majority of their expenses in travel. This is partially due to the gift giving culture in China. When Chinese tourists go out of the country, they usually purchase gifts for their entire extended family and friends. It is seen as a status symbol to wear name brands from abroad and to give them as gifts (Guo, Kim, & Timothy, 2007). The way Chinese tourists behave in shopping activities depends on the shopping attributes, which influence Chinese tourists' satisfaction. Meanwhile, perceived risks also affect customers' level of satisfaction during the shopping experience.

Chiang Rai is a new destination for Chinese mainland tourists. As mentioned before, shopping is one of dominant activities for Chinese mainland tourists, especially, souvenir is one of the critical shopping items to purchase for tourists. The effect of shopping attributes and perceived risks on Chinese mainland shopping tourists' satisfaction at souvenir shops in Chiang Rai will be conducted in this study. Many authors have done the research related to this topic, James & Rob (2002) studied difference in shopping satisfaction levels: a study of tourists in Hong Kong, which was using 4 dimensions of attributes to compare satisfaction level on Chinese tourists and other nationalities shopping activities in Hong Kong. Tahir, Meltem & Nesli (2016) studied tourist shopping: the relationships among shopping attributes, shopping value and behavior intention. But limited number of authors mentioned souvenir shopping on satisfaction in Thailand, especially shopping attributes and perceived risk affect Chinese mainland tourists shopping satisfaction in night bazaar in Chiang Rai. Shopping is the major activity for tourists when they travel, and especially souvenir products, which can be purchased as gifts for tourists themselves or friends and relatives are among their shopping motivations (Xu & Nancy, 2011). Through the investigation of Chinese tourists' souvenir purchasing in Chiang Rai, the author wants to find out the effects of shopping attributes and perceived risks on Chinese tourists shopping satisfaction at souvenir shops in Chiang Rai. The purpose of this study is 1.) to study the demographic characteristics of Chinese tourists in souvenir shop in Chiang Rai; 2.) to evaluate shopping attributes affecting Chinese mainland tourists' satisfaction at souvenir shops in Chiang Rai ; 3.) to investigate perceived risks influencing their shopping at souvenir shops in Chiang Rai.

Literature review

NIOS (2013) classified tourism into different categories according to their different purposes: leisure, special interests, business and education. Shopping, which is one of the activity under leisure purpose, is becoming popular and hot debate tourism style recently. Timothy (2005) identified Shopping tourism is one of primarily motivators that travelers get away from their home for shopping. It contains the variety of products, price differentiation, personal value and destination image. Shopping and Tourism are bundled together. One major

travel activity consumers have to do is shopping (Cohen, 1995; Mak, Tsang, & Cheung, 1999). Kent, Shock, and Snow (1983) proposed shopping lead tourists to spend more. The same was presented by Heung and Qu (1998) that shopping was not related to accommodation, food and transportation. In the process of tourism shopping, tourists buy things they could not easily find or too expensive in their hometown (Dimanche, 2003). Souvenirs is a kind of the tourist expenditure. The meaning of the souvenir is "to remember" (Gordon, 1986). Souvenirs perform as the bridge that connect places and unforgettable memories (Morgan & Pritchard, 2005 and Ramsay, 2009).authors classified different views of souvenir. In the early stage, Gordon (1986) indicated 5 different types of souvenir: "pictorial image" (postcard of the destination image); "piece of the rock" (seashell, rocks); "symbolic shorthand"(miniature of white temple, great wall); "markers"(T-shirt); "local product"(clothing, handicraft). Meanwhile, Littrell et al. (1994) identified four categories of souvenir base on previous author findings: "ethnic, arts & people" (jewelry, local food, books); "history & park"(post card, books of destination history, food); "Urban entertainment"(miniature of Eiffel Tower); "active outdoor"(outdoor enthusiasts). Handicraft is an important subcategory in Local products. According to the definition of handicrafts, handicraft is represented the local community travel experience where tourists has been visited (Gordon, 1986). Kim & Littrell (1995) revealed that the main souvenirs purchased by tourists were local handicrafts and clothing when tourists shopping in USA. In this study, handicraft is one of the critical souvenirs purchased by Chinese mainland tourists during the shopping trip in Chiang Rai such as woodcarvings, pottery, handmade bag, necklace, and so on.

Customer satisfaction is assessing customer perception and expectation. Thaothampitak & Weerakit (2007) identified that customer satisfaction is the overall experience including processes and outcomes after shopping. Pizam et al. (1978) listed out the attributes which significantly influence customer satisfaction in overall destination. Following by Pizam & Ellis (1999) revealed that conduct overall satisfaction containing shoppers' involvement on single elements or attributes product and services purchase. Thus, customer satisfaction significantly relates to attributes. Turner & Reisinger (2001) and Timothy (2005) claimed that products attributes, quality of the shop environment, product price crucially determinant satisfaction level when they use souvenir purchase as the variable to measure satisfaction level during tourist shopping.

Shopping attributes consist of various factors that are important at the pre-shopping, Shopping, and post-shopping phases. Sales staff service quality and attitude directly affect customer satisfaction during the shopping phase. Quality of product directly affect whether a customer will repeat his/her shopping after post-shopping phase (Choi et al. 2007). At the early stage, authors identified the shopping attributes from different point of views and measure the attributes influencing tourist perception. Keown (1989) indicated that shopping attributes to be "wide selection of merchandise", "Faster and efficient service", and "good value of money". Mak et al. (1999) revealed that shopping attributes are "variety of goods", "valuable price", "product quality", "service quality", "reputation of the store". Meanwhile, Heung & Cheng (2000) found that Shopping attributes were classified to 4 groups - "tangibles quality" (e.g. Operation time, cleanliness), "staff service quality" (e.g. Staff attitude and language skill), "product value"(value of the product), and "products reliability". Attributes is a high level of standard which influence tourists satisfaction during the shopping trip (Turner & Reisinger, 2001). The key factors critically influence Chinese tourists shopping satisfaction in US are the variety of products, unique products, different price from their hometown, quality of shopping trip, time management, purchasing gifts for their friends and relatives. Meanwhile, interacting with sales

person and good shopping environment will reinforce the shopping trip for Chinese tourists. (Xu & Nancy, 2011). Chinese tourists focus more on price, variety of products, service quality and quality of products shopping. (Hsieh & Chang, 2004; Choi et al. 2007; Xu & Nancy, 2011). The attributes covered tangible and intangible, Hueng & Cheng (2000) scale fit to this study.

Perceived risk is one of the major factors influencing consumer purchasing decision making (Dholakia, 2001). Risk is the uncertain consequence consumers could not anticipate in activities (Bauer, 1960). Grewal et al. (1994) referred to perceived risk as significantly affect consumer purchase-intention. Taylor (1974) found that Consumer are unwilling to purchase on taking higher risk than free-risk. High shopping perception risk is associated with less shopping satisfaction (Atila & Fisun, 2006). Roehl & Fesenmaier (1992) classified 4 types of perceived risk according to consumer behavior which are: "Financial risk", "Psychological risk", "Satisfaction risk", "Time risk". Following by Sonment & Graefe (1998) identified 4 types of perceived risk from tourists vacation expense perspective base on previous research, which are: "Psychological risk", "Social risk", "Time risk", "Health risk". After, Money & Crotts (2003) indicated 5 types of perceived risk towards on consumer purchase decision, which are: "Monetary risk", "Functional risk", "Physical risk", "Social risk", "Psychological risk". Generally speaking, perceived risks classified to 7 types which are: "Financial risk" (e.g. Losing wallet, payment limit), "Functional risk (e.g. No suitable product)", "physical risk" (e.g. Illness, injury), "Social risk (e.g. Unfashionable)", "psychological risk(e.g. Self-esteem)", time risk (e.g. Time lose), "Satisfaction risk (e.g. Staff attitude)". Choi et al. (2007) revealed that Chinese Mainland tourists have to take communication barrier risk when they shop in Hong Kong; same as Hsieh & Chang (2004) mentioned that Chinese tourists worried about the sake of maintaining service quality, steal and some security issue when they shop in the night market. Language barrier, lack of Chinese sign, lack of communication with shop staff, not enough time for shopping, limited payment method conducted to be the risks when they shop in USA, and finally directly influence their shopping satisfaction (Xu & Nancy, 2011). Thus, Roehl & Fesenmaier (1992) research much more fit to this study context.

Tourist shopping behavior can be divided into 3 sectors: tourist, shopping and behavior. Ward & Robertson (1973) defined tourist shopping behavior is the steps of the tourist purchasing a product or service. Tourists behave differently when they purchase in other countries compared when they purchase in their own country (Wong & Wan, 2013). Tourists would like to buy souvenirs when they go to the destination for the first time, repeat tourists would like to enjoy and relax in the destination (Rosenbaum & Spears, 2005). Thus, it is difficult to target tourists shopping due to they have different shopping behaviors. Choi et al. (2007) found that Chinese tourists spend more money, prefer brand products, would like to go to convenience location shopping center or mall, strong rely on friends and families suggestion, large merchandise options, and care about value of money when they are shopping in Hong Kong. Xu & Nancy (2011) indicated that Chinese tourists are care about large products, price values, unique of products, lack of shopping time, they would like to spend more money if the product is valuable when they conducted their shopping trip in USA. Thus, shopping attributes and perceived risks are significantly influenced Chinese mainland tourists shopping experience.

Methodology

Quantitative approach was used in this study, the advantages of quantitative method, for example, questionnaire could collect large sample size in a short time with less cost (Alan & Emma, 2015). At the same time, the data can be easily analyzed by computerized data

analysis system, also save time and make sure the result reliable. Data collection was separated by two sections, primary data and secondary data. The main secondary data were collected from world tourism organizations and other publications. Use questionnaire as the primary data for this study to understand Chinese mainland tourists shopping characteristic, shopping attributes and perceived risks affect Chinese mainland tourists shopping satisfaction at souvenir shops in Chiang Rai.

The research only target the tourists who has visit souvenir shops at night bazaar in Chiang Rai. In an attempt to explore the shopping attributes and perceived risks influence tourists shopping satisfaction in Chiang Rai. 400 questionnaires survey were conducted from 15 July to 15 August 2016. Quantitative method will be processing in souvenir shops in night bazaar in Chiang Rai. According to the shopping ranking list on Trip adviser, night bazaar is the popular places for tourists shopping souvenirs in Chiang Rai. Thus, souvenir shops at night bazaar in Chiang Rai will be chose to collect data.

The questionnaire contains 3 sections. A). The first section will collect the basic information of Chinese mainland tourists shopping at night bazaar in Chiang Rai. B). The second section will measure the attributes influencing tourists shopping satisfaction at souvenir shops at night bazaar in Chiang Rai. C). The third section will measure the perceived risks affecting tourists shopping satisfaction at souvenir shops at night bazaar in Chiang Rai.

The data from questionnaire was conducted in a Micro Excel file to manage, after input all data into the Micro Excel file, use SPSS statistical analysis system to evaluate data. The results of this research will separate into two sections. First section will show the description of respondents demographic data. Second section will provide the differences between male and female by T-test, and differences among ages by ANOVA on shopping attributes and perceived risks.

Findings

The questionnaire survey was conducted from 400 Chinese mainland tourists. Firstly, table1 showed the results of research question number 1, what is the shopping characteristic of Chinese mainland tourists: 225 females respondents (56%) and 175 males respondents (44%). There are 6 age groups in this survey: 86 respondents below 20 years (21.4%), 145 respondents from 21 to 30 years (36.1%), 75 respondents from 31 to 40 years (18.7%), 47 respondents from 41 to 50 years (11.7%), 41 respondents from 51 to 60 years (10.2%), 6 respondents over 60 years (1.5%). 2 marital status groups: 141 respondents married (35.1%) and 259 respondents are single (64.4%). According to data analyzing description, there are 9 occupation categories from all respondents: 2 professionals (0.5%), 52 administrative & Managerial Personnel (12.9%), 61 sales (15.2%), 6 production and service workers (1.5%), 5 agricultural workers (1.2%), 4 governors (1%), 50 housewives (12.4%), 175 students (43.5%), 45 retired respondents (11.2%). The education level of respondents separated into 4 sections, 7 respondents are below secondary level (1.7%), 27 respondents are secondary level (6.7%), 124 respondents are diploma level (30.8%), 242 respondents are degree or above level (60.2%). The income level of respondents showed that 180 respondents (44.8%) income are below THB10,000, 27 respondents (6.7%) are from THB10,000 to THB15,000, 69 respondents (17.2%) are from THB15,001 to THB25,000, 80 respondents (19.9%) are from THB25,001 to THB35,000, 39 respondents (9.7%) are from THB35,001 to THB45,000, 5 respondents (1.2%) are over THB45,000.

Table1 Descriptive statistics of Chinese mainland tourists demographics

Gender	Frequency	Percent
Male	175	44%
Female	225	56%
Age		
Below 20	86	21%
21-30	145	36%
31-40	75	19%
41-50	47	12%
51-60	41	10%
Over 60	6	2%
Marital Status		
Single	259	65%
Married	141	35%
Occupation		
Professionals	2	1%
Administrative	52	13%
Sales	61	15%
Service worker	6	2%
Agricultural worker	5	1%
Governor	4	1%
Housewife	50	12%
Students	175	44%
Retires	45	11%
Education Level		
Below Secondary	7	2%
Secondary	27	7%
Diploma	124	31%
Degree	242	60%
Income Level		
Below THB10,000	180	45%
THB 10,000-THB 15,000	27	7%
THB 15,001-THB 25,000	69	17%
THB 25,001-THB 35,000	80	20%
THB 35,001-THB 45,000	39	10%
Over THB 45,000	5	1%

To answer the research questions proposed in Chapter 1, question number 2 is what shopping attributes are affecting Chinese mainland tourists satisfaction, question number 3 is what the perceived risks are affecting shopping satisfaction when Chinese mainland tourists are shopping at souvenir shops in Chiang Rai. This section was analyze these 2 questions and showed results of shopping attributes (table2) and perceived risks (table3) affecting Chinese mainland tourists shopping satisfaction at souvenir shops in Chiang Rai.

Table2 Descriptive statistic analysis on shopping attributes

Variables	Mean	Level of sat/dis sat	t	F
Tangible attributes				
I am satisfied with shop operation hours	2.7	Neutral	.000	.020
I am satisfied with shop cleanliness	3.6	Satisfied	.059	.014
I am satisfied with shop atmosphere	3.9	Satisfied	.559	.238
I am satisfied with shop payment method	2.8	Neutral	.000	.003
I am satisfied with shop location	3.0	Neutral	.000	.000
I am satisfied with shop in-store access arrange	2.8	Neutral	.000	.536
Service quality				
I am satisfied with shop staff attitude	3.1	Neutral	.532	.569
I am satisfied with shop staff product knowledge	3.0	Neutral	.989	.139
I am satisfied with shop staff working efficiency	3.2	Neutral	.146	.009
I am satisfied with shop staff communication skill	2.5	Dissatisfied	.000	.200
Products				
I am satisfied with shop products value	2.6	Dissatisfied	.021	.519
I am satisfied with shop variety of products	2.8	Neutral	.000	.000
I am satisfied with shop products quality	3.4	Neutral	.370	.000
I am satisfied with shop products display	3.3	Neutral	.121	.103
Price				
I am satisfied with shop competitive price	2.6	Dissatisfied	.000	.059
I am satisfied with shop value of money	2.5	Dissatisfied	.030	.078
I am satisfied with shop package and promotion rate	2.7	Neutral	.713	.114
I am satisfied with shop reasonable price	2.8	Neutral	.780	.405

Table2 showed descriptive statistical analysis on shopping attributes, from the mean of different variables, the results exhibited that respondents were satisfied with 2 items in tangible attributes dimension, which were cleanliness, atmosphere, 4 items were neutral level, which were operation hours, choice of payment method, shop location and in-store access arrangement; respondents were dissatisfied with 1 items in service quality dimension, which was staff communication skill, 3 items were neutral level, which were staff product knowledge, staff working efficiency and staff attitude; in product dimension, there was 1 dissatisfied items which was value of product, and 3 neutral items were variety of products, products quality and products display; lastly, in price dimension, 2 dissatisfied items which were competitive price and value of money, 2 neutral items were package and promotion price and reasonable price.

t value in table2 showed the difference between male and female on shopping attributes by independent T-test. There were 4 items under tangible attributes displayed the difference between male and female, which were shop operation hours, choice of payment method, shop location and in-store access arrangement; 1 item under service quality revealed difference between male and female which was staff communication skills; 2 items under products were indicated difference between male and female which were product value and variety of products; 2 items under price were found difference between male and female which were competitive price and value for money.

F value in table2 exhibit the differences among age groups on shopping attributes by one-way ANOVA, the results indicated that 7 items were difference among age groups: 1. Age 21-30 and 31-40, 41-50 and 51-60 were different on shop operation hours; 2. Age below 20, 21-30, 31-40 groups on shop cleanliness were different with Age 51-60 group; 3. Age below 20, 21-30, 31-40 groups on choice of payment method were different with Age 51-60 and above 60 age groups; 4. Age below 20, 21-30 groups on shop location were different with age 31-40, 41-50, 51-60 and over 60 age groups; 5. Age below 20 group on staff working efficiency were different with age 21-30, 31-40, 41-50 groups; 6. Age below 20, 21-30, 31-40 groups on variety of products were different with age 41-50, 51-60 groups; 7. Age below 20 group on product quality were different with age 21-30, 31-40, 41-50 groups.

Table3 Descriptive statistic analysis on perceived risks

Variables	Mean	Level of agree/disagree	t	F
Financial risk				
Lose value of money	2.5	Disagree	.063	.239
Choice of payment method	2.6	Disagree	.839	.011
Lose money during the trip	2.3	Disagree	.643	.081
Waste money for purchasing	2.1	Disagree	.036	.038
Psychological risk				
Don't want to be seen as cowardly	2.6	Disagree	.041	.726
Wanting to keep up with peers	2.6	Disagree	.069	.000
Proving myself to others	2.6	Disagree	.307	.698
Attracting admiration	2.4	Disagree	.054	.434
Satisfaction risk				
Satisfied with own needs and wants	3.7	Agree	.311	.151
Satisfied with sales person service and interaction	3.8	Agree	.739	.130
Satisfied with shop environment	3.8	Agree	.871	.450
Satisfied with product quality	3.8	Agree	.849	.605
Time risk				
Too many efforts on safety check	2.1	Disagree	.430	.513
Lack time for purchasing	4.0	Agree	.699	.169

Table3 showed descriptive statistical analysis on perceived risks, from the mean of different variables, the results displayed that satisfaction dimension took higher risk than other dimensions when Chinese mainland tourists were shopping in Chiang Rai, 4 agree items in satisfaction risk which were own needs and wants, sales person attitude and interaction, shop environment and products quality. Besides satisfaction risk, there was 1 item in time risk which was lack of time for purchasing taking higher risk than others in time risk dimension. Financial risk and psychological risk were not taking as much as higher risks than other 2 dimensions.

t value in table3 showed the difference between male and female on perceived risks by independent T-test. There was only 1 item under financial risks displayed the difference between male and female, which was waste money for purchasing; 1 item under psychological revealed difference between male and female which was don't want to be seen as cowardly;

F value in table3 exhibit the differences among age groups on perceived risks by one-way ANOVA, the results indicated that 3 items were difference among age groups: 1. Age below 20, 21-30 and 31-40, 41-50 groups on choice of payment method were different with age 51-60 and over 60 groups; 2. Age below 20, 21-30, 31-40 groups on waste money for purchasing were different with Age 41-50, 51-60 groups; 3. Age below 20 group on wanting to keep up with peers were different with Age 21-30, 31-40, 41-50, 51-60 and above 60 age groups.

Discussion

The results of this study emphasize some major issues on Chinese mainland tourists souvenir shopping experience. Demographic information, shopping attributes and perceived risks affect Chinese mainland tourists souvenir shopping satisfaction in Chiang Rai. Most of the respondents were students, sales, retired and managerial staffs with high education level and high income level, business stakeholder could do some marketing strategy plan according to the study findings on Chinese tourists demographic information. Therefore, 4 dimensions under shopping attributes directly or indirectly influence Chinese mainland tourists shopping satisfaction, for example, staff communication skill, product value, competitive price and value of money were significantly influenced Chinese mainland tourists shopping in Chiang Rai, which were reflected to the study of Xu & Nancy (2011) indicated that Chinese tourists care about large products, price values, unique of products, lack of shopping time, they would like to spend more money if the product is valuable when they conducted their shopping trip in USA. Due to the common shopping behavior of Chinese tourists, as same attributes as previous study affect Chinese tourists shopping satisfaction when they conducted shopping trip in Chiang Rai. At the same time, from the mean of different items, we founded that shop operation hours, access arranged in shop, variety of products, promotion and package rate, reasonable price are more or less affecting Chinese tourists shopping satisfaction. Female are less satisfied than males also indicated in Xu & Nancy (2011) study.

From the other side, perceived risk also influence Chinese mainland tourists shopping satisfaction when they are shopping in Chiang Rai, the results displayed that satisfaction risk is one of the major dimensions under perceived risk that Chinese tourists would concern about. For example, sales service and interaction, product quality, shop environment and satisfied own needs and wants. The study of Choi et al. (2007) revealed that Chinese Mainland tourists have to take communication barrier risk when they shop in Hong Kong. Hsieh & Chang (2004) mentioned that Chinese tourists worried about the sake of maintaining service quality, steal and some security issue when they shop in the night market. Business stakeholder should improve communication skills for Chinese tourists, increase product quality and improved the shop environment in order to deal with Chinese tourists better. Besides, lack of time for shopping is also significantly influence Chinese tourists, the study of Xu & Nancy (2011) found that lack of shopping time is one of the main factors influence Chinese tourists shopping experience when they shop in USA.

Conclusion

In order to promote Chinese mainland tourists shopping at souvenir shops in Chiang Rai, above results indicated 3 main items which can help local community obtaining more opportunities, especially business stakeholders who are running souvenir business in Chiang Rai. 1). Better understanding Chinese mainland tourists shopping characteristics; 2). Specified shopping attributes by different gender and age groups for Chinese mainland tourists; 3). Specified perceived risks by different gender and age groups for Chinese mainland tourists.

These 3 points are very important for marketer or stakeholder who want to target Chinese tourists business in Chiang Rai. It is a guideline to help stakeholders and marketers to set up marketing strategy plans and better understanding Chinese tourists shopping behaviors.

In this research, in order to find out the shopping attributes and perceived risks, the respondents are only Chinese mainland tourists who has shopping at souvenir shops in Chiang Rai, and this study, which was called independent study, is part of master degree in tourism management. Due to the study should be finished in a short frame, the researcher only applied quantitative method and use questionnaire as the main tools to collect primary data in this research. The results were only generated for Chinese mainland tourists who has visit night bazaar where is the popular place for Chinese mainland tourists in Chiang Rai, it can not be applicable for other shopping items and other places in or out of Thailand.

As this study is a case study to investigate Chinese mainland tourists shopping attributes and perceived risks when they shopping at souvenir shops in Chiang Rai, only questionnaire was used into this study. For further research, researchers can go deeply for different gender or different age groups and focus on one of the shopping attributes or perceived risks. Or use qualitative method or mix method to investigate key attributes and key perceived risks for Chinese mainland tourists. Moreover, due to this study were only find out shopping attributes and perceived risks for Chinese mainland tourists, further research could do a comparison study between Chinese mainland tourists and one of other countries or more to investigate which one is more influenced than another.

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The Effect of Advisory Signal on Tourist's Risk Perceptions: The Moderating Role of Generational Difference

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The purpose of this study is to investigate the effect of advisory signals on risk perception and the moderating effect of generational difference on the effect. Four hundred eighty international tourists in Chiang Mai participated in the experimental research and were assigned to one of three signal conditions. With the function of traffic signals, the results showed that tourists perceive higher risk toward a red signal and lower risk toward green signal. Generational difference moderates the relationship between the advisory signal and risk perception. The findings indicate that there is no significant difference on risk perception in the green advisory signal among the three generations. Especially, baby boomer tourists perceive higher risk perception more than Generation X and Generation Y when the advisory signal is the red signal condition. Implications of these findings are subsequently discussed.

Keywords: *risk advice signal, risk perception, generational difference*

Introduction

If tourist destinations are to remain prosperous, the issue of safety and security of tourists is paramount. In recent years there have been ensuing incidents at international tourist destinations because of safety and security issues. A plethora of media attention has raised tourists' concerns about safety, and ultimately led to cancellations to these destinations. Research into the relationship between tourism and criminal acts affecting tourists' safety, or perception of safety, started receiving attention in the early 1990s (Brunt, Mawby, & Hambly,

2000; Demos, 1992; Milman & Bach, 1999; Pinhey & Iverson, 1994; Sonmez & Graefe, 1998). When safety concerns are introduced into travel decisions, they are likely to become the overriding factors, altering the context of conventional decision-making models and causing travelers to amend travel plans.

Perceived risk refers to subjective expectations of loss which are central to customers' evaluation and purchase behavior (Mitchell & Greatorex, 1993; Stone & Gronhaug, 1993). Tourists usually avoid places that are perceived to be risky, and prefer to travel to less dangerous destinations (Barker, Page, & Meyer, 2003; Adam, 2015). Risk creates emotions that generate anxiety and fear of unknown consequences (Dowling & Staelin, 1994; Ropeik, 2001). These feelings have a direct effect on how safe people feel with their purchase. The purchase of travel products usually generates high uncertainty as to the outcomes (Walsh, 1986). Therefore, Mawby (2000, p. 101) proposed that tourists should be informed of the risks associated with visiting their certain destination in order to reduce their fear of incidents while holidaying.

When tourists travel overseas; they cannot anticipate everything that might affect them during their trip. Thus, the governments of many countries create travel advisories to help their citizens make informed decisions before traveling. These advisories highlight the range of threats and situations such as security, safety, health, local laws, entry/exit requirements, or natural disasters that tourists could face at the destination. Safety and security threats serve as deterrents to tourists, especially in the context of international travel (Barker, Page, & Meyer, 2003; Adam, 2015). Past research has not paid attention to how travel advisory levels by the government impact people's risk perception of travel destinations when making their final decisions. How does this government information influence travelers' risk perception?

Tourists are very divergent segments. Tourists' behavior across generations will differ, and also disparate cultures make decisions based on the emphasis they place on different phases of the decision-making process (Basala & Klenosky, 2001; Reisinger & Mavondo, 2006; Garg, 2013). Different generations perceive risk differently (Simcock, Sudbury, & Wright, 2006). Criminology studies also show that fear for personal safety was found to differ among specific subgroups. Each generation acts and reacts to the world around them based on their own attitudes and values systems. One of the previous studies by Lehto, Jang, Achana, and O'Leary (2008) examined travel differences between the Silent Generation and the Baby Boomers generation in Canada and the USA. They found that some cohort differences exist between the older Baby Boomers and the Silent Generation in their tourism experiences. Li, Li and Hudson's study (2013) investigated the differences of the destination attributes' preferences among generations. Therefore, in both academia and practice, grouping people on the basis of their generational cohort membership has become a popular way to explain consumers' past, present, and future behavior (Gardiner, Grace, & King, 2014). Understanding travel behavior and risk-taking as a concept in the minds of different generations is also an important issue for developing tourism.

Some previous studies have considered age diversity and perceived risk together (Moscardo & Benckendorff, 2010; Pendergast, 2010; Williams & Baláž, 2012; Li, Li & Hudson, 2013). However, few studies have examined how travel advisory levels impact travelers' risk perception. In addition, quantitative approaches often dominate consumer behavior research but the use of experimental designs that quantify the effects of independent stimuli on behavioral responses remains in its infancy (Perdue & Summers, 1986; Turley & Milliman, 2000) and its ability to quantify the effects of independent stimuli on behavioral responses is

an arguable advantage over quantitative approaches that cannot verify causality effects (Cohen, Prayag & Moital, 2014).

The purpose of this research is to examine how different levels of travel advisory signals influence risk perception. Moreover, the study also examines the moderating role of generational differences on travelers' risk perception.

Theoretical Background

Perceived Risk

Perceived risk refers to subjective expectations of loss which are central to customers' evaluation and purchase behavior (Mitchell & Greatorex, 1993; Stone & Gronhaug, 1993). Research suggests that there are different dimensions of perceived risk (Cox, 1967; Jacoby & Kaplan, 1972; Roselius, 1971; Stone & Gronhaug, 1993). Although these dimensions overlap, they are generally seen as comprising six categories: performance risk (unsatisfactory performance outcomes); financial or monetary risk (monetary loss, unexpected cost); temporal risk (wasting time, consequences of delays); physical or hazard risk (personal injury or damage to possessions); psychological risk (personal fears and emotions); and social or ego risk (how others think and react). Prior studies contained recommendations for strategies to reduce perceived risk. For example, positive brand imaging can reduce performance risk, while word-of-mouth and government-approved testing decrease monetary risk (Roselius, 1971). Also, a money-back guarantee is helpful to reduce both performance and monetary risk (Poel & Leunis, 1996).

Tourism as an industry is in a constant state of change: the limited experiences of many tourists and the complexity of decision-making are compounding factors in respect to risk (Williams & Baláž, 2012). Risk is often defined as what is perceived and experienced by tourists during the process of purchasing and consuming travel services (Tsaur, Tzeng & Wang, 1997). Risk perception is a subjective concept that some people conceptualize in a negative perspective but others regard as a travel motivator (Mura & Cohen, 2011). However, the negative conceptualization of risk has been given considerable attention (e.g. Reisinger & Mavondo, 2006; Sonmez & Graefe, 1998). Previous studies have shown risk perception to be a multidimensional construct consisting of a number of different types of risk (Cox, 1967; Roselius, 1971; Jacoby & Kaplan, 1972; Stone & Gronhaug, 1993).

Travel advisory signal with risk perception

Safety and security threats serve as deterrents to tourists, especially in the context of international travel (Barker, Page, & Meyer, 2003; Adam, 2015). Thus, risk involves situations where one of the possible outcomes is expected to be undesirable causing the decisions involving the situation, product or service to be described as risky. Sonmez and Graefe (1998) claimed if the destination choice is narrowed down to two alternatives which promise similar benefits but only one is safe from threat, the one that is safe from threat is likely to be chosen over the one that is not safe from threat. Mawby (2000) emphasized that tourists should be informed of the risks of visiting tourist areas in order to reduce fear of incidents while holidaying. For example, The Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) creates travel advisories for their citizens. The British government issues weather warnings through their National Severe Weather Warning Service. These warnings are presented using different color combinations for both the likelihood of the event happening and the impact the conditions may have (<http://www.metoffice.gov.uk/guide/weather/warnings>). To date, no study has rigorously

examined the travel advisory situations as a construct on people's risk perception in a tourism context. Thus, we hypothesize:

H1: Advisory signal in red are more sensitive than advisory signal in yellow and in green for perceiving risk.

Generations and risk perception

The concept of generational cohorts emerged from sociology (Mannhiem, 1952) and has since been applied to psychology (Rogler, 2002) and business disciplines such as tourism (Benckendroff, Moscardo, & Pendergast 2010; Gardiner, King, & Grace 2013). An understanding of generational shifts in tourist behavior facilitates the effective prediction and accommodation of future tourism trends. Such predictions are very important if the Asia-Pacific region is to reach its tourism potential (Gardiner, Grace, & King, 2014). Generational theorists argue that adopting generational approach yields richer information than segmenting consumers using other demographic segmentation variables such as chronological age and life stage, because generational cohort analysis acknowledges the subjective historical influences of time on human behavior (Mannhiem, 1952; Schewe, Meredith, & Noble 2000; Schewe & Noble 2000). In light of the influence of age in the tourism industry, we hypothesize the following:

H2a: The effect of advisory signal in red on perceived risk is more significant for baby boomer tourists than for generation X and generation Y.

H2b: The effect of advisory signal in yellow on perceived risk is more significant for baby boomer tourists than for generation X and generation Y.

H2c: The effect of advisory signal in green on perceived risk is more significant for baby boomer tourists than for generation X and generation Y.

Research Methods

Procedure and participants

Data was collected from international tourists in Chiang Mai, one of the top tourist destinations in Thailand and one of the top 20 most desirable destinations in Asia (TripAdvisor's Trip Index, 2015). Four hundred and eighty participants (204 male) at Chiang Mai international airport were randomly assigned to a single-factor three-level (advisory signals: red vs. yellow vs. green) between-subjects design.

Travel advisory signals were adopted from the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) to offer recommendations to their citizens traveling abroad: 1) a red light represents a warning not to travel in this area due to a very high risk; 2) a yellow light recommends that tourists pay close attention to their personal security at all times; 3) a green light recommends that normal safety precautions be taken. International tourists were randomly assigned to one of the experimental situations³². The red signal condition was about a bomb which had exploded in the main center on the street where tourists plan to go and it is the highest risk situation. The yellow signal condition was about Dengue Fever in Chiang Mai. This situation is lower risk than a red signal situation. The green signal condition indicated there was no risk for the time of the trip.

³² A pretest (N = 60) confirmed that having a red signal ($M = 5.6$) is considered to be a more dangerous situation than a yellow signal ($M = 4.7$) and a green signal ($M = 2.5$).

Measurement

All items were measured using a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much). The measurement items of perceived risk adopted from Stone and Gronhoug (1993) and Jacoby and Kaplan (1972) included five dimensions: financial risk (Cronbach's $\alpha = .92$); psychological risk (Cronbach's $\alpha = .91$); performance risk (Cronbach's $\alpha = .93$); physical risk (Cronbach's $\alpha = .74$); and social risk (Cronbach's $\alpha = .98$). Relatively high Cronbach's alpha values confirmed that the measurements were reliable ($\alpha = .94$).

Confirmatory factor analysis

We performed a confirmatory factor analysis to assess the psychometric adequacy of the construct of perceived risks. The results indicated that all item loadings were significant ($p < .01$), in support of convergent validity and the measurement model provided a good fit for the data ($\chi^2/df = 2.94$, CFI = .98, TLI = .96, RMSEA = .06).

We combined five dimensions of perceived risk into a single latent variable (namely, risk perception) for further analysis. Finally, participants provided information on their gender, age, nationality, education level, occupation, income and preferences. Especially, age represents the generations. Generations were measured adapting from Strauss & Howe (2000) and Pendergast (2010). Respondents were classified into three generational categories: Baby Boomers (55-72 years), Generation X (34-54 years), and Generation Y (18-33 years) based on the year they were born.

Results

1. Profile of Respondents

Table 1 shows the profile of respondents by gender, age groups, education, nationality, and occupation.

Table 1 Demographic Profile of Respondents

Demographic Characteristics	Frequency (n = 480)	Percentage (%)
Gender		
Male	204	42.5
Female	276	57.5
Generational differences		
Baby Boomer (55-72years)	150	31.3
Generation X (34-54 years)	150	31.3
Generation Y (18-33 years)	180	37.5
Education		
Elementary school	7	1.5
High school	62	12.9
Bachelor's degree	195	40.6
Higher than bachelor's degree	216	45.0
Nationality		
Western people	398	82.9
Eastern people	82	17.1

Occupation		
Government/state enterprise officer	69	14.4
Employee	171	35.6
Student	72	15
Business owner	72	15
Retired	54	9.2
Others	52	10.8

According to the manipulation, we examined the participants response to the three advisory signals by asking them to rate their perception of the danger they faced when they traveled to Chiang Mai on a 7-point scale from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much). The findings show a significant difference for the three conditions ($M_{red} = 6.01$, $SD = 1.39$; $M_{yellow} = 4.41$, $SD = 1.47$; $M_{green} = 1.25$, $SD = .46$, $F = 658.33$, $p < .001$). Post hoc comparisons, using Tukey's HSD test, indicate that the differences between the three conditions are significant ($p < 0.01$). The results indicate that the red signal is the most dangerous and that the green signal indicates the least risk in terms of providing sufficient information about the city tour. The manipulation check of the advisory signals was successful.

Hypothesis testing

The effects of advisory signal and generation on risk perception

A two-way ANOVA on risk perception, with advisory signals and the generational differences as the independent variables was conducted. The results indicate a significant main effect of the advisory signal ($F(2,479) = 160.81$, $p < .001$), with a large effect size (partial $\eta^2 = .39$) on risk perception; a non-significant main effect of generational difference on risk perception (Wilk's $F(2, 479) = .19$, $p > .1$), with a small effect size (partial $\eta^2 = .01$). Post hoc comparisons, using Tukey's HSD test, indicate that the risk perception is significantly different between the three signal conditions. The findings demonstrate that tourists in the red signal condition perceived greater risk than did those who were in the yellow signal condition. Tourists perceived the least risk in the green signal condition. Thus, H1 are confirmed.

The results also show that the interaction effect of advisory signals and generation on risk perception is significant ($F = 1.97$, partial $\eta^2 = .016$, $p < .01$). The effect of the advisory signals on perceived risk is more salient for baby-boomers than for Generation X and Generation Y (Figure 1). Under a red signal condition, a slightly significant difference on risk perception existed among the three generations ($M_{baby-boomer} = 4.48$ vs. $M_{Gen. X} = 4.08$ vs. $M_{Gen. Y} = 4.01$; $F = 2.45$, $p < .1$). Post hoc comparisons, using Tukey's HSD test, indicate that the baby-boomer tourists perceive greater risk than do those who were Generation X and Generation Y. Further, under a yellow signal condition, there is no significant difference among the three generation ($M_{baby-boomer} = 3.35$ vs. $M_{Gen. X} = 3.59$ vs. $M_{Gen. Y} = 3.56$; $F = .95$, $p > .1$). Under a green signal condition, there is no significant difference among the three generation ($M_{baby-boomer} = 2.16$ vs. $M_{Gen. X} = 2.22$ vs. $M_{Gen. Y} = 2.24$; $F = .1$, $p > .1$). The results support H2a but not H2b and H2c.

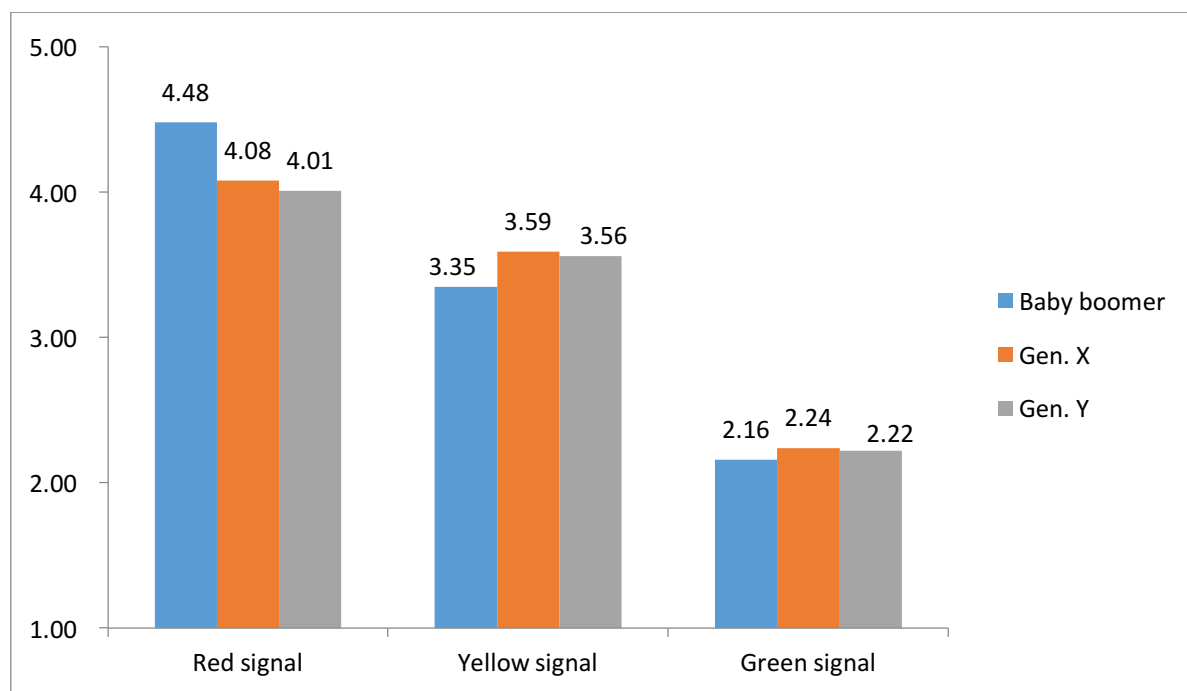


Figure 1 The interaction effect of advisory signal and generation on perceived risk

Conclusion and Discussions

Tourists avoid visiting the places with high crime rates, political instability, health or natural disaster related risk (Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a, b; Reisinger & Mavondo, 2005; Kozak et al, 2007). Tourists also keep safety and security in mind when selecting their travel destinations. A major determinant in a tourist's decision to visit a destination is the perception of safety and security (Garg, 2012). Therefore, if the area is perceived to be risky and dangerous, it is more likely that the place will be avoided and substituted with an area that is perceived to be safer (Reisinger & Mavondo, 2005; Liu, Pennington-Gray, Schroeder, 2013).

This study conducted a scenario-base experiment to investigate the effect of advisory signals on risk perception and the moderating effect of generational differences on the effect. International tourists in Chiang Mai participated in the experiment. The results show that there is a significant difference between the advisory signals and risk perception. Tourists perceive higher risk with the red signal (i.e. the most dangerous situation) than with yellow and green signals (i.e. the least dangerous situation). Especially, baby boomer tourists perceive higher risk perception more than Generation X and Generation Y when the advisory signal is the red signal condition.

Previous studies showed that different generations also perceive risk differently (Hallahan, Faff & McKenzie, 2004; Simcock, Sudbury and Wright, 2006; Williams & Baláž, 2012). However, the results of this study show that there is no significant difference among generational differences on risk perception. This result perhaps comes from the uneven distribution across three generations, but sampling distribution in this study is aligned with the actual proportion of international tourists to Chiang Mai based on the statistic report by the government's tourism department.

This research collected the data from only one province in Thailand, Chiang Mai. It is recommended that future studies investigate different regions or provinces in Thailand. Future studies could also explore domestic tourists of different generations. Because more

respondents were western people than eastern people, the results depends on western people's opinions more than eastern people.

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Economic Impact Analysis of Emerging Road Race Event Tourism in Taiwan: Case of 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon

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The objective of this study is to investigate the economic impacts of non-resident participants' spending at the destination in the case of the 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event held in Hualien, Taiwan. Based on the literature on the economic impacts of sport events, a questionnaire on the Economic Impact of Road Race Events in Taiwan was developed as the research instrument. The survey respondents were selected from the non-resident participants in the Taroko Gorge Marathon, and purposive sampling was used to gather 220 valid questionnaires. An input-output multiplier table generated by Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics (DGBAS, 2014), Executive Yuan, Republic of China (Taiwan) was used to analyze the data. The results are as follows: 1) of the total 15,000 participants in the 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event 10,500 were non-resident participants. The average daily expenditure of the participant was about 3,117 NT dollars, while the total amount of input from various industries in the Hualien area was 58,737,000 NT dollars. 2) The non-resident participants of the 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event generated a total of 129,225,486 NT dollars in earnings for the industries in the Hualien area, with 34,625,505 NT dollars incremental income and 129 added employment opportunities. It can be concluded that the non-resident marathon participants significantly impacted the economy in the Hualien area. The non-resident marathon participants spent more than did the tourists of general domestic tourism and single sport events. This shows that the flourishing and emerging road race event tourism in Taiwan could help create value and produce positive impacts on local economies. In particular, road race events can be used in the remote and non-metropolitan areas to counteract seasonality in the tourism industry.

Keywords: *sport tourists, economic impacts, marathon events, input-output model*

Introduction

1. Background

In recent years, Taiwanese people have been enthusiastic to participate in road race activities. According to the statistics of Runners' Plaza (2016), from 91 events in 2006 to 637 events in 2015, the road race events have grown nearly 7 times in number in a decade (Table1 & Figure1), the participation population of road race has also significantly increased. An industry-related pattern has come about by consumers' direct and indirect spending at road race events, impacting the social, environmental and economic aspects of the road race events host community. Typically the research of sport event effect focus on the impact of infrastructure, environmental, economic, destination image enhancement, social, cultural, political, urban renewal and heritage, etc. (Dickinson & Shipway, 2007), with particular attention given to the economic impact of sports events on host community (Agrusa, Kim, & Lema, 2011; Bob, Swart, & Moodley, 2005; Turco, Riley, & Swart, 2002). Although the road race events (marathon events), comparing to large-scale events (mega-sporting events), are positioned only as small-scale, single-day sporting events, with no infrastructure investment, they can still successfully create considerable economic impacts during the non-peak season for the local sports tourism (Kotze, 2006).

Table 1 The trend of Taiwan road race events in the past 10 years

Year	Ultra Marathon	Marathon	Half Marathon	11-20K	6-10 Km	5 km or less	Triathlon	Total
2006	6	18	8	26	19	0	14	91
2007	2	12	6	3	20	1	10	54
2008	10	24	10	18	25	0	15	102
2009	9	28	9	10	25	8	13	102
2010	9	32	9	15	31	5	19	120
2011	9	41	10	21	30	10	32	153
2012	18	48	17	37	23	4	27	174
2013	24	74	33	54	29	4	33	251
2014	34	128	97	47	70	19	41	436
2015	139	164	124	31	76	70	33	637

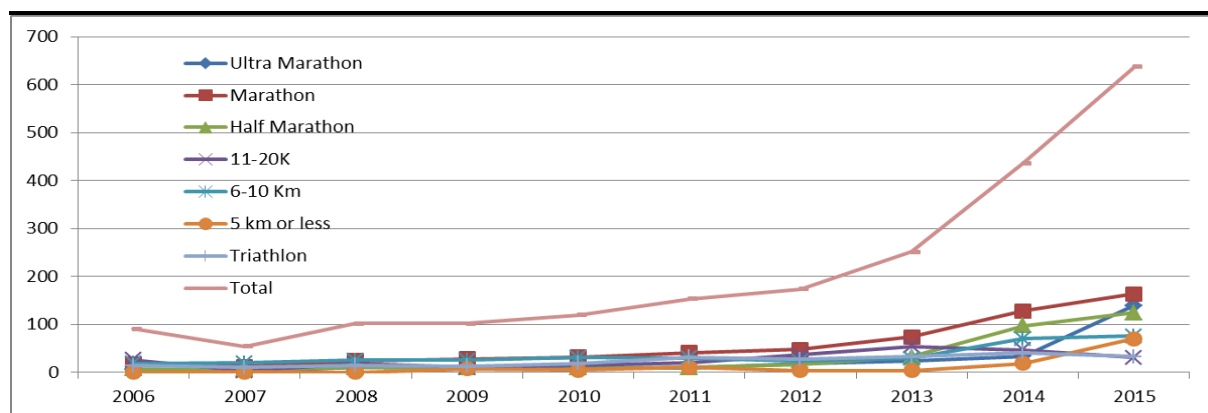


Figure1 Taiwan road race events trend in the past 10 years

Although in recent years, the road race (marathon) events are common and have been regularly organized in Taiwan, the road race (marathon) survey data on regional economic impact is incomplete, the theoretical basis of some report is weak, and the results analysis are not objective enough. To analyze the economic impact of road race (marathon) events on destination it is necessary to gather relevant information objectively and by appropriate economic theory. The Taroko Gorge Marathon is held every year in winter in Hualien, Taiwan, how is the economic impact of this race on the Hualien tourism during the off-season? This is worth investigating as it can be used as references for event organizers to continue applying or for related industries to help promote. The respondents of this study were selected from the non-resident participants in the 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event, using the input-output (IO) model as the theoretical basis this study examined the participants' spending during the event. The findings can be used as references for marathon promotion policy and academic research of sports event and sport leisure industries.

2. Research Objectives

To investigate the number of days (nights) stayed and the spending of non-resident participants during the 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event.

To estimate the economic impact of non-resident participants' spending during the 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event.

Literature Review

Turco et al. (2002) pointed out that sport event economic impact is the net change a sport event has on the economy of the host community. It includes stimulating new spending, improving local income, and incurring the inherent cost by the sport event. Economic impact can be divided into direct and indirect, or secondary impacts. The direct impact is mainly related to the transactions from the events, such as sporting events and sports facilities investment, expansion of the procurement of materials, services and leisure facilities, tourists spending when participating in sports or watching the games as well as the consumption of supply and services. The indirect impact is the direct benefit from the impact of the chain of events, which includes employment levels change, gross regional production, manufacturers and institutional income (such as personal income or government revenue) (Turco et al., 2002). With these new sources of revenue, the host community can spend again on employment, consumption, maintenance, equipment purchase, insurance, taxes, and through the "leaks effect" to increase income for employees, shareholders and the headquarters of local communities, etc. This is called the "multiplier effect" that capital and consumers are put into effect for further production cycle, as a result local revenue or employment opportunities are generated (Gratton & Henry, 2001; Gratton, Shibli, & Coleman, 2005).

It is the ultimate goal of the research on the economic impact of sports events to estimate overall economic impact. However, it must be determined first the economic model, as a basis, for estimating overall economic impact (Frechtling & Horvath, 1999). The Input-Output (I-O) model or multiplier model was developed by the Leontief (1936, 1986). It can be used to calculate the multiplier (Matheson, 2009). Leontief defined input-output model analysis as "a systematic method for quantification of complex economic systems among the various sectors of mutual relations," that it is the interaction of various sectors of the same time. Fletcher (1989) also believed that the I-O model of economic impact study can provide a comprehensive view for economic decision-makers, and can focus on the interdependent relations of the various sectors of the economy, allowing researchers flexible construction of

the model to meet research objective, in particular, can evenly reflect the output of various industrial sectors. These advantages make I-O model the choice for the analysis of the economic impact of sports events on national and regional tourism (Dwyer, Forsyth, & Spurr 2005; Jago & Dwyer, 2006; Lee & Taylor, 2005; Lia & Jago, 2013). Scholars generally believe that I-O model is suitable for estimating travelers' local spending, local residents' income, employment, tax and other economic benefits (Crompton, Lee, & Shuster, 2001; Frechtling & Horvath, 1999). While I-O disaggregated model can distinguish production characteristics of various different sectors, such as transportation, accommodation, catering and entertainment (Fletcher, 1989; Liu, 2010).

Methodology

1. Study Participants

In this study, the respondents were selected from the non-resident participants in the 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event (December 13, 2014 holding). Purposive sampling method was adopted to collect data from those aged 20 and above who are literate and capable of express themselves clearly. 300 questionnaires were distributed during the event. A total of 222 questionnaires were valid, with an effective response rate of 77.3%. The estimated number of participants for this study was attained from the interview with the organizer's secretary general, the registration information and the number of recipients of event souvenir (excluding accompanying persons). The estimated non-resident participants were 10,500 people (accounted for 70.0% of the total number of 15,000 participants).

2. Instruments

The development of the questionnaire for the study on "The road race event participant consumption impact on the local economy in Taiwan" was divided into two phases: the first was referred to relevant literature (Liu & Yeh, 2003; Agrusa et al, 2011; Dwyer, Forsyth, & Dwyer, 2010; Kirkup & major, 2006; Lia & Jago, 2013) in preparing the first draft of the questionnaire, the main contents include road race participants behavior, road race event consumption conditions, such as accommodation, catering, entertainment, gasoline, procurement, and other miscellaneous expenditure. The second phase was to review the draft questionnaire with six experts from the field of sports management, the CVI value of the six experts ranged between 0.88 and 1.00, with an average of 0.924. It meets the requirements of CVI value being 0.8 or more (Pilot & Beck, 2006).

3. Data Analysis

The collected data was first coded using the SPSS statistical software, then statistical analysis was done to produce the average consumption value (input value) of respondents for catering, accommodation, transportation, shopping, entertainment and others. In addition, descriptive statistics was conducted to find the frequency distribution and percentage (category variables), mean and standard deviation (continuous variables). Next the estimated participant's consumption value during 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event was calculated on the basis of the value of consumption. The calculation is as follows: the average daily consumption per participant \times total number of non-resident participant \times number of days (nights) stayed (Chiou, Yeh, Chen & Lee, 1999; Liu & Yeh, 2003). Using Excel software the aforementioned input value was entered into the table of multipliers from "The Table of 52 Sector Related Industries Compilation Report of 2011", by DGBAS (2014), to calculate the output value.

Result and Findings

1. Analysis of Participant demographics

This study targeted the non-resident participants who took part in the 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event. 300 questionnaires were distributed during the event and a total of 222 questionnaires were valid, comprising of 112 male responses (50.5%) and 110 female responses (49.5%). The average age of the participants is 31.38 years old, majority are of university education, earning NT\$ 20,000–39,999 monthly, having taken part in road race events 2-4 times within the last year, residing mostly in eastern of Taiwan. The subjects' demographics of this study (Table 2) are similar to the background variables of other studies of road race event in Taiwan (Chen, 2011; Chang & Chiou, 2011).

Table 2 The analysis of participant's demographic of this study

N=222

Variable	Category	Frequency	Percentage
Gender	Male	112	50.5
	Female	110	49.5
Age Group M=31.38 SD=11.60	20 years old & below	45	20.3
	21-30 years old	67	30.2
	23-40 years old	62	27.9
	41-50 years old	28	12.6
	51 years old & over	20	9.0
Education	Junior high school & below	12	5.4
	High school	36	16.2
	College	43	19.4
	University	107	48.2
	Institute & above	24	10.8
monthly income	NT\$ 19,999 & below	62	27.9
	NT\$ 20,000–39,999	83	37.4
	NT\$ 40,000–59,999	55	24.8
	NT\$ 60,000–79,999	13	5.9
	NT\$ 80,000 & above	9	4.1
Participation road race times within the last year	1 time	64	28.8
	2-4 times	116	52.3
	5-9 times	33	14.9
	10 & above times	9	4.1
Residence Area	Northern Taiwan	58	26.1
	Central Taiwan	36	16.2
	Southern Taiwan	55	24.8
	Eastern Taiwan	71	32.0

2. The estimated economic impact of the 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event

The subjects of this study were the non-residents participants of the 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event, about 10,500 as was provided by the organizers. The economic impact estimates were based on the participants' number of days (nights) stayed and their spending during the 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event.

The participants' number of days (nights) stayed and spending during the 2014 marathon event

The statistical analysis revealed that the participants' average number of days stayed was 1.83 (SD=.838) days, number of nights stayed 0.88 (SD=.803), average daily cost of food NT\$ 493.04 (SD=787.07), cost of accommodation NT\$ 639.91 (SD=783.35), cost of transportation NT\$ 596.56 (SD=782.10), cost of shopping NT\$ 582.85 (SD=1055.84), cost of entertainment NT\$ 456.74 (SD=838.92), others expenditures NT\$ 347.73 (SD=768.92). The expenditure calculation results are shown in Table 3. The total cost of food was amounted to NT\$ 10,353,000 (17.63%), total cost of accommodation NT\$ 6,720,000 (11.44%), total cost of transportation NT\$ 12,537,000 (21.34%), total cost of shopping NT\$ 12,222,000 (28.21%), total cost of entertainment NT\$ 9,597,000 (16.34%), total cost of other expenditures NT\$ 7,308,000 (12.44%). According to the sector classification of "The Table of 52 Sector Related Industries Compilation Report of 2011", DGBAS, Executive Yuan, Republic of China (Taiwan) (DGBAS, 2014), the total input value for the cost of food and accommodation combined as "food and hotel services" sector was amounted to NT\$ 17,073,000; the cost of transportation belonging to "transportation and warehousing communications" sector amounted to NT\$ 12,537,000; the cost of shopping belonging to "wholesale and retail" sectors amounted to NT\$ 12,222,000; the cost of entertainment belonging to the "arts, entertainment and recreation services" sectors amounted to NT\$ 9,597,000; the others expenditures belonging to "others services" sector amounted to NT\$ 7,308,000. The total input value was amounted to NT\$ 58,737,000 during the 2014 marathon event.

Table 3 Non-resident participants' number of days (nights) stayed and their daily spending during the 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event

Item	M	Stayed days Non-residents	Stayed (nights)	Amounted	%
Food	493.04	10,500	2 days	10,353,000	17.63
Accommodation	639.91	10,500	1 night	6,720,000	11.44
Transportation	596.56	10,500	2 days	12,537,000	21.34
Shopping	582.85	10,500	2 days	12,222,000	20.81
Entertainment	456.74	10,500	2 days	9,597,000	16.34
Others	347.73	10,500	2 days	7,308,000	12.44
Daily average	2898.13	10,500	2 days	10,353,000	17.63
total		58,737,000			100.00

Note: 1. Average daily consumption value according to the results of questionnaire survey.
2. Amounted = the average daily consumption × total number of non-resident participants × number of days (nights) stayed, while cost of accommodation was calculated by the number of nights stayed.

To estimate the economic impact of the non-resident participants' consumption during the 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event

This study estimated the economic impact of the non-resident participants' consumption to Hualien regions during the 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event. The total output value was divided into three parts: the total output value of the various industrial sectors,

the income effect of the various industrial sectors, and the employment effects of the various industrial sectors. The output value analysis and discussion for each part is as follows.

To estimate the output value of the various industrial sectors by non-resident participants' consumption during the 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event

The estimate formula was based on the front input value, the region's industries correlation coefficient and multiplier effect (Liu, 2010; Dwyer et al, 2010). The increased amount of money (increase output) of individual industrial sectors equals the industry correlation coefficient \times input values of 2011 for Taiwan (DGBAS, 2014) (see Table 4). The total amount of increased output of 52 industrial sectors by non-resident participants consumption during the 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event was NT\$ 129,225,486, of which catering and hotel services was NT\$ 18,209,974 (14.09%), wholesale and retail sector was NT\$ 18,166,627 (14.06%), transportation, warehousing and communications sector was NT\$ 16,641,303 (12.88%), arts, entertainment and recreation services sector NT\$ 10,014,158 (7.75%), other services sector was NT\$ 8,015,854 (6.20%), and the total output of the other 47 industrial sectors was NT\$ 58,177,571 (45.02%). From the above statistics the catering and hotel services sector, wholesale and retail sector, transportation and warehousing sector seemed to be the most significant contributors. Also worth noting is that the average multiplier of this study was 2.1772, higher than the 1.64 Donovan (1998) adopted from the Massachusetts government. This showed hosting the 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event gave considerable effect on promoting local economic activities.

Table 4 *The output value of the various industrial sectors by non-resident participants' consumption during the 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event*

Industry Sector	Input (NT\$)	Multiplier	Output of 52 industry sector	Increase amount of individual industrial sectors	industrial %
Catering & hotel service sector	17,073,000	2.4089	41,127,130	18,209,974	14.09
Wholesale and retail sector	12,222,000	1.6910	20,667,431	18,166,627	14.06
Transport & warehousing sector	12,537,000	2.8161	35,304,820	16,641,303	12.88
Arts, Entertain. & Rec. sector	9,597,000	1.8335	17,595,958	10,014,158	7.75
Others service sector	7,308,000	1.9883	14,530,148	8,015,854	6.20
The other 47 industrial sectors	—	—	—	58,177,571	45.02
Total	58,737,000	1.9360	129,225,486	129,225,486	100.00

Note: 1 Increase amount of individual industrial sectors = Taiwan's "The Table of 52 Sector Related Industries Compilation Report of 2011", DGBAS \times Input value.

2. The increase amount of the other 47 industrial sectors = deduct the total by the total amount of the above five sectors' increase amount.

3. The output effect % = the increase amount of each industrial sector / total income amount effect of the 52 industrial sectors.

To estimate the income effect of the various industrial sectors by non-resident participants' consumption during the 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event

The income effect of the various industrial sectors can be obtained with the increased output value by Taiwan's industrial labor compensation coefficient of 2011 (DGBAS, 2014). The income effect of individual industries can be further analyzed using the DGBAS (2014) input coefficient table calculation (Table 5). The income effect of catering and hotel services was NT\$ 6,980,367 (20.16%), wholesale and retail sector was NT\$ 6,502,959 (18.78%), transportation and warehousing sector was NT\$ 4,734,966 (13.67%), arts, entertainment and recreation services sector was NT\$ 4,184,226 (12.08%), other services sector was NT\$ 3,545,193 (10.24%), and total output of the other 47 industrial sectors was NT\$ 8,677,794 (25.06%). The total income increase of the various industrial sectors for the local population of Hualien area was NT\$ 34,625,505 during the 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event. The catering and hotel services sector, wholesale and retail sector, transportation and warehousing sector, and arts, entertainment and recreation services sector contributed most to the income increase. It is significant that a mere one-day road race event could attract 10,500 non-resident participants and generate an additional income of NT\$ 34,625,505 for the local people. This shows how valuable marathon events are in promoting tourism for the Hualien area during the off-season in winter.

Table 5 The income effect of the various industrial sectors by non-resident participants' consumption during the 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event

Industry Sector	Increase amount of individual industrial sectors	of income coefficient	income effect	%
Catering & hotel service sector	18,166,627	.384241	6,980,367	20.16
Wholesale and retail sector	18,209,974	.357110	6,502,959	18.78
Transport & warehousing sector	10,014,158	.472827	4,734,966	13.67
Arts, Entertain. & Rec. sector	8,015,854	.521994	4,184,226	12.08
Others service sector	16,641,303	.213036	3,545,193	10.24
Others 47 industrial sectors	58,177,571	.149160	8,677,794	25.06
Total	129,225,486	.267946	34,625,505	100.00

Note: 1 income effect = Taiwan's industrial labor compensation coefficient (DGBAS, 2014) × Increased output value of 2011.

2. The income effect % = the income effect of each industrial sector / total income amount effect of the 52 industrial sectors.

3. The income effect of the other 47 industries sectors = The total income effect deducts the total amount of the above five sectors.

To estimate the employment effect of the various industrial sectors by non-resident participants' consumption during the 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event

It is hypothesized that an increase in output of one million NT\$ can increase a job employment (Chiou et al., 1999). The employment effect = the increased amount of output for the various industrial sectors ÷ NT\$1,000,000 (Table 6). The total amount of increased output of the 52 industrial sectors by non-resident participants consumption during the 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event was NT\$ 129,225,486. With the hypothesis of one million NT\$ for one job employment, hosting one road race event can create 129 jobs for Hualien area by non-resident participants' consumption in the case of the 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event. Further analysis was conducted on the employment job increase of individual industries (Table 6): the catering and hotel services sector was accounted for 18 jobs; the wholesale and retail sector accounted for 18 jobs; the transportation and warehousing sector accounted for 17 jobs; the arts, entertainment and recreation services sector accounted for 10 jobs; the other services sector accounted for 8 jobs; the other 47 industrial sectors with a total of 58 jobs. Overall, this single-day road race event was not inferior to any longer-period sporting events in creating job opportunities, particularly for the "catering and hotel services sector" and the "wholesale and retail" sector. However these employment jobs were short-term jobs, such as temporary staff, volunteers or part-time workers (Chiou et al., 1999).

Table 6 *The employment effect of the various industrial sectors by non-resident participants' consumption during the 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event*

Industry Sector	Input (NT\$)	Increase amount of individual industrial sectors	Employment effects	%
Catering & hotel service sector	17,073,000	18,209,974	18	13.95
Wholesale and retail sector	12,222,000	18,166,627	18	13.95
Transport & warehousing sector	12,537,000	16,641,303	17	13.18
Arts, Entertain. & Rec. sector	9,597,000	10,014,158	10	7.75
Others service sector	7,308,000	8,015,854	8	6.20
Others 47 industrial sectors	—	58,177,571	58	44.96
Total	58,737,000	129,225,486	129	100.00

Note: 1. Employment effect = the increased amount of output for the various industrial sectors ÷ NT\$1,000,000.

2. Employment effect % = the employment effect of each industrial sector / total employment effect of the 52 industrial sector.

3. The employment effect of the other 47 industries sector = the total employment effect deducts the total employment effect of the above five sectors.

Discussion

1. *The non-resident participants' number of days (nights) stayed and input values during the 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event*

To summarize the survey results: non-resident participants' average stay was 1.83 days and 0.88 nights, the average daily spending was about NT\$ 2898.13, the total input value was NT\$ 58,737,000 (see Table 3). As referring to previous studies it were found in this study that the pattern of the East regional tourism in Taiwan was still short term and low consumption based (National Development Council [NDC], 2014). The research findings on non-resident participants' days (nights) stayed, daily consumption value and total input value highlighted the significant contribution of the road race events hosted in Hualien to enhancing the local consumption. Furthermore, the results of this study showed that the non-resident tourists' spending of the 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event was higher than those of other sporting events and the general festival events, such as: the average stay of domestic tourists was 1.45 days, the average cost per person per day of travel was NT\$ 1,365 (Tourism Bureau, MOTC [TBMOTC], 2014), the non-resident participants' (athletic, staff and the audience) daily consumption was about NT\$ 2,166 in the 2009 National Games (Chen, 2009), the non-resident participants of the 2007 Women's Volleyball Grand Prix averagely spent about NT\$ 2,814, the non-resident participants of the Chinese Taipei Badminton Open averagely spent about NT\$ 2,848 (Cheng et al., 2008), and the non-resident tourists of the Ilan Festival Tongwan averagely spent about NT\$ 1,523 (Wu & Pan, 2004). It is evident that hosting road race events in Hualien did help boost the local economy with non-resident participants' stay and spending.

2. *The economy impact during the 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event*

The input value of the non-resident participants of the 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event for the Hualien area was amounted to NT\$ 58,737,000, the non-resident participants' consumption boosted the total output of the various sectors to NT\$ 129,225,486, increased the income by NT\$ 34,625,505 for the local people of Hualien area, and created about 129 employment jobs. These all showed that hosting the Taroko Gorge Marathon event could increase the total output of the various local industries, generate income and create jobs for the local people by non-resident participants' consumption. These results of economic impact were similar to those of other research of short-term events (Burgan & Mules, 1992; Daniels, Norman, & Henry, 2004; Kim, Chon, & Chung, 2003). In addition, the economic benefits of the Taroko Gorge Marathon event identified in this study as referred to the estimated results of the output and employment of other domestic sporting events were significantly higher (Cheng et al., 2008). For example, the 2007 Women's Volleyball Grand Prix gave an outputs effect of NT\$ 60,740,784, an income effect of NT\$ 44,871,907, and an employment effect of 120 jobs; the 2007 Chinese Taipei Badminton Open's outputs effect was NT\$ 90,601,061, the income effect was NT\$ 65,479,046, and the employment effect was 130 jobs. These results of positive economic impact were similar to those of other research of road race events (Agrusa et al., 2011; Bob et al., 2005; Chalip & McGuirty, 2004; Daniels et al., 2004; Gratton et al., 2005; Kotze, 2006; Twynam & Johnston, 2004). The Taroko Gorge Marathon event was found to have a significant positive economy impact for the total output value, income effect and employment effect by the non-resident participants' consumption.

Conclusion and recommendation

1. Conclusion

This study focused on examining the input value and economic impact by the non-resident participants' consumption during the 2014 Taroko Gorge Marathon event. The study results showed that non-resident participants' days (nights) stayed and the input values (consumer value) really helped promote the local economy, and non-resident participants' consumption during the Taroko Gorge Marathon event was higher than those of the general domestic tourism and single sporting events. It is a better booster than national single sports events for the local economy on increasing the total output, the income, as well as the employment of the various industrial sectors. It apparently had helped increase input value and made a significant positive impact on the local economy. Most importantly, as the Taroko Gorge Marathon event was hosted in winter, the off-season for Hualien area tourism, not only would it help ease the issue of seasonality uneven distribution for the sport tourism activities in the Hualien area (Higham, 2005; Higham, & Hinch, 2002), it could also attract many interested sports tourists to visit Hualien, which is also an important direction for the development of sports tourism.

2. Recommendation

To help enhance greater efficiency for the Taroko Gorge Marathon event, the following are the recommendations: (A) To explore the mainland China and international markets of road race events, as previous research on international marathon (road race) events (Agrusa, Agrusa, Tanner, & Lema, 2006; Agrusa et al, 2011; Balic & Rahman, 2005; Kotze, 2006) found that the international sport tourists had strong spending power and gave considerable direct economic benefits to the host destination. (B) Through the integrated marketing efforts of marathon (road race) events, local scenery and local delicacies the marathon (road race) events can be promoted internationally and this would help the development of not only the tourism industry but all the other related industries for the Hualien area. (C) The study also found that the number of participants was limited to 15,000, which prevented many potential non-resident participants from taking part in the event. This limitation is mainly the result of insufficient local transportation (train or flight restrictions) and accommodation (hotels and B & B). It is recommended to schedule more transportation services (train or flights) for the Hualien area, and at the same time to utilize alternative accommodation facilities, such as camping, school dormitories, in order to increase the number of participants for the marathon (road race) events, which consequently can help enhance the economic impact by non-resident participants' consumption to the tourism and related industries in the Hualien area. (D) Future studies should further explore the induced effect of marathon (road race) events on local industries, a more detailed examination on the industrial sectors induced and the extent of the induced effect by the marathon (road race) events, as this can be used as key reference for future industrial development and tourism marketing.

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The Impact of Social Media on Foreign Tourists' Decision Making to Travel in Thailand

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This research aimed to understand how different types of social media influence different stages of tourist decision making process and to propose the model of tourist's decision making process which influenced by the use of social media. Questionnaire survey was used in order to collect data from 400 international tourists in Thailand. The questions comprised of decision making process which adapted from Engel, Blackwell and Miniard and Woodside and Lyonski. The results show that tourists use different type of social media in different stage of their decision making. The model of tourists' decision making process influenced by social media is drawn. Perceived of trust for each social media is also examined, the result presents significant differences between tourists from different country zone.

Keywords: *social media, decision making process, perceived of trust, tourist*

Introduction

As an information intensive industry (Poon, 1993), social media has become one of the most important sources of information when tourists search for information and evaluate their choices for their holiday (Buhalis and Law, 2008; Hudson and Thal, 2013). Kaplan and Haenlein (2010) define social media as "a group of internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0 and that allow the creation and exchange of User Generated Content (UGC)". Their study also identify 6 types of social media which are Blogs, Social networking sites, Virtual social worlds, Collaborative projects, content communities and virtual game worlds. Zarrella (2010) also identifies some of the most popular social media types such as wikis, blogs, microblogs, social networks, media-sharing sites, review sites and voting sites. Social Media helps tourists to create and express the interaction and participation among themselves when previous technology, Web 1.0, is mainly controlled by travel organizations and corporations (Shih, 2009). There are numbers of studies on the usage of social media by travelers (Gretzel and Yoo, 2008; Cox *et al*, 2009; Fortis *et al*, 2012; Xiang and Gretzel, 2010; Chiappa, 2011; Munar and Jacobsen, 2013), however, these studies considered social media as one tool rather than studied different types of social media as identified previously.

This research thus aims to investigate the relationship between each social media types and each stage of decision making process to have holiday in Thailand and to propose a model of tourist decision making process influenced by social media.

Literature Review

Social media has increased its importance especially during the decision making process of travelers. Evident shows in many studies that travellers consult social media when planning their holiday. A study of use and impact of online travel reviews (Gretzel and Yoo, 2008) on 1480 TripAdvisor users found that when planning a pleasure trip, over 75% look for reviews on Government web sites and 58% use Travel Agencies sites. 64% use reviews to get inspired at the beginning of their planning process, 65% use reviews to narrow down their choices and 41% use reviews to confirm their decisions. The study also found that females tend to look for reviews on online travel Agencies site than male, younger travelers (18 – 25 years) use reviews to narrow down their choices and older travelers (65 years or older) look for reviews on state tourism website. Similarly, a study of UGC and tourist planning behavior conducted by Cox *et al* (2009) on 12,544 Australian tourists found that UGC sites were mostly used when looking for information about travel destination (80%), help to make a final decision (51%) and 28% stated that they changed their travel plan due to the UGC. The study also found that 21% of the tourists use UGC sites when beginning to search for where to go, 22% when trying to narrow down their choice of destinations and 15% used to confirm that they had made a good destination choice. Furthermore, the study also found that official tourism websites are the most trusted in this study, followed by Travel Agencies websites, review sites, blogs and social network sites.

Expanding the work of Cox *et al* (2009), Fortis *et al* (2012) conducted a research from Russian Tourists on the usage of social media on their travel planning. The study found that 45% of the tourists use social media when beginning to search for where to go for holiday, 24% when trying to narrow down their choice of destinations and 31% used to confirm that they had made a good destination choice. The results were in contrast with the finding of Cox *et al* (2009). Moreover, the study also found that during the trip, 42% use social media to find out information about specific attractions and leisure activities, 49% used to stay connect with friends and 17% used it to provide comments and review about their holiday trip. 50% of the respondents from this study stated that they made changes to their holiday plans according to the information from social media, when in the work of Cox *et al* (2009) only 28% did so.

Xiang and Gretzel (2010) also found that social media which represented by Google during the information search process, 27% are reviews which TripAdvisor rank as the top domain in the search results, 15% are blogs and 9% are social networking. This findings supported by a later study of Chiappa (2011) on Italian tourists, the results showed that Online Travel Agencies with booking and rating/review functions are the most trusted type of social media, followed by tourism related blogs.

In term of trust, the results were in disagreement with of Cox *et al* (2009). Other traveler reviews on different websites received the highest trust, followed by social media, official tourism websites and Online Travel Agencies. Another study on Scandinavian tourists (Munar and Jacobsen, 2013) found that Review sites such as TripAdvisor was the most trusted, followed by Online Travel Agencies, social networking sites, government website and travel blogs as the least trusted one. The study also found that government website was trusted more by the first time visitor than did the repeaters.

With a few numbers of researches on the usage of social media as a whole during tourists' decision making process, this research thus aims to investigate the relationship between each social media types and each stage of decision making process and to propose a model of tourist decision making process influenced by social media.

Methodology

In order to achieve the aims of this research, a quantitative research approach was chosen to collect the important data. A Self-completion questionnaire survey was conducted in February 2016 in two main tourist attraction sites in Bangkok. The Grand Palace area and Siam Center area were chosen as the most recommended attractions in Bangkok by many travel related websites; for example, TripAdvisor, Bangkok.com and Lonely Planet.

Cluster sampling technique or area sampling which is one of the probability procedures mentioned by Walliman (2006) was used for this research. Sample size of 384 was determined using table of Krejcie and Morgan (1970). To secure the number, 400 questionnaires were sent out to prospected respondents, international tourists. As a result, the effective sample size for this study is 387.

The questionnaire used for this study was divided into 2 sections. Section one asked about general demographic information of the respondents such as gender, age, occupation, monthly income and continent of residence so as to gain more knowledge about the respondents. This section also asked about the travelling background of the respondents for the present holiday trip in Thailand. The questions include person who the respondent was travelling with for the present holiday trip, holiday trip experience both in Thailand, duration of stay in Thailand and the frequency of internet use of the respondents.

Section two asked about the usage of Social Media during the planning process and their trust level for the present holiday trip in Thailand of the respondents. 5 questions were adapted from Cox *et al* (2009) which 5 questions were borrowed from Fortis *et al* (2012). A 5 Likert-scale was used to indicate the level of agreement where 1 is Strongly Disagree and 5 is Strongly Agree.

The results presented in this research were obtained using descriptive analysis. The Chi-square statistic (X^2) was used to test the statistic significant difference in cross-tabulations. Moreover, The One-Way ANOVA with a Post Hoc Duncan test was used to test if there were statistic significant differences between the usage of social media in different stage of tourist decision making process and respondents' traveling background.

Findings and Discussion

1. Profile of Respondents

There were more female respondents (58.9%) than male respondents (41.1%) in this questionnaire survey; the reason there were slightly more female than male respondents was because it was found that, during the survey, females tended to be more willing to participate or give information than males. Moreover, Gretzel *et al* (2007), Cox *et al* (2009) and Fortis *et al* (2012) also experienced this over representation of female respondents in their studies. As per age, 39.3% were in the 18-29 age group, followed by 23.3% from the 30-39 age group, 19.9% from the 40-49 age group, 10.6% from the 50-59 age group and 7.0% from the over 60 age group. The majority of respondents were students (26.6%), followed by Full-time worker (25.8%), Part-time worker (21.2%), Business owner (12.1%), Unemployed (8.5%) and Retired (5.7%). In term of Monthly income, 35.9% of the respondents had a monthly income of \$500 - 999, followed by the respondents with a monthly income of \$1,000 - \$1,499, the same proportion of the respondents had a monthly income of under \$499 (13.4%) and \$1,500 - \$1,999 (13.4%), 9.6% of the respondents had a monthly income of \$2,500 - \$2,999, 7.2% of \$2,000 - \$2,499 and only 0.8% of the respondents had a monthly income over \$3,000. 34.1% of respondents in this study were from Asia, 15.0% were from Europe, 13.2% were from

Australia, 11.9% were from Middle East and followed closely by proportion of respondents from North America at 11.6%, 9.6% were from South America and 4.7% of the respondents were from Africa.

2. Travelling Backgrounds

Table 1 Respondents' travelling Backgrounds

	Items	%
This holiday trip, I am travelling with... (N = 387)	Alone	34.4
	Couple	14.7
	Family	22.0
	Friends	28.9
Holiday experience in Thailand (N = 387)	First time	47.8
	Second time	37.0
	Third time or more	15.2
Duration of stay in Thailand (N = 387)	Up to 1 week	45.0
	8 – 14 days	35.7
	More than 2 weeks	19.4
Internet use frequency (N = 387)	A few times a month or less	15.0
	A few times a week	19.4
	Once a day	29.2
	Several times each day	36.4

Section two of the questionnaire asked about the travelling background of the respondents for the present holiday trip in Thailand. Chi-square test is also used to analysis the information from this section. For the present holiday trip taking during this study, 34.4% were traveling alone, 28.9% were traveling with friends, 22% were traveling with family and 14.7% travelling in couple. The result found to be differentiated by age ($X^2 = 25.721$, $df = 12$, $p < 0.012$). 47.8% of the respondents experienced their holiday in Thailand for the first time, 37% experienced their holiday in Thailand for the second time and 15.2% experienced their holiday in Thailand for three times or more. Different age group shows to have a statistic significant difference ($X^2 = 18.972$, $df = 8$, $p < 0.015$). In term of duration of stay in Thailand, 45% of the respondents stayed up to one week, 35.7% of the respondents stayed for 8 – 14 days and 19.4% stayed for more than two weeks. 36.4% of the respondents used internet several times each day, followed by 29.2% of respondents who used internet once a day, 19.4% used internet a few times a week and 15% used internet a few times a month or less. The result shows to be differentiated by country of residence ($X^2 = 30.591$, $df = 18$, $p < 0.032$).

3. The use of Social Media while planning the holiday in Thailand

Table 2 The use of Social Media during the Pre-Trip Decision

Pre-trip decision	Facebook	Travel Blogs	Review Sites	Online Travel Agencies	Official Tourism Websites
Ideas on where to go for holiday					
<i>p-value</i>	0.71	0.87	0.47	0.96	0.40
North America	3.49	3.69	3.80	3.69	3.67
South America	3.35	3.86	3.54	3.65	3.65
Europe	3.26	3.93	3.62	3.71	3.55
Middle East	3.20	3.74	3.78	3.57	3.39
Africa	3.33	4.11	3.33	3.89	2.94
Asia	3.36	3.85	3.77	3.67	3.59
Australia	3.10	3.92	3.55	3.78	3.69
Total	3.30	3.85	3.68	3.69	3.56
To narrow down choices					
<i>p-value</i>	0.07	0.54	0.58	0.88	0.78
North America	2.82	3.60	3.47	3.62	3.04
South America	3.00	3.81	3.65	3.73	3.08
Europe	3.16	3.33	3.88	3.69	3.26
Middle East	3.15	3.72	3.78	3.85	3.11
Africa	3.83	3.39	3.83	3.39	2.94
Asia	3.17	3.65	3.65	3.63	3.19
Australia	3.29	3.73	3.71	3.71	3.27
Total	3.16	3.62	3.70	3.67	3.16
Make changes to the original plan					
<i>p-value</i>	0.03	0.03	0.52	0.92	0.59
North America	3.24 ^a	3.53 ^{ab}	4.20	3.51	3.42
South America	3.70 ^{abc}	3.95 ^{bc}	3.89	3.41	3.59
Europe	3.88 ^{bc}	3.62 ^{ab}	3.88	3.59	3.36
Middle East	3.35 ^{ab}	3.39 ^a	3.89	3.61	3.57
Africa	4.11 ^c	4.11 ^c	3.50	3.28	3.56
Asia	3.52 ^{ab}	3.70 ^{abc}	3.97	3.46	3.73
Australia	3.71 ^{abc}	3.96 ^{bc}	3.84	3.57	3.76
Total	3.59	3.71	3.93	3.50	3.60

Different superscripts in the same column mean significant difference at 0.05 level

During the pre-trip decision making process, Travel Blogs (\bar{X} = 3.85) was mostly used when respondents trying to get ideas on where to go on holiday, followed by OTAs (\bar{X} = 3.69). When trying to narrow down their choices, Review Sites such as TripAdvisor (\bar{X} = 3.70) was mostly used. The information from this type of social media had also made respondents make changes to their original plan (\bar{X} = 3.93).

The One-Way ANOVA results present significant differences between respondents with different continent of respondents in changing their original plan after using Facebook (\bar{X} =3.59, p = 0.03) and Travel Blogs (\bar{X} =3.71, p = 0.03).

Table 3 The use of Social Media during the Purchasing Decision

Purchasing decision	Facebook	Travel Blogs	Review Sites	Online Travel Agencies	Official Tourism Websites
Making final decision about holiday plan					
<i>p-value</i>	0.75	0.31	0.55	0.26	0.88
North America	3.40	3.44	4.04	3.71	3.51
South America	3.51	3.54	4.32	3.24	3.62
Europe	3.19	3.69	4.09	3.48	3.53
Middle East	3.46	3.37	4.28	3.72	3.80
Africa	3.44	3.33	4.06	3.17	3.61
Asia	3.41	3.54	4.29	3.50	3.65
Australia	3.59	3.84	4.33	3.57	3.80
Total	3.42	3.56	4.23	3.52	3.65
To confirm the destination choice					
<i>p-value</i>	0.65	0.77	0.01	0.70	0.92
North America	3.02	4.11	3.51 ^{ab}	3.60	4.22
South America	3.08	4.14	3.57 ^{ab}	3.73	4.35
Europe	3.22	3.95	3.12 ^a	3.47	4.10
Middle East	3.30	4.24	3.54 ^{ab}	3.35	4.04
Africa	3.39	4.22	3.39 ^{ab}	3.33	4.22
Asia	3.23	4.04	3.72 ^b	3.44	4.14
Australia	3.49	4.24	3.92 ^b	3.49	4.08
Total	3.24	4.10	3.58	3.48	4.15

Different superscripts in the same column mean significant difference at 0.05 level

Information from Review Sites such as TripAdvisor ($\bar{X}=4.23$) helps the respondents to make their final decision, and then they used Travel Blogs ($\bar{X}=4.15$) to help confirm their destination choice. Only when using Review Sites to confirm their decision when there are significant differences between continents of origin of the respondents ($\bar{X}=3.58$, $p = 0.01$).

Table 4 The use of Social Media during the trip Decision

During trip decision	Facebook	Travel Blogs	Review Sites	Online Travel Agencies	Official Tourism Website
To seek ideas and information on excursions and other leisure activities					
<i>p-value</i>	0.99	0.01	0.51	0.77	0.29
North America	3.40	3.69 ^b	3.84	3.56	3.71
South America	3.32	3.59 ^{ab}	4.08	3.62	3.95
Europe	3.33	3.14 ^a	3.90	3.62	3.90
Middle East	3.39	3.67 ^b	3.85	3.35	3.46
Africa	3.28	3.50 ^{ab}	3.56	3.33	3.83
Asia	3.33	3.64 ^{ab}	3.95	3.63	3.53
Australia	3.45	3.96 ^b	4.16	3.53	3.80
Total	3.36	3.61	3.94	3.56	3.69
To find out information about specific attractions and leisure activities					
<i>p-value</i>	0.55	0.15	0.05	0.60	0.64
North America	3.27	2.96	3.42 ^{ab}	3.84	3.27

South America	3.46	3.05	3.27 ^{ab}	3.46	3.43
Europe	3.31	3.43	3.71 ^b	3.53	3.14
Middle East	3.52	3.20	3.24 ^{ab}	3.46	3.39
Africa	3.72	3.44	3.17 ^a	3.44	3.33
Asia	3.54	3.11	3.27 ^{ab}	3.67	3.44
Australia	3.53	3.41	3.04 ^a	3.63	3.45
Total	3.47	3.20	3.31	3.61	3.36
<hr/>					
To stay connect with friends					
<i>p-value</i>	0.97	0.47	0.17	0.41	0.15
North America	4.13	3.00	3.62	3.62	3.36
South America	4.27	3.27	3.51	3.65	3.32
Europe	4.14	3.00	3.91	3.74	3.36
Middle East	4.30	3.26	3.54	3.87	3.30
Africa	4.11	3.33	3.44	3.56	3.06
Asia	4.16	3.11	3.47	3.89	3.61
Australia	4.10	3.29	3.35	4.02	3.25
Total	4.17	3.15	3.55	3.81	3.41

Different superscripts in the same column mean significant difference at 0.05 level

During the holiday trip, respondents used Review Sites such as TripAdvisor (\bar{X} =3.94) to seek ideas and information on excursions and other leisure activities, followed by Official Tourism Websites (\bar{X} = 3.69). However, during this process, the use of Travel Bogs (\bar{X} = 3.61) shows significant differences between continents of origin of the respondents ($p = 0.01$).

When finding out information about specific attractions and leisure activities, OTAs were mostly used (\bar{X} =3.61). The use of Review Sites such as TripAdvisor shows significant differences between continents of origin of the respondents ($p = 0.05$). Respondents used Facebook (\bar{X} =4.17) during their holiday trip mainly to connect with friends.

Table 5 The use of Social Media during the Post-trip Decision

Post-trip decision	Facebook	Travel Bogs	Review Sites	Online Travel Agencies	Official Tourism Website
To provide comments and reviews about holiday experience					
<i>p-value</i>	0.80	0.13	0.32	0.11	0.44
North America	3.58	3.07	3.67	3.24	3.47
South America	3.68	3.19	3.38	3.92	3.35
Europe	3.64	3.40	3.84	3.83	3.22
Middle East	3.52	3.57	3.72	3.74	3.24
Africa	3.50	3.78	3.56	3.39	3.50
Asia	3.78	3.23	3.78	3.75	3.55
Australia	3.69	3.31	3.43	3.61	3.49
Total	3.67	3.31	3.67	3.68	3.43

Different superscripts in the same column mean significant difference at 0.05 level

After the holiday trip, OTAs (\bar{X} =3.68) was mostly used by the respondents to provide comments and reviews about holiday experience, followed by Facebook and Review Sites such as TripAdvisor at the same mean of 3.67.

Table 6 Perceived of Trust on Social Media for Holiday Planning

Perceived of Trust	Facebo ok	Travel Blogs	Review Sites	Online Travel Agencie	Official Tourism Website
I trust information about holidays provided by....					
<i>p-value</i>	<i>0.96</i>	<i>0.47</i>	<i>0.01</i>	<i>0.68</i>	<i>0.04</i>
North America	3.20	4.04	3.51 ^{ab}	3.87	3.71 ^{ab}
South America	3.27	4.08	3.86 ^{bc}	3.68	3.73 ^{ab}
Europe	3.29	3.88	4.00 ^c	3.88	3.19 ^a
Middle East	3.41	3.63	3.35 ^a	4.02	3.70 ^{ab}
Africa	3.17	4.06	3.72 ^{abc}	3.50	3.33 ^{ab}
Asia	3.27	3.91	3.66 ^{abc}	3.77	3.70 ^{ab}
Australia	3.20	3.94	3.55 ^{abc}	3.90	3.88 ^b
Total	3.27	3.91	3.66	3.82	3.63

Different superscripts in the same column mean significant difference at 0.05 level

Finally, the study asked respondents to identify the level of their trust on each type of social media. The results in table 7 show that Travel Blogs (\bar{X} =3.91) were the highly trusted, followed by OTAs (\bar{X} =3.82). Facebook shows the least trusted type of social media based on this study, with the mean of 3.27.

The One-Way ANOVA results present significant differences between respondents with different continent of respondents and their level of trust on Review Sites such as TripAdvisor (\bar{X} =3.66, $p = 0.01$) and Official Tourism Websites (\bar{X} =3.63, $p = 0.04$).

Conclusion

This study aimed to understand how different types of social media influence different stages of tourist decision making process to travel in Thailand and to propose the model of tourist's decision making process which influenced by the use of social media. The results show that different types of social media were used for different purposes during the decision making process. Travel Blogs was used first for getting ideas on where to go for holiday as this type of social media received the highest trust from respondents. Later on, tourists used Review Sites to narrow down their choices and may make some changes to their original plan based on information from this type of social media.

Review Sites also influenced tourists when making their final decision about their holiday plan, although some of the information caused them to make some changes already. Information from Official Tourism Websites helps confirm tourist's decision on their destination choice, as it received the second highest trust from respondents. For this stage, Review Sites show to have significant influenced differences between continents of origin of the respondents where this social media influenced tourists from Australia the most and tourists from Europe the least.

Review Sites still influenced tourists when they seek for ideas and information on excursions. However, Travel Blogs show to have significant influenced differences between continents of origin of the respondents where it influenced tourists from Australia the most and tourists from Europe the least. OTAs have influenced tourists' decision when they want information about specific attraction. Review Sites also show to have significant influenced

differences between continents of origin of the respondents where this social media influenced tourists from Australia the most and tourists from Europe the least.

Facebook gained its influence only when tourists want to stay in contact with their friends.

OTAs gained its influence again when tourists want to provide comments and reviews about their holiday experienced.

Review Sites have influenced tourists in many stages of decision making, due to its third highest trust among other types of social media. The trust of Reviews Sites also shows to have significant differences between continents of origin of the respondents where tourists from Europe trusted it the most and tourists from North America trusted it the least.

This study supports the work of Munar and Jacobsen (2013) that tourists from Europe trusted Review Sites the most. This study, however, are in contrary to the work of Cox *et al* (2009) that Official Tourism Websites were the most trusted by Australian tourist and the work of Chiappa (2011) that OTAs were the most trusted by Italian tourists.

Although it can be said that this study has achieved its aim, further study need to be conducted to get more insight and a deeper understanding about the usage of social media and decision making based on different cultures and motivations of the tourists.

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Volunteer Tourism and Medical Tourism

Slum Tourism as a Tool for Urban–regeneration in South Korea

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As urbanisation has brought not only a life of abundance but also poverty, a unique residential area called 'slum' were created. Uniqueness of slums are attractive to beneficiaries of abundance from urbanisation, whereupon new form of tourism named 'slum tourism' has emerged. Recently many of local governments in Korea take lead to develop slum area as a tourist district for economic reasons. Government-driven tourism development is one of common strategies to boost poverty area economically. It sometimes helps the areas to improve economically while it causes conflicts among various stakeholders of the development such as local residents, tourists and local government. Unlike general forms of tourism, a core factor of slum tourism is poverty that is enormously connected to lives of local residents and human rights. It is obvious that there are more serious results of mutual gaze between local residents and tourists in slum tourism. Since the mutual gaze implies levels of power that form the implicit relationship of superior-subordinate, it might make slum tourism degenerated. It is required to prevent the spread of slum tourism which will destroy dignity of local residents and to find alternatives. This study aims to conceptualise slum tourism as a urban-redevelopment in economically developed countries in the age of de-industrialism, to discuss the validity and effectiveness of slum-tourism as a urban-redevelopment in perspectives of governments, residents and potential tourists and finally to suggest alternatives.

Keywords *Slum tourism, Poverty tourism, slum touristification, urban regeneration, mural village*

Introduction

Industrialisation leads to rapid urbanisation, resulting in social and economic imbalances, which is the key driver of urban area 'slumification'. 'Slumification' is an issue not only in the third world or developing countries but also in developed countries. While perception is that slum dwellers have a lower level of social and economic standards in less developed countries (LDCs), those in developed countries might not necessarily have a higher level since poverty is a relative concept.

South Korea is role model for many developing countries, having achieved fast economic growth and becoming a member of OECD after the Japanese occupation and the Korean war. However, as government national development policies focused on economic growth from a utilitarian rather than social perspective, it triggered not only urbanisation but also socioeconomic polarisation. With urbanisation, the economically vulnerable social groups voluntarily or inevitably migrated to sub-urban areas and built new forms of communities. The benefits of industrialisation are reduced to the city centre as the world entered the post-industrial age. It is difficult to define 'slumification' both semantically and academically, although

it is a common phenomenon in numerous LDCs and developed countries which experienced the post-industrialism. As a country that has gone through colonial domination, wars and eventually progressed to a developing country, South Korea has experienced various forms of 'slumification' and overcome many challenges. However, the focus of development plans for the backward areas are on economic benefits from utilitarian perspective, rather than social development. The 'mural village' project is the most successful urban regeneration plan for the lagging areas in South Korea. The murals on walls and stairs drew tourists from all over the world which in turn contributed to the vibrancy of the villages. As a result, many local governments in South Korea benchmark and adopted the 'mural village' project. Consequently, most of the backward areas which adopted the project are excluded from urban redevelopment projects since a long time ago. Moreover, the projects sites are urban slum areas with a relatively higher ratio of the poor and they have been mostly marginalized socio-economically for a long time. Thus the 'mural village' project can be considered a 'Korea slum tourism' project led by national and local governments as a tool of urban-regeneration. In July 2015, the government of Incheon metropolitan city in Korea passed a bill to build a 'Poverty Experience Museum' in *Gwaengiburi Maeul* village (a popular slum town in Korea) and it received nationwide interest on the issue of urban development. The government had passed the bill without seeking the opinions of residents who are the core stakeholders of the local development issue. Following massive criticism from the residents, mass media and even tourists, the government withdrew the bill within a month of passing.

This study aims to conceptualise slum tourism as a urban regeneration in economically developed countries in the age of de-industrialism, to discuss the validity and effectiveness of slum tourism as an urban regeneration in perspectives of governments, residents and potential tourists and finally to suggests alternatives. To achieve the purposes of the study, the study will first explore a formation of urbanisation and slumification. Secondly it will define urban regeneration, slum and development and investigate probability among them in the context of tourism. Thirdly, it will investigate slumification of Korea and the usage of tourism as tool of urban regeneration. Fourthly it will be analysis the perspectives of stakeholders about slum tourism projects in *Gwaengiburi-Maeul* and conclude by attempting to suggest alternatives. This study is based on secondary data from literature and qualitative data from major media channels.

Literature review

1. *Urbanisation and slumification*

The history of slum is not known precisely but many be tracked back to the Industrial Revolution. Under the influence of the Industrial Revolution, the labours leave the rural areas to live in city outskirts, while they worked long hours under poor conditions. "Washington Consensus", a policy prescription for development, refers to a set of broadly free market economic ideas, supported by prominent economists and international organisations, such as the IMF, the World Bank, the EU and the US (Whilliamson, 1989). Washington Consensus has become a start of a more general orientation towards a strongly market-based approach which refers to market fundamentalism or neoliberalism.

According to *Planet of Slum* (Davis, 2007), the earth has urbanised even faster than originally predicted by Club of Rome in its notoriously Malthusian 1972 report, *Limits of Growth*. Furthermore, it has been deepening and increasing inequality within a between different sizes and economic specialisation are observed. Governments in the third worlds have excluded and controlled the poor in their history of urban development and it continues today that the

local governments still conflict with the urban poor (Davis, 2007). Urban is a space of conflict between the property rights and the poor's right to live. Consequently, the urban areas in the third world countries restructured in favour of the rich, with the poor gradually cut off, creating bipolarisation between the rich and poor.

South Korea holds the world record in the history of the slum clearance. In 1971, *Gwangju Newtown Resistance* is a movement that resisted the first and government-led slum clearance project as an urban renewal strategy of Seoul by the central government (Greene, 2014). The government resettled the industrial working class in a southern satellite city called *Seongnam* to secure the capital politically, as well as to remove polluting industries from the cities. In 1970, the government relocated many of Seoul's poor to the new satellite city of *Gwangju (Gyeonggi-do)*, promising loans and property for housing construction. However, the government's failure to provide sewage and water services, paved roads, factories and schools resulted in demonstrations involving 100,000 settlers, known as the *Gwangju Newtown Resistance* (Wang et al., 2015). A saga on a forced slum clearance ignoring slum dwellers' opinions by the government eventually concluded in three days with the government accepting the slum dwellers' requirements.

The modern Olympics has an especially dark but little-known history (Davis, 2007). In *Planet of Slums*, Davis (2007) claims that poor people in the urban third world dread high-profile international events that prompt authorities to launch crusades to clean up the city. Also he asserts that slum-dwellers know that they are the 'dirt' or 'blight' that their governments prefer the world not to see. The 1988 Seoul Olympic Games was truly unprecedented in the scale of the official crackdown on poor homeowners, squatters, and tenants. As many as 720,000 people were relocated in Seoul and Incheon, leading a Catholic NGO to claim that South Korea vied with South Africa as "*the country in which eviction by force is most brutal and inhuman.*"

The term 'slum' was synonymous as 'fraud' or 'illegal transaction' and evolved to mean 'residence of the poor' from 'action of the poor' in the 1830s to 1940s, the period of cholera. By the middle of 19th century, 'slum' has been considered as an international phenomenon. Slums in each country has unique characteristics, but most comprise low income informal settlers who have limited access to public services and infrastructures. Slum should be considered as a relative concept as well (Klepsch, 2010). Rolfes et. al. (2009) suggest that poverty is subjective and should be defined from an observational perspective that relies on people, their experiences, knowledge and feelings about poverty. Thus it is possible that the phenomenon of slum tourism arises in not only developing countries but also developed countries because of relative poverty. Advanced marginality tends to be concentrated in isolated and bounded territories increasingly perceived as social purgatories, leprous badlands at the heart of the post-industrial city (Wacquant, 2008, as cited Frenzel, 2014). For the poor, urban areas have always provided a means of improving quality of life, as well as being in close proximity to better jobs and incomes (Costa, 2013). Typical types of slum are *Ghetto* and squatter. *Ghetto* is a slum area and a community occupied by a minority group (state, ethnic, race and etc.) and is distinguished from other parts of the urban area. Squatter is a district occupied unlawfully, typically in previously uninhabited buildings or unused lands in suburban areas of metropolitan cities. Squatters generally are created as a result of the process of over-urbanisation, pseudo urbanisation and formation of primate city.

Slums are heterogeneous because of various settlement reasons of dwellers, and there are more distinct attributes between slums in developing and developed countries. First of all, slums in developing countries tend to be formed by racial segregation, colonial influence and

social and political hierarchies. The slums also often tend to be the result of high social disparities in society enormous urban growth in a short period of time due to rural-urban migration and the country having more population under poverty line. Slums in developing countries have been created along axis of the urban development by elites or the upper class who control a colonial economy and reign the society. Most populations have a subjugated class that usually resides in suburban or outskirts of urban, and who are likely to have jobs to support the elites' lifestyle. Moreover cities experienced rapid urbanisation in developing countries, especially slum areas generally have lack of or poor condition of infrastructures, serious social disparities and incomplete urban functional differentiation. On the other hand, developed countries mostly have a long history of urbanisation and well-organised functional differentiation such as functions of production and residential stimulated by suburbanisation recently. As developed countries face the cavitation of nuclei population caused by inner city population loss, deterioration of urban and growth of ratio of low-income population, urban problems such as high criminal and unemployment rate are inevitable. As a result, the city is developed to comprise not only a business district but also a luxury residential area with culture and leisure space. Besides, it became the cornerstones to prevent urban decay and regrow as the consequences of renewal of urban landscape and increase of financial income. Urban development in lower-income residential area, however, destroys previous communities such that it becomes a vicious circle to reform new informal residential areas in the suburb.

2. Urban regeneration and tourism

Urban redevelopment & urban regeneration

The advent of deindustrialisation age prompted a redevelopment for archaic urban areas. Urban redevelopment considers physical reasons as causes of urban deterioration, particularly creating slums. On this account urban redevelopment implements housing development, especially demolition archaic districts in order to remove shameful scope of the city. Thus urban redevelopment in the urban management perspective is criticised for ostracizing slum dwellers in the redevelopment process, demolishing native communities, and ignoring the psychological suffering and social costs of slum residents.

The concept of urban regeneration emerged from the concept of the urban entrepreneurialism approach (Ball & Mainn, 2005) which suggested that slums form for not only physical but also economic, social and cultural reasons. Neoliberal globalisation influenced socioeconomic changes motivated the concept of urban regeneration (Cho, 2007). Urban regeneration projects led by local governments mainly target deteriorated urban areas build in the era of industrialisation to transform in accordance with socio-economic switches arose from globalisation (Park, 2007). Major cities in South Korea have implemented diverse urban regeneration projects targeting deteriorated urban areas. Majority of the cities ostensibly adopt urban regeneration projects which aim to improve overall environment in enthusiastic and active ways rather than large-scale development projects such as housing development or urban redevelopment planning. Nonetheless, the local government eventually take neoliberal and market-oriented urban redevelopment projects irrelevant to the residents since the governments adopt urban regeneration projects as means of the economic growth and development focusing on profits. It is criticised that the local governments exacerbate social exclusion of residents and deepening social disparities which are contrary to the initial aim of the urban regeneration.

Slum and development

A slum is heavily populated urban informal settlement caused by changes of urban functions and social changes. Slums are characterised by poor conditions of living, lower income and education level and higher criminal rate. Thus many governments choose 'urban regeneration' as a solution to problems of slums and the development projects are mostly led by government.

A government-led slum development has characteristics as follows. Firstly, a government-led slum development tends to make slum areas commercial, financial and/ or tourists which can be a feature icon or tourist attraction of the city. Local governments consider slum development as an alternative to attract investors, tourists and multinational corporations. Governments are under pressure to remove slums relocation and eviction of slum dwellers in order to expand urban areas. As illegally built informal settlements in slum areas make development difficult, governments exclude or ignore the slums from urban development or give acquiescence but the governments occasionally remove slums by force for the development. It is difficult to establish proper development strategies for slums because of their laborious attributes. Meanwhile, the slum may spread beliefs that the rich despise the poor or the poor must be violent or criminals. The main reason that slums form in urban area is that slum residents perform work that support urban economic activities. This underscores the importance of informal economic activities performed by slum residents i.e. they should be considered in the same light as the economic activities performed by urban residents. Therefore the forced removal and deportation of slum dwellers is criticised for ignoring their value and livelihood.

Development and tourism

A proper theory of justice for paradigm of mass production and mass consumption in the age of industrialism is utilitarianism which pursues the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Today utilitarians often describe in predominantly economic terms of monetary benefits over monetary costs and use efficiency, the result of measure in economic terms, as a standard for policy decision making. A just society in utilitarian terms refers to 'common good' rather than individuals. As a result, it can be legitimised to belittle personal values and to infringe the rights of minority (Kim, 2016).

Development is a planned change which seeks progress and to raise hope (Kim & Kim, 1997). To elaborate, development means growth and improvement of the quality in the process of changes. Urban growth in South Korea has been undertaken with the aim to maximise efficiency. Consequently a supplier-centred urban development has progressed, while giving rise to an inequality of urban areas formed by apathy and ignorance to individuals who were sacrificed for urban development. While it is inevitable that economic benefits of urban growth involves someone's sacrifices and there is no proper discussion about distribution of increased benefits, these issues are important enough to warrant action (a new standard) to mitigate them. It is possible for market economy lifestyle to moves to a lifestyle for better life for everyone by promoting awareness of local community-driven solutions for urban problems.

Tourism development is a process that makes an untapped resource to a new tourists attraction in order to meet the needs of tourists. In other words, tourism development aims to enhance tourist convenience, to attract tourists and to promote tourist expenditure, which is to some extent consistent with the concept of utilitarianism.

Numerous local governments in South Korea adopt tourism as a political strategy to revitalise underdeveloped or deteriorated areas. A representative policy strategy is a 'mural village (*byeokhwa maeul*)' project which is painting on a residential areas called *maeul* (village) to improve residential environment but mainly to attract tourists (Hwang & Yoon, 2016). Most sites of mural village projects are poor and deteriorated with a relatively lack of infrastructure. On this account, a mural village project in deteriorated areas is considered as an emerging Korean slum tourism. A mural village project leverages on the life and story of residents as development resources to improve *maeul* landscape and to regenerate *maeul* (Jung, 2014). A mural village project showcases the history of a village to tourists through mural storytelling, offers opportunities to receive economic benefits for local communities, and contributes to economic revitalisation. The trend of a mural village project proliferates nationwide especially among local governments which have deteriorated areas under their jurisdiction. However, conflicts between residents and tourists often occurs with the implementation of a mural village project which does not take into account the negative impact on residents. In fact, conflicts among residents, tourism and local government deepened recently with residents going as far as ruining the wall-painting in the village in hope to deter tourists from visiting (신문기사)

3. Slum tourism in South Korea

Emerging slum tourism

Post-neoliberalism, deindustrialisation and urbanisation generated urban poverty and the policy in the utilitarian approach as a solution led to social polarisation between the poor and the rich, which aggravates urban poverty. As people gain more travel experiences, having something new to see and experience becomes more important in enticing them to travel to the destination. Therefore, tourism providers endeavour to find unique tourist sites to respond to the needs of tourists. Existing tourist attractions are commonly predisposed to optimism. As tourists' needs evolve, the notion that tourist attractions should have positive characteristics is increasingly considered passé. Eventually, uniqueness alone may qualify a place to be called a tourist attraction, even if they have negative attributes.

By extension, 'poverty' has uniqueness in negative sense, it can be an appropriate tourist attraction when seen in positive light. According to Freire-Medeiros (2009), the slum allows the engagement with an altruistic sense of good citizenship (tourists would be contributing to the economic development of a poor area by paying for visit to it) at the same time as it motivates a sense of adventure and tourism-related pursuits. Poverty alleviation today is a universal aim, an enshrined ethical and political target across the world regardless of context and situation (Frenzel, 2012). Poverty became the main attraction of the destination and is central to the discourse that constitute the slum tourism experience (Rolfes, 2010; Meschkank, 2012; Dyson, 2012, Frenzel, 2012). The 'attraction' of poverty is directly linked to romanticised perceptions of the poor, a sense of authenticity that tourists hope to find there, and idealisations of simple life that have long circulated in Western discourses about the poorer others (Steinbrink, 2012; Scheyvens, 2011; Hall & Tucker, 2004; Hutnyk, 1996, Frenzel, 2012). There is tendency to focus on quantitative 'net benefit' to evaluate tourism's role in the neoliberal approach. Moreover the economics of tourism are based on the 'real' abstraction in which commodification or valorisation is understood in purely monetary terms. Commodification of poverty is here understood as a way of capitalists value creation (Frenzel & Koens, 2012). Freire-Medeiros (2009) claims as follows : *"Although under capitalism every single thing may be turned into a commodity (Marx states that) there is one thing which can never be bought or sold: poverty, for it has no exchange value. The fact is that at the turn of*

the millennium, poverty has been framed as a product for consumption through tourism on a global scale."

'Poverty tourism' is simply the ostracising of post-colonial societies by a metropolitan elite. Poverty tourists treat poor people as "objects in a zoo, rather than as human beings with rights". The concept of slum tourism began in poor sections of London in 1884 and spread to Manhattan at around the same time. Later, in 1992, a guided tour of a slum in Rio was initiated. Slum tourism is promoted by travel companies as a means to reduce poverty and enable local people to participate more effectively in the process. It is also aimed at improving the local economy of a developing country (Costa, 2013). Dürr and Jaffe (2012) argued that 'slumming' as a tourist experience that involves visiting urban areas characterized by poverty, squalor and violence. An importance recent trend in this regard is pro-poor, community-based, volunteer, ethical and other forms of 'responsible tourism', often viewed as better options for pursuing development and combating global inequality (Scheyvens, 2011). These forms of tourism promise a meaningful and transformative experience that is rewarding for both tourists and local communities (Vodopivec & Jaffe, 2011)

Proponents of slum tourism argue opinions as follows. Slum tourist is educational, raises people's social awareness of poverty therefore a precondition for change (Rolfes, 2010; Burgold & Rolfes, 2013; Kieti & Magio, 2013). Slum tourism provides opportunities for local entrepreneurs, empowerment and local economic development (Steinbrink et al., 2012). Also there has been considerable scholarly attention to focusing on pragmatic issues of whether this form of tourism exerts pro-poor impacts and therefore contributes to improving the poverty situation in slum areas (Booyens, 2010; George & Booyens, 2014, Rogerson, 2014). Also Slum tourism can be a solution to underdevelopment and poverty, a view that sees tourism as a modernisation strategy for LDC and developing countries (Frenzel, 2012). On the other hand, Basu (2012) Slum tourism critics assert that it was voyeuristic and that by turning "people's lives and miseries into a spectacle" was inherently exploitative. *London times* excoriated slum tourism as a 'poverty porn' (Selinger & Outterson, 2009). Besides Magio (2012) questions whether slum tourism is philanthropic travel or an organised exploitation of poverty. Slum tourism actually turns poverty into entertainment as it is experience momentarily and then escaped from permanently (Meschkank, 2011). Meanwhile, slum dwellers are essentially turned into commodities, a 'product in the service of the industry' (Lefevre, 2010) and the threat of economic leakage is slum tourism is very high.

Participation and opinions of residents as hosts are rarely accepted in the process of tourism development in poverty areas, particularly in slum areas. Tourism is a socio-cultural event for both the guest and host (Murphy, 1985) hence the ignorance of hosts' opinions can lead to many problems in the development of tourism (Kieti & Magio, 2013). Recreation and gazing at human misery are contradictory elements and creating a commodity from poverty may provoke moral anxiety (Kelpsche, 2010). Critics argue that the strong economic benefits for the 'need help' area is mostly invisible.

Slum tourism is a growth industry with more and more wealthy travellers opting to visit the poorest parts of the world (Costa, 2013). Tourism concerns (2016) suggests that tourists are privileged in power and resources, leaving those visited in a situation of potential vulnerability. Tourism comes with a promise of a potential redistribution of wealth from the richer to the poorer. Poverty is a medium to observe the power relationship among people ('gaze') and to measure rich-poor gap, while tourism is a representative industry to measure the like between the guest and the host. In the context of slum tourism, poverty is tourist attraction and slum tourism evokes the symbolic power of tourism. It is natural that gaze refers

to power relationship which is a basic component of human relations since gaze is a relationship with others and a medium to connect to the world (Park, 2008). Since residents in tourist areas believe that they are always objects of gaze (Urry, 1992), a tourist's gaze as a 'gazer' implies more power than a local resident as a 'gazee' (Urry, 1992; Kim, 2008; Yoon, Hwang & Lee, 2012). Kim (2009) claims that the more unequal the relationship between tourists (from developed countries) and local residents socioeconomically, the tourists tend to influence the tourist destination or residents (of developing countries) strongly. In slum tourism, as a tourist is more affluent socioeconomically than a local resident, and observes the residents unilaterally and evaluates them, the tourist (gazer) has a stronger power than the resident (gazee). On the other hand, residents gaze a tourist in different ways due to the diversity of slums. For example, local residents in slums which are developed into a tourist attraction have a tendency to cooperate in commercialising their own culture, history and customs depending on the tourist gaze. Whereas, locals residing in deteriorated areas of developed countries unrelated to tourism often attempt to do veiled resistance or open resistance (Maoz, 2006). *Ewha Maeul*, one of the deteriorated villages in South Korea became a hot tourist destination after being redeveloped by a government-led wall-painting project. However, some residents who experienced discourteous tourist behaviours erased murals and paintings on the walls out of anger. This became a representative case that the resident gaze showed their power to the tourist gaze. On this account, it is no wonder that slum tourism is getting plenty of attention today as a practice that should be subjected to responsible reflection (Goodwin, 2011; Mekaway, 2012).

Slum tourism as a tool for urban regeneration

Korea in post-industrialisation has implemented diverse policies led by governments for regeneration of deteriorated cities. In order to invigorate deteriorated areas, particularly slum areas, numerous local governments in Korea adopted tourism as a tool of regeneration. Since residents and local artists in *Gamcheon Culture Village*, a typical slum area in Busan initiated to draw mural and paintings on walls and fences, this village has now become a sudden destination fame nationwide as well as attracts overseas tourists as a 'must-see' attraction in Busan. It made infrastructures in *Gamcheon Culture Village* to improve and also it seems to stimulate a local economy. Success of the slum called *Gamcheon Culture Village* inspired local governments in Korea. Shortly many of them started to undertake 'mural village project' as a tool of slum regeneration, consequently numerous deteriorated villages or slum areas transformed to a 'mural village' to attract tourists. The slums, undertook a mural village project succeeded to attract tourists and is become to be famous. Tourists began to visit a 'regenerated slum village' to observe lifestyles of others or the poor.

'Korean slum tourism' initiated by a mural village project have different attributes from slum tourism in developing countries. First of all, tourists who visit the slums in Korea are mostly FITs (free independent tourist) rather than package tourists. Secondly, domestic tourists area take a majority visitor rate rather than overseas tourists and especially baby-boomers of Korea (born in 1955 to 1963) are able to feel nostalgia that they have experience poor life similar to slum residents. Thirdly, since SNS is a part of human life today, young generation share the unique experience of the slum with the world while they take photos of habitations and inhabitants of the slum without any permission to prove their visitation to this 'authentic' place. Fourthly, some parents may visit the slums to motivate of the study and success of their children, due to attributes of Korean society which can be described as materialism, success or result oriented social environment and abnormally high education

enthusiasm. In other words, Korean slum tourism is the best and the most appropriate tourist attraction to show their children 'not to live like the residents in the slums' which motivate to study harder and eventually to achieve success. It rarely expects tourist behaviours any solicitude or behaviour for local residents in the slum. Lastly, fortunately, residents of slums in Korea are relatively capable of having a voice and have higher understanding of channels to use of mass media and NGOs compared with residents of slums in developing countries.

Slum villages which the government adopted a strategy *Gamcheon Culture Village* without any concerns had been implemented in the purpose of to be famed and attract tourists but not to improve infrastructure or residential environment for inhabitants. The local governments concentrate on creating photo zones which decorated with murals and art objects in order to raise fame of the area. The local government contended illogical logic that the influx of tourists affect to revitalise local economy without reviewing opinions of residents so that the residential area which is a space of their livelihood became an tourist attraction such as a theme park or a zoo. It often occurs conflicts between to tourists and residents because of increasing number of tourists and their undiscerning behaviours such as noise and waste problems. Eventually some communities started to damage murals not to attract tourists any more. It is true that a mural village project has been helped some slums such as *Gamcheon Culture Village* in Busan as a tool of regeneration. Nevertheless, most of slums which undertook a mural village project incurred boosting unprecedented the government-led 'Korean slum tourism'. It proceeded from reckless belief of the government, an organizer of the project which they considers tourism as a tool of urban regeneration and anticipates the 'outcome' but not the 'process' of the succeeded slums.

Case Study

1. Methodology

This study was carried out in the case study of a government led slum tourism project in *Manseok dong*, Incheon metropolitan city which is one of largest slum area in Korea in 2015. In order to collect extensive opinions of stakeholders, the study is based on the secondary and qualitative data from the major media including press media and broadcastings. Due to legibility, the source of second data is place at the reference page *en bloc*.

study used interviews and opinions of stakeholders of slum tourism especially in the case of *Gwaengiburi-Maeul*, the research site of the study.

2. Case Study

Overview and history of Gwaengiburi-Maeul

Incheon metropolitan city is located in north-western Seoul, a capital city of South Korea. Today, about 3 million people live in the city, making it Korea's third most populous city after Seoul and Busan. *Gwaengiburi-Maeul* which is a site of "*Children in Gwaengiburi-Maeul*", a Korean bestseller novel is deteriorated but has more than 100 years of history although most of neighbourhood areas lost their old memories due to urbanisation. Since the opening of the port in 1883, *Gwaengiburi-Maeul* used to be an tax-grain storage. Until the early 1900s the village used to be secluded, however during the Japanese colonial period, the area which is mostly tideland was reclaimed and built numerous factories. It gave rise to create not only labour accommodation but also red-light districts and finally the area enjoyed a period of prosperity particularly economically. Since the Korean War in 1950, *Gwaengiburi-Maeul* transformed to informal squatter of refugees from *Hwanghae-do* in North Korea. In 1960s, the era of rapid urbanisation and industrialisation in South Korea, the influx of rural exodus

provoked to expand the village. Henceforward progressing deindustrialisation and urbanisation, the young and the rich left the village and it became the place that have the highest index of aging in Incheon now. Furthermore, *Gwaengiburi-Maeul* which was created informally and unsystematically have been continuously excluded from the government-driven urban development and it accelerated slumification of the village as well as the residents migration. Currently 359 households and 616 populations reside in the village and 230 households and approximately 300 populations live in the slum area called *Jjokbang-chon* in 2015 (Son, 2015).

Government-driven slum tourism as a urban regeneration

Jjokbang-chon (*Jjokbang* : rooms of a house divided into smaller units) is referring to an typical enclave of the poorest people living in 3m³-sized single rooms and sharing common toilets and washroom in Korea. Residents in *Gwaengiburi-Maeul*, the oldest *Jjokbang-chon* in *Incheon* reside in the unimaginably substandard living condition in Korea including informal dilapidated dwelling, and common restroom and washroom. The inadequate living environment are exposed to disasters such as fires and flood. For improving a residential environment of the village, *Donggu* district office having jurisdiction of *Gwaengiburi-Maeul* undertook "Residential Environmental Improvement Project" during the period of 2012 to 2018. The purpose of the project is to inherit previous community and to improve residential environment through communication with residents in order to raise resettlement and to enhance quality of life providing adequate environment. Although the project contributed to improve the surroundings of residential areas including common toilets, a park and parking lots, the core residential area is excluded from the project so that it revealed that the real living condition of residents has not been improved at all.

Meanwhile, success cases of slum regeneration undertaking a 'mural village project' such as *Gamcheon Culture Village* in Busan and *Dongpirang Village* in *Tongyeong* contribute to local economic resilience as well as the influx of tourists and it became a significant issues in urban regeneration. In addition, *Experience Park for the Life of the Guro Industrial Complex Labourers* in *Guro Industrial Complex* which used to be the first large-scale manufacturing complex and led to national economic growth during 1960s to 1990s is evaluated favourably as the a remarkable local government-driven urban regeneration project to provide nostalgia to the older generation and a place to learn modern history of Korea to the young generation. The trend of development particularly using tourism motivated *Donggu* district government to regenerate *Gwaengiburi-Maeul* taking the *Experience Park in Guro Industrial Complex* as a model. In June 2015 *Donggu* district government abruptly made an official announcement of 「*Town planning ordinance for building and operating Experience Museum of Old life*」. The intent of the ordinance is to build a "*Experience Museum for Life in the Past (ECLP)*" as a part of residential improvement development projects, which is to protect authenticity of local community and to remember a history of *Gwaengiburi-Maeul*. The *Donggu district government* designed to establish the *Experience Museum for Life in the Past* in *Gwaengiburi-Maeul* which is the oldest in *Incheon* and the most 'well-known' and 'typical' *Jjokbang-chon* in South Korea. The district office also planned to renovate the two-story house using as a common area for residents to several 37m³ size of rooms for tourists who want to stay and experience 'the poor life in the past'. The district office designed to display old photos of the village, a chamber pot, a black and white television and other old goods in the *Experience Museum* and to organise a tour program to show the historical life of the residents and to arouse nostalgia to tourists. *Donggu* district government in which *Gwaengiburi-Maeul* belongs expected local economic

revitalisation setting up the *Experience Museum* which the district office strongly believe the influx of tourists and creation of connectivity to other tourist attraction within the district. *Jjokbang-chon* has fairly exposable structure particularly in summer due to no cooling facilities, they mostly open their doors and windows to survive. That is, it is easier to show their life to tourists and it can be authentic tourist attractions. It is reported that most of residents of *Jjokbang-chon* are the poor who have day labour jobs or the elderly with mobility difficulties but no one runs their own business. The poverty of *Gwaengiburi-Maeul* makes the village a hot place which the rich donates for 'poor neighbours' and takes photos to verify goodwill on SNS to the poor especially in the year end. As the needs of a tourist who seeks unrevealed attractions and usage of SNS are recently increasing, visitors flow in the village, peep into the houses and take photos of residents without any concerns and permissions, thus conflicts between residents and tourists often occurs. Some tourists not only feel sympathy for the poor residents but also relief in the sense of superiority as they see the poverty of a slum. It accords with tourist motivations in slum tourism and *Gwaengiburi-Maeul* eventually turned to a slum tourism destination in developed countries where the residents feel more relative poverty even though the village is not as poor as a slum in developing countries.

Perspectives of Stakeholders

Although it is difficult to reflect opinions or views of all stakeholders in urban development or regeneration, it is a key point to lead successful urban regeneration collecting opinions from each of stakeholders and modifying plans in order to reflect at the most. In particular, it is more crucial in the case which local residents are service providers like tourism. Key stakeholders in *Donggu* district government-driven '*the Project of Experience Museum for Life in the Past in Gwaengiburi-Maeul*' as a slum tourism project are residents in *Gwaengiburi-Maeul*, *Donggu* district government as a local government and potential tourists as a future consumer of the project. *Donggu* district government, the local government as a organiser of the project ignored and excluded opinions of residents who are a core stakeholder of the project and residents reacted against the unfair situation. It went into headlines and got huge attention, whereupon the government is criticised by potential tourists. To achieve precise views on the government-led slum tourism project, it is required to analyse perspectives of each stakeholders, local governments, local residents, and potential tourists.

(1) Perspective of local government : Incheon *Donggu* District government

Incheon *Donggu* district government which led slum-touristification of *Gwaengiburi-Maeul* claimed that the *Experience Museum of Life in the Past* attracts tourists or visitors, thus it creates connectivity to other tourist attraction in the district and consequently the local economy would revitalise. The government means that the influx of tourists generates sales of souvenirs, handcrafts or food and beverages and it would be an opportunity to change and development of the village. Key target market of the government-planned slum tourism project is parents with school children so that the slum tour experience would offer memories of childhood for parents and opportunity to learning for their children. *Gwaengiburi-Maeul* have historic value places which experienced and prove the era of opening port, Japanese colonialism and even the turbulence era of the industrialisation, thus the government decided that it deserves to be an attractive and authentic tourist destination to generate tourist money. Furthermore, *Donggu* district government won a success case of Residential Environment Improvement by the Presidential Committee on Regional Development and secured KRW 200 million of budget, therefore the government strongly assert to carry forward the project

according to the plan. Hence, the plan and claims of *Gwaengiburi-Maeul's* slum touristification are only focused on monetary perspective without any considerations of opinions or plans for the residents. On the contrary, the government suggested that '*the government is not capable to satisfy all members of residents and after the completion of slum touristification of Gwaengiburi-Maeul, all of members would definitely be able to enjoy the local economic revitalisation*'. Moreover the government insisted that the residents opposed the government for oppositions sake and did not accept why only *Gwaengiburi-Maeul* cannot undertake the projects while other local governments implemented similar projects and enjoyed success.

(2) Local residents : Residents of *Gwaengiburi-Maeul*

The residents of *Gwaengiburi-Maeul* was immensely shocked that the government made an official announcement about slum touristification of *Gwaengiburi-Maeul*, their home. The residents did not understand that why the government pushed unilaterally forward the project as well as enacted an ordinance of slum touristification without any opinions of the residents. Additionally the residents claimed that the government attempted to implement the slum touristification project again although it tried to commodify poverty including building guesthouses attracting tourists in *Gwaengiburi-Maeul* but it miscarried the plan due to the opposition of residents in 2011. The residents argued that the government commodified poverty in consequence it made *jjokbang-chon* and the residents attractions. In fact, it occurs conflicts between residents and tourists as tourists came into the village, took photos without any permission and peeped residents private places. Some residents were enraged by feeling themselves animals in a zoo. The residents asserted that even though the slum touristification project was undertaken yet, they suffered from conflicts with tourists but if the project is completed, *Gwaengiburi-Maeul* would lead to zooification (Mowforth & Munt, 2003) and be filled with tourists who want to watching lives of the poor like watching animals in a zoo. A resident testified as followed : "A kindergartener of an excursion group told his friend 'if you don't study and live lazily, you will become like this poor people and live at this place'. in front of an elder man. This conversation of kindergarteners hurt dignity of the elder man who settled down and have lived to build the village since the Korean War." Although the local government suggested slum touristification of *Gwaengiburi-Maeul* to revitalise the local economy, the residents are not capable and do not intent to sell souvenirs or food and beverage. Namely, the residents were offended that *Donggu* district government suggested the slum touristification project without their opinions or permissions and made a decision to open the life of residents to the public compulsorily. As a result, 160 residents of *Gwaengiburi-Maeul* submitted a petition for opposition to the slum touristification on 9th of July in 2015.

(3) Potential tourists : the Korean who knows about the issue

The conflict about slum touristification of *Gwaengiburi-Maeul* became a social issue through the media, potential tourists, the other stakeholder raised their voice against the issue. First of all, potential tourists who might be the South Koreans suggested their opinions or voices as followed : 'poverty is not an object to experience', 'do the rich touristification in the rich district', 'it's too much that the government commodifies tired life of others... without their opinion', and 'I cannot help resenting an idea of commodifying poverty without understanding the nature of poverty and touristifying it'. Moreover there are views as followed : 'this is a proper example that shows social polarisation of South Korea through touristification of tough life in a slum', 'slum touristification is a typical phenomenon that human dignity kneels for the money', 'what parents want to teach their children through slum tourism? sense of superiority?', and

'slum tourism is zooification of the area and is very offensive behaviour'. Meanwhile, there are suggestions on slum touristification. : 'The intention of the *Experience Museum* for Life in the Past is good but it should be built in other location, not the residential area', and 'the government would better spend budget for slum touristification to improving poor condition of *jjokbang-chon*. Like above, potential tourists reacted fairly negatively about commodifying poverty and particularly they were outraged at the unilateral and coercive decision by the government. Furthermore, it is suggested that improvement of residential environment must take priority over touristification in slums. Meanwhile, since media exposure of *Gwaengiburi-Maeul*, many of tourists have been to *Gwaengiburi-Maeul* to 'watch' 'poverty' of the residents before 'official' slum touristification even though potential tourists criticised the local government, *Donggu* district government.

Findings and discussion

1. The result of the slum touristification project

Incheon *Donggu* district government enforced the slum touristification project in spite of the media coverage. However, the slum touristification project was temporarily faltered while the criticism of the Koreans, potential tourists spread nationwide. Therefore the government has been roundly criticised, whereupon the city council of *Donggu* district government rejected the slum touristification project named 「*Town planning ordinance for building and operating Experience Museum of Old life*」 on 13th of July in 2015.

2. Problems of the slum touristification : the case of Gwaengiburi-Maeul

Donggu district government proposed forcefully the ordinance of the slum touristification of *Gwaengiburi-Maeul* suggests few discussions. Firstly, it must not be overlooked negative impacts before the steps of planning the urban regeneration project since tourism is a double edged sword which have both positive and negative impacts on the local community. Economic benefits from tourism are variable and dependent on social, economic, and cultural capacity of the site of the project, particularly tourism in a poverty area like a slum exacerbates their poverty. *Donggu* district government claimed that the influx of tourists provide an opportunity to sell souvenirs and food and beverage, eventually it will devote to job creations. Nevertheless the claim does not connote any considerations of the residents in the slum and all the more, it imply that the government will arbitrarily control and judge the lives of the residents in the community. If the slum tourism contributes the local economic growth and the residents welfare improvement of to a local community in approach of *Donggu* district government, infamous slums worldwide such as Dharavi in Mumbai (India), favela in San Paulo (Brazil) and township in South Africa should have already escaped from poverty. The potent argument of *Donggu* district government proves that the government is an entity of absolute power to control the lives of the poor residents in a slum, thus the government conducts authoritarian administrations which refer that the government is unable to satisfy all residents rather than communicate with the opposing residents. Generally, the residential environment project driven by a local government does not mean to attract tourists but it is an obligation of the local government to enhance residents welfare in the community. The slum development is implemented in a site that the poor actually resides, therefore it should not be conducted in the monetary approach only but in the diverse approaches including society, culture, economy, environment and welfare. Secondly, residents of a slum are required to raise their voice to protect themselves. In case of *Gwaengiburi-Maeul* which mostly poor and lethargic aged population reside , NGOs became a representative of the village to raise the

voices. Nevertheless, it is more important that the representatives deliver what the residents really want as well as emphasise that the residents oppose the government led slum touristification. Lastly, potential tourists need to reconsider what the poverty really means in a slum in Korean society dominated by materialism. The tourists must not assure their superiority or self-reassurance to the poor in a slum. Rather the tourists behave morally and ethically about zooification of the slum.

Conclusion

Previous studies of slum tourism mostly focus on slums which are 'commodified' by private travel agencies in developing countries or the third world. As South Korea, one of Asia's most highly-developed countries faced the era of deindustrialisation, the government adopted tourism as a tool of urban regeneration. Since 2007 'the mural village project' in deteriorated and poverty areas became a starting point of Korean slum tourism. It seemed a magic tool for both regenerating the village and attracting tourists, thus the projects rapidly spread nationwide. However it became a controversial phenomenon that occurs conflicts between residents and tourists due to exposure of privacy, noise and littering, hence it is brought up a subject whether the slum tourism is an appropriate tool for urban regeneration or not. Nonetheless, some local government take or implement slum tourism as a tool of regeneration to expect revival of their communities.

Gwaengiburi-Maeul is one of the historical and typical slum area, located in Incheon, a gateway of South Korea. *Donggu* district government, a competent authority overlooked that the slum tourism as a tool of urban regeneration causes serious problems thus the government attempted the ordinance of slum tourism project unilaterally and forcefully. In fact, the slums in South Korea have better living conditions compared to slums in development countries, yet relative poverty and sense of deprivation of the residents in Korean slums are similar or even greater than there. Unlike previous studies of slum tourism, majority of Korean slum tourism have been driven by the governments, not private travel companies and even the central government invested budget to slum tourism projects which is a tool of an administration-oriented urban regeneration. *Donggu* district government planned the slum touristification as a tool of regeneration for a deteriorated city only in the monetary perspective excluding voices and lives of residents who should be considered as a core stakeholder in the project.

This study analyses views and opinions of stakeholders on the slum touristification project using media resources. The stakeholders consist of Incheon *Donggu* district government as a organiser of the project, the residents as a tourist attraction and potential tourists as a future consumer of the slum tourism. After all, as the slum touristification became a controversial issue due to criticism from the residents, the mass media and potential tourists, consequently in July, 2015, the city council of Incheon rejected 「*Town planning ordinance for building and operating Experience Museum of Old life*」 which proposed in June, 2015.

The study offers few suggestions as follows. First of all, Incheon *Donggu* district government, an organiser of the project should aware *Gwaengiburi-Maeul* is an residential area where the people actually live before adopting and planning the slum touristification project as tool of urban regeneration, thus the government is supposed to plan the regeneration project in diverse approaches including residential environment, welfare and other factors influenced to the residents. Secondly, *Gwaengiburi-Maeul* and the residents as an tourist attraction itself need to raise their voices against injustices caused by the poverty, even so, the residents should not oppose other stakeholders for opposition's sake but suggest logical reasons and alternatives what they really want and need. Lastly, potential tourists, a future

consumers behave morally and ethically and take a responsibility before choosing slum tourism as a leisure activity.

The study analyses views and opinions of stakeholders related to the slum touristification project of *Gwaengiburi-Maeul* based on media resources. There is a limitation to generalise the suggestion of the study because slums have heterogeneous and dynamic attributes for their diversity. The article conducted study on slum tourism as a tool of urban regeneration in developed countries only which few previous studies carried out, therefore it is required further studies of slum tourism in diverse approached that this study could carry out.

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Everyday Ethics in Volunteer Tourism in Asia

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Volunteer tourism has risen as one of those more responsible alternatives when mass tourism has been blamed for causing various problems. Currently, this line of research has still been freighted with western assumption and ethical models. The assumption has been of tourists traveling from the global North to the global South. However, this has been troubled by the rise of Asian economies. Asian participation in volunteer tourism has been active but under-researched with only few attempts beyond the western markets. When it turns to the Asian Century, it would be sensible to ask: how are the ethical commitments seen in the “ethical everyday” in non-western societies? This study is to develop the concept of volunteer tourism through the discussion of everyday ethics and responsibility in the Chinese context. It aims to trouble the western assumption in the geography of responsibility and care. It is delimited to the Greater China Region in which volunteer tourists from Hong Kong and Taiwan are focused on. This paper will emphasize the analysis from the literature on the topic of an on-going research followed with a brief introduction to the research design which involves an ethnography with volunteer tourists throughout the voluntary program.

Keywords: *Volunteer tourism, everyday ethics, North – South divide, Asia*

Introduction

Mass tourism has been blamed for causing various problems, which gives rise to alternative tourism moving towards more responsible, green, ethical, good, enlightened and experiential types (Moufakkir, 2012). From these new trends, it is believed that ethics and responsibility ought to be considered since they are acknowledged in various aspects of life (Sin & Minca, 2014). Volunteer tourism has then been promoted as a new niche in the market of more ethical and responsible alternatives. As a combination of “volunteering” and “travelling”, it is a type of serious leisure (Stebbins, 1982, 1996). According to research by Tourism Research and Marketing (2008), an estimated 1.6 million individuals take part in volunteer tourism projects in developing countries annually. A rapid growth of participants in short-term volunteer tourism programmes organized by “sending organizations” which include not-for-profit organizations, private companies, universities, religious organizations, conservation agencies and charities has been noticed (Raymond & Hall, 2008). Academic research has primarily focused on several areas of this tourism niche: 1) pre-trip motivations (e.g. Benson & Seibert, 2009; Broad & Jenkins, 2008; Bruyere & Rappe, 2007; Chen & Chen, 2011; Grimm & Needham, 2012; Lo & Lee, 2011; Sin, 2009; Söderman & Snead, 2008; Tomazos & Butler, 2010; Weaver, 2015); 2) debates on altruism versus self-interest (e.g. Brown, 2005; Coghlan & Fennell, 2009; Fennell, 2006; Grimm & Needham, 2012; Mustonen, 2007; Singh, 2002; Tomazos & Butler, 2010, 2012); 3) marketing and commodification of

volunteer tourism programs (e.g. Bussell & Forbes, 2002; Calkin, 2013; Gray & Campbell, 2007; Smith, 2014; Vodopivec & Jaffe, 2011; Wearing & McGehee, 2013); 4) impacts and outcomes on host destinations, volunteer tourists or host-guest relationship (e.g. Coghlan, 2015; Conran, 2011; Frazer & Waitt, 2016; Guttentag, 2009; Holmes & Smith, 2010; Lepp, 2008; McGehee & Andereck, 2009; McGehee & Santos, 2005; Mostafanezhad, 2016; Mostafanezhad, Azizi, & Johansen, 2016; Zahra & McGehee, 2013). Among these, the study of motivations is still significant and frequently seen in the literature. However, previous studies tend to appeal to motivations of individuals; how they talk about their “wanting to” and “doing” in their everyday contexts is still lacking in the literature.

Currently, this field of study has still been freighted with western assumption and ethical models. The assumption has been of tourists traveling from the global North to the global South. From the perspective of the global North, they are sending care to the “distant others” in the developing countries (Silk, 2004). However, this has been troubled by the rise of Asian economies. Participation in volunteer tourism has been active in Asia; nevertheless, Asian voluntourists have been under-researched with only few attempts beyond the western markets (Lee & Yen, 2015; Lo & Lee, 2011; Pan, 2012; Sin, 2009, 2010). When we are moving toward the “Asian Century” (Winter, 2009), it would be sensible to ask: what is the ethical imperative there framing the motivations? How are these ethical commitments seen in the “ethical everyday” in non-western societies?

Motivations of volunteer tourists

Volunteer tourism has arisen as a type of alternative tourism in the market. Many definitions have been given to volunteer tourism, with Wearing’s more commonly adopted. Wearing (2001) defines volunteer tourists as “those tourists who, for various reasons, volunteer in an organized way to undertake holidays that might involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments or research into aspects of society or environment (p.1). He also regards volunteer tourism “as a development strategy leading to sustainable development and centring the convergence of natural resource qualities, locals and the visitors that all benefit from tourism activity” (p.12). Various forms over a broader continuum have been recognized under this umbrella term. For instance, voluntourism which gives equal credence to both the volunteer and travel experiences has the greatest emphasis on tourism (Voluntourism.org, 2014; as cited in McGehee, 2014); international volunteering at the other end of the spectrum focuses on the volunteering component (Wearing & McGehee, 2013); speciality forms such as WWOOFing (Yamamoto & Engelsted, 2014) and domestic forms of volunteer tourism (Weaver, 2015) are also growing with popularity and research interest. From Wearing’s definition, there are two dimensions to perceive volunteer tourism, with the central idea that volunteer tourism brings positive impacts to the environment or host communities (Sin, Oakes, & Mostafanezhad, 2015). The second dimension focuses on the intrinsic rewards or positive changes in volunteer tourists (Callanan & Thomas, 2005; McGehee & Santos, 2005; Weaver, 2015).

The existing motivation literature has supplied an array of factors which have been summarized into personal fulfilment, altruism, and others. Personal fulfilment focuses on the benefits for participants and the adding to human capital. This may help develop themselves from doing good deeds. This includes cultural immersion/interaction with locals (Benson & Seibert, 2009; Brown, 2005; Callanan & Thomas, 2005; Lo & Lee, 2011; Sin, 2009; Wearing, 2001); learning/broadening horizon (Benson & Seibert, 2009; Bussell & Forbes, 2002; Callanan & Thomas, 2005; Grimm & Needham, 2012; Söderman & Snead, 2008; Wearing,

2001); personal growth/career development (Broad & Jenkins, 2008; Bruyere & Rappe, 2007; Chen & Chen, 2011; Coghlan, 2015; Sin, 2009; Söderman & Snead, 2008; Wearing, 2001); bonding/camaraderie (Brown, 2005; Bruyere & Rappe, 2007; Lo & Lee, 2011); self-esteem/self-actualization Bruyere & Rappe, 2007; Bussell & Forbes, 2002; Coghlan, 2015; Lepp, 2008; Sin, 2009); and “making a difference” (Brown, 2005; Gray & Campbell, 2007; Grimm & Needham, 2012; Lo & Lee, 2011).

Some participants volunteer out of altruistic concerns to benefit others in need. It is found that people are motivated by altruism (Broad & Jenkins, 2008; Bussell & Forbes, 2002; Caissie & Halpenny, 2003; Callanan & Thomas, 2005; Söderman & Snead, 2008); desire to give back/serve (Brown, 2005; Bruyere & Rappe, 2007; Callanan & Thomas, 2005; Lo & Lee, 2011; McIntosh & Zahra, 2007; Pan, 2012; Sin, 2009); and perks of volunteering (Caissie & Halpenny, 2003; Sin, 2009; Söderman & Snead, 2008).

There are also other motivations, including pleasure-seeking/escape (Bruyere & Rappe, 2007; Caissie & Halpenny, 2003; Lo & Lee, 2011); religious involvement (Lo & Lee, 2011), right time/place (Söderman & Snead, 2008), language learning (Söderman & Snead, 2008), and support by others (Chen & Chen, 2011; Söderman & Snead, 2008).

Of the first two categories, there is an existing debate on dichotomy of altruism versus self-interest (e.g. Brown, 2005; Coghlan & Fennell, 2009; Fennell, 2006a; Grimm & Needham, 2012; Mustonen, 2007; Singh, 2002; Tomazos & Butler, 2010; 2012). However, it is pointed out that volunteers are not born to be altruistic; they can adopt any position on the continuum between pure altruism and pure egotism, and they are able to possess multiple motivations simultaneously (Tomazos & Butler, 2012). Despite this, most studies on volunteer tourist motivations have placed emphasis on developing lists of motives (Tomazos & Butler, 2012). There is still a paucity of research on what frames these motivations. By relating this to ordinary ethics, it would mean, for instance, what “make a difference” or “give back” mean, who tells them they should make a difference or give back, how they talk about making a difference or giving back in their everyday contexts such as home, workplace and school, and why making a difference in the form of volunteer tourism (care-in-situ) instead of other ways such as donation.

Ordinary ethics, care and responsibility

Ethics, as basis to distinguish between good and bad, has been perceived to be very philosophical, implicit and exceptional. However, it is believed that some ethical situations and practices are ordinary and routine (Stafford, 2013). According to Lambek (2010), ethical life is therefore observable not only in exceptional circumstances such as “moral dilemmas”, but also in routine and everyday ones, and routine ethical circumstances are often dealt with via tacit understandings and the micro processes of everyday life rather than via explicit philosophizing, theory building or decision-making”. Stafford (2013) posits that ethics is also the subject of explicit deliberation which is a routine dimension of action, and thus ‘explicit ethical reflection, explicit discussion of ethical matters and explicit judgement and decision-making in relation to ethical demands are also “ordinary” aspects of human life’ (p.5). In brief, ordinary ethics is the “complex everyday caring and relations with others which are widespread through society” (Cloke, Johnsen, & May, 2007, p.1099).

Discussions in geography surrounding ethics and morality emerged in the 1990s, coined as the ‘moral turn’ (Smith, 1997), have brought up themes of care, responsibility, and obligation (Hall, 2011). The discussion of geography of care has extensively focused on ordinary household and consumption. Previous studies have tended to emphasize the

situatedness of care in familiar places such as home as sites of care provision (Sin, 2010; Yeates, 2004), and who and what to care for is often based on partiality as the caring relationships are constructed on interconnectivity between people with similar identities on a particular locality (Milligan, 2001). However, how tourism spaces could be or are viewed as sites of care has not yet been explicitly discussed (Sin, 2010). Tourism spaces as sites of care provision is directly relevant to the literature on “caring at a distance”. Silk (2000) suggests that we should extend our care to the “distant others”, as in today’s globalized world the local communities are increasingly stretched out in our imaginations. This enables connection of people living in different places through transnational networks and recognition of sameness due to our relations with others (Lawson, 2007; Massey, 2004; Popke, 2006; Sin, 2010). When expanding the periphery of care, what do people care for? What makes people care for African children rather than the elderly, and who does the care (Mostafanezhad, 2012)? Also, how is care embodied (Gibson, 2009)? More discussions are awaiting.

In ordinary situation, living an ethical life would stem to cultivating a virtuous self. Foucault talks about *rapport à soi* (relation to the self) in his concept of technologies of the self (Feighery, 2011, p.1038). It echoes the idea of moral selving – a process of cultivating a more virtuous person (Allahyari, 2000). Moral selving is the “mediated work of creating oneself as a more virtuous person through practices that acknowledge responsibilities to others... (It) might take the form of explicit performances, or displays, of virtuous conduct. But it also refers to a range of more humble, perhaps even anonymous modes of conduct” (Barnett, Cloke, Clarke, & Malpass, 2005, p.30). It is also the process of caring for the self, which is tantamount to living an ethical life in Foucauldian perspective, and this derives into that ethics operates at the level of everyday life practices (Feighery, 2011). Cottingham (2000) suggests that if we possess the character and personality to lead an ethical life, we may not be able to choose when to activate these traits in our character, and thus cultivation of our emotional sensibilities is important in building up the virtue ethics to achieve an ethical life. In this sense, we would not be able to limit our care to both ourselves and others; care of the self and others has become a routine dimension of our everyday life.

Cloke et al. (2007) state that ordinary ethics forms the foundation on which the specific impulses to volunteering, and ordinary responsibilities to others are the platforms for specific ethical practices. Volunteering is perceived to be bridging the practice of these ordinary ethics into extraordinary situations as a performance of ethical citizenship rather than dutiful citizenship (Cloke et al., 2007). Under this form of ethical citizenship, people volunteer due to the sense of “wanted to” rather than “obliged to” and use volunteering to develop a more virtuous identity (Cloke et al., 2007). This requires a “device” (Barnett et al., 2005) which presents a bridge between “the governing of the ethical self and the broader governing of welfare” (Cloke et al., 2007, p.1092), which is the volunteering opportunity in the context, and the extraordinary situations are organized spaces of care. Volunteering links to the concept of care. Silk (2000) distinguishes “caring about” and “caring for”, of which the former encompasses the emotional engagement while the latter involves an active step of ethical practice. Barnett and Land (2007) suggest that “caring for” others is more authentic in the sense that it is performed directly to “distant others” in proximity. This means that it is more than the motivations of caring; it is also about effective translation of the motivations into actions. There have been various studies on “caring for”, however, what sorts of everyday ethics that drives people from thinking of “doing good” to practicing it is still lacking in the literature.

The rise of volunteerism has marked the shifting landscape of responsibility which were articulated as top-down and unproblematized (Noxolo, Raghuram, & Madge, 2012). It reflects the changing state ideologies about the apparatus of welfare and roles and accountability in social service provision (Cloke et al., 2007). Within contemporary landscape of volunteerism in the West, a major swing from collective to individualized volunteering has been noticed (Beck, 2002; Eckstein, 2001; Meijs and Hoogstad, 2001; as cited in Cloke et al., 2007). Collective volunteering is usually initiated and supervised by groups relying on ethics of religious traditions and altruism, whilst individualized volunteering has a mixture of “compassion and duty with more personalised objectives such as dealing with personal experiences of biographical discontinuity and opening out possibilities for self-realisation” (Cloke et al., 2007, p.1092). It is believed that this would imply a shift from selflessness to self-interest (Cloke et al., 2007). However, it is pointed out that sometimes it is hard to disentangle ‘motives between an ethically driven desire to be responsible, and more selfishly orientated desires to feel and to be perceived by others to be socially responsible’ (Brinkmann and Peattie, 2008, p.29; as cited in Varul, 2009). Therefore, Barnett and Land (2007) have proposed to conceive altruism and egoism as co-existence of two perspectives to make up ethical subjectivity: “a subjective, partial, personal perspective, in which a person acts as an ‘I’; and an impersonal perspective, in which actors strive to adopt an objective position on states of affairs” (p.1071). In this sense, performance of care through volunteering could be both caring to others and caring for the self. However, again, these understandings of the landscape of volunteering are western-centric, which requires more attention beyond this orientation.

Ethics in non-western societies

The ethicality of the North-South distinction in such ethical tourism has been challenged with the existence of volunteer tourists originating from the South or developing countries as actors of care which however has been neglected (Sin, 2010; Smith, 2014). Crang (2015) points out the need to consider the scenario when the tourists of ethical tourism come from the global South as opposed to the global North. The rise of tourism in non-western economies has troubled tourist models with the values and practices of tourists. Asian ethical values are noticeable and significant in different forms of tourism. Weaver (2002) sees it appropriate to identify an emergent Asian ecotourism while Lee, Lawton, and Weaver (2012) have found that Asian philosophies such as Confucianism, Taoism and Zen Buddhism have profoundly influenced the dimensions of ecotourism in the South Korean model. Hsu and Huang (2016) have attempted to identify contemporary Chinese cultural values in China and their implications for tourism, and revealed and categorized 40 cultural values into instrumental, terminal and interpersonal ones. Traditional values were demonstrated such as harmony and thrift, meanwhile modern Chinese values like liberation and self-interest suggested that the life pursuits of Chinese people are skewed to less collectivistic. The value of harmony which is an everyday ethics emphasizing the balance between humans and environment leads to an upsurge in demand of tourism products appreciating simplicity and naturalness (Buckley, Cater, Linsheng, & Chen, 2008; Crang, 2015; Faure & Fang, 2008). This environmental ethics gives rise to different types of ethical, ethnic, green tourism or alike (e.g. Ryan, Jing, He, & Gu, 2012; Wen & Ximing, 2008; Xu, Cui, Sofield, & Li, 2014; Yang, Ryan, & Zhang, 2013). Such celebration of natural landscapes and search for harmony are embedded in classical Chinese poems which have created historical and cultural values of a place in literary tourism (Yu & Xu, 2016). These higher-level philosophical principles have formed the foundations of the Chinese

tourist gaze which is not seen in the western model (Yu & Xu, 2016). Obviously, the western models of tourism studies have been challenged given the influence and cultural specificities of Asian ethics. However, attempts to understand the non-western tourism models are still limited.

A rise of new ethics in contemporary China has been noted. During the Maoist era, the meaning and value of the self was denied while collective interests were upheld through the slogans of propaganda such as “seeking no advantage for oneself”, pursuing benefits for others” and “being a rustless screw of the revolutionary machine” (Yan, 2011, p.42). Following the emergence of individualization since the reform and opening-up in 1979, the Chinese individuals have developed a clearer sense of self (Fang, 2012; Hsu & Huang, 2016). Following the trend of individualism and the rise of new ethics, it is believed that the collective ethics of responsibilities has declined (Yan, 2011). However, this does not necessarily mean the lack of responsible individuals in Asia. Actually, private philanthropy which is free from the state control of the old collective ethics of responsibility, has emerged as a new ethics, that is, “a generalized notion of compassion and charity that derives from individual choice and that is applied to unrelated individuals outside of one’s own circle of acquaintances or local world” (Yan, 2011, p.66).

In addition, the sense of responsibility has been developed from the value of obligation. The change from compulsory and paid blood donation to steady increase in voluntary unpaid donation in China has demonstrated the shift from obligation to a norm, a “wanted to” practice (Jun, 2011). This, together with the active participation in post-quake relief work, has showed the capacity of ordinary people for altruism and their engagement in volunteerism. There is not a lack of individuals who are willing to help strangers in their own ways. Although some of the ethical behaviour such as blood donation and promotion of ecotourism to protect the environment are perceived to be political action or a means of making profit (Hathaway, 2009; Jun, 2011), these ordinary ethics are still existent and explicit in their daily lives. Ethics or value systems of the tourists are believed to give another perspective in understanding why and how people are “doing good”. As mentioned earlier, the volunteer tourism literature keeps updated with motivational factors; nevertheless, there is scant research on cultural specificity of these motivations among non-western tourists.

Methodology

Research objectives and questions

This work-in-progress is to explore how ordinary ethics frame the motivations of volunteer tourists in non-western markets using the Greater China Region as the study area. It aims to:

- To trouble the western assumption in the geography of responsibility and care
 - To explore how Chinese live the everyday ethics in volunteer tourism as spaces of care
 - To examine cultural specificities of the ethical practices in these spaces of care
- Following these objectives, two questions are raised:
- To what extent is volunteer tourism in Chinese markets driven by everyday ethics?
 - How are spaces of care framed by everyday ethics in Chinese societies?

Sites of data collection

The scope of this research project is delimited to the Greater China Region which comprises mainland China, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, Macau Special Administrative Region (thereafter Hong Kong and Macau respectively) and Taiwan. The region

is chosen due to its long history of civilization and development, as well as richness in cultural and traditional values, which are very different from the West since one of the objectives of this research is to examine the cultural specificity of everyday ethics among Chinese voluntourists. Chinese in this context refers to the Chinese language native to mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Macau, Singapore, Malaysia and other places with Chinese communities. Thus, the study area is the Chinese-speaking places in the Greater China Region. Among these four places, Hong Kong and Taiwan are chosen as source of volunteers who are living in a capitalist society in which private ownership, freedom of choice and individuation are celebrated (Crawford, 2000). Comparatively, the combination of Hong Kong and Taiwan as study area shares more similar backgrounds than others. Volunteer tourism is not popular among mainland Chinese who mainly take part in domestic volunteering especially aftermath restoration. On the other hand, it is very prevalent in Hong Kong and Taiwan, as seen from the extensively available devices – volunteer programmes – every year. Therefore, Hong Kong and Taiwan are chosen from the region as study area of this multi-sited research.

This study will involve collaborations with The Bucket Wish (TBW) in Hong Kong and ELIV in Taiwan. TBW is a student-initiated, Hong Kong-based not-for-profit organization with volunteer programme in Cambodia annually, while ELIV is another organization which organizes volunteer programmes to other Asian countries every year.

Ethnography

Due to the nature of the study, qualitative approach or ethnography is deemed as appropriate. Qualitative methods are effective in obtaining in-depth understanding of the research issues such as opinions, feelings, emotions and experiences which are more complex and subtle (Denscombe, 2010). Ethnography is the “study of people in naturally occurring settings of ‘field’ by methods of data collection which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed on them externally” (Brewer, 2000, p.11). Multi-sited ethnography is employed to focus on connections and associations of cultures of the volunteer tourists rather than a particular place (Marcus, 1998). Participant observation is the most commonly adopted method in this research approach to get immersed in the researched community to record what actually happens in the field. Despite this, a combination of ethnographic methods is believed to be effective in understanding how people live their everyday lives out (Crang & Cook, 2007), with personal and intimate interaction using observational and interviewing methods (Hall, 2011). Therefore, participant observation and personal interviews will be used.

Conclusion

This research aims to develop the concept of volunteer tourism by bridging the concepts of everyday ethics from a geographical perspective with a focus on the Asian market. Using ethnographic methods with voluntourists from Taiwan and Hong Kong as informants, it is believed to contribute to this field of study in three aspects.

Theoretically, it is to develop a new geography of ethics of care through challenging the existing western assumption in volunteer tourism literature, blurring the North-South division in the notion of responsibility. It is also to extend the research on motivations of volunteer tourists to understand the meaning of the factors rather than simply summarizing a list which is evident in the current Asian volunteer tourism studies.

Empirically, it contributes to the literature with research on non-western volunteer tourists in response to the geographical imbalances in research in the “Asian Century”. This could potentially “asianizing” the field through the contribution from Taiwan and Hong Kong which are two leading markets in the Greater China Region.

Practically, the participatory element of this research will provide the opportunity for the participants to mirror their behaviour in the spaces of care. This multi-sited research would encourage regional synergy in the development of volunteer tourism in the Greater China Region. Sending organizations may also have an idea of the ethics framing the motivations and consider these ethical sensibilities in their projects.

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Giving Back' to Novice Monks: Encountering Difference and Challenging Authenticity through Buddhist Volunteer Tourism in Northern Thailand

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Volunteer tourism is becoming an important way to understand and experience culture. In Thailand one option for volunteers is to teach English to novice monks in Buddhist temple schools. These volunteers choose to live in a Buddhist temple in order to experience difference through the religious atmosphere and interact with Buddhist monks. The aesthetic environment is unique and awe-inspiring to this group. However, during this study of volunteer tourists in Northern Thailand's monastic schools, I found that the unexpected also has a role in generating self-transformation. Through repeated interactions and weeks living in a Buddhist temple, Buddhist novice monks who become not just representatives of Thai culture but particular individuals. Volunteers' transformation resulted from both the expected difference and unexpected familiarity they encounter within the temple communities where they teach. Through volunteers' narrations of their experiences teaching novice monks in temple schools, I argue that such opportunities illuminate our understanding of difference, authenticity and possibilities of transforming the self during travel.

During periods of fieldwork from June-July 2010 and May-June 2013, as well as ongoing email communications and Internet research, I investigated programs that facilitate cultural and religious encounters between international travelers and Buddhist novices and monks through volunteer English-teaching opportunities. My data draws from twenty interviews, analysis of four volunteer travel organization websites, as well as personal travel websites and blogs written by volunteers. Situated within the growing tourism literature on self-transformation in tourism, and moral and religious forms of tourism, this presentation contributes to scholarship on volunteer tourism. This presentation will first contextualize my study within Buddhist volunteer tourism options in Thailand, and then reflect and analyze volunteer tourists' discussions of their motivations for volunteering in a Thai temple and their expectations of difference. Finally, the paper will illuminate the ways the experience challenged volunteer tourists' perceptions of difference and authenticity.

Keywords: *Buddhism, authenticity, self-transformation, Thailand, Volunteer tourism*

Introduction

Tourists visit many ancient temples as one of the major tourist activities and sites in the old city of Chiangmai, Thailand. The first thing they notice is the difference of this religious space compared to more familiar landscapes. The details of the architecture, from the mythical creature guardians at the gated entrances to the curved roof finials shaped like flames, provide much aesthetic beauty and sensory stimulation. Some tourists take in the atmosphere and surely reconcile that they will never be able to fully understand the meaning behind each of

these details. But others feel lucky that they will be able to consider these deeper meanings by joining a Buddhist community and volunteering their time to teach English.

Buddhist travel and spiritual vacations have become a meaningful addition to the offerings within Thailand's tourism industry, as evidenced by the variety and diversity of opportunities to learn about and practice Buddhism offered to travelers. Teaching English in temple schools is part of this larger outreach to tourists on the part of Buddhist temples. This paper focuses on volunteers' narrations of their experiences teaching novice monks in temple schools and argues that such opportunities illuminate our understanding of difference and authenticity. Volunteers highlighted not only moments when encountering difference and experiencing authenticity, but also when their expectations of the other are challenged. Their narratives show that the familiar and unexpectedly modern lives of novice monks is disorienting for volunteers at first, but is part of their learning and challenging their subjective ideas of authentic Buddhism.

During periods of fieldwork from June-July 2010 and May-June 2013, as well as ongoing email communications and Internet research, I investigated programs that facilitate cultural and religious encounters between international travelers and Buddhist novices and monks through volunteer English-teaching opportunities. My data draws from twenty interviews, analysis of four volunteer travel organization websites, as well as personal travel websites and blogs written by volunteers. I argue that volunteer teachers in a Buddhist temple community value the experience as a result of both the expected difference and unexpected familiarity they encounter within the temple environment.

Buddhist Volunteer Tourism

The ability to experience Buddhist temple life, with its ceremonies and robed monks can be seen as a commodity consumed by interested English-speaking travelers from the Global North. Professional workers and young travelers see a need for volunteerism in order to stimulate a sense of purpose and facilitate meaningful encounters with locals. This is one of the reasons volunteer tourism has become the fastest growing niche tourism market (Mostafanezhad and Kontogeorgopoulos 2014: 264). Volunteer tourism is a niche of travel for those in search of authentic tourism, involving living and participating in social and educational projects in a country different from one's own (Wickens 2011: 43). Volunteer tourism combines travel with service, and attracts participants who are interested in their own personal development, as well as helping others socially or environmentally (Raymond and Hall 2008: 530). My focus on how volunteers themselves narrate their own encounters with Buddhist temple spaces, communities, and the novice monks they teach not only contributes to the literature on consumption of Buddhists by tourists but also scholarship on volunteer tourism in general.

Volunteer travel organizations in Thailand present the vacation as an opportunity to distinguish oneself as a caring global citizen, creating cultural capital as a moral tourist unlike the masses. There are numerous opportunities to teach novice monks in temple schools in Thailand. Four organizations advertise the ability to support and place volunteer tourists in temple schools or universities for teaching monks: Travel to Teach, Friends for Asia, ProWorld Thailand, and The Wat Doi Saket Project. My research focuses mostly on The Friends For Asia and the Wat Doi Saket Project¹ because both of these organizations have consistent relationships with Buddhist temple schools and place volunteers consistently throughout the year. The Wat Doi Saket Project is explicitly marketed as a cultural exchange program, where participants have the opportunity to live with and teach English to Buddhist novices and monks

in the Doi Saket district, outside of Chiangmai, Northern Thailand. Since its inception in 2009, the program has hosted hundreds of volunteers arriving in groups or individually. They stay for varying lengths of time in temple accommodation, teaching English and even helping with temple building projects.ⁱⁱ Since 2007, Friends for Asia has offered opportunities to teach monks in temple schools. They have affiliations with five temple schools within the city of Chiangmai and are able to place volunteers at most times of the year. Currently the Friends for Asia Teaching Monks program receive approximately forty volunteers per year. It is one of their most popular and longest running volunteer programs in Thailand. The volunteers I interviewed choose this program over other possibilities, such as teaching in Thai public schools, caring for elephants or working with orphans. Volunteers within these organizations can teach for as little as one week but are encouraged to stay for at least four weeks.

The costs for these programs vary depending on how long one stays. If one stays for one week the usual cost is around \$700USD but this per week cost is discounted if one stays two weeks or more depending on the program. These organizations offer English teaching support as well as airport transfer, accommodation, some food costs, trips and 24-hour support for any emergencies or concerns. This volunteer fee does not cover a donation to the temple. Some organizations suggest volunteers bring souvenirs from their home country or more useful items like notebooks, books, and pencils to donate to monks or the school library.

Most volunteers are native English speakers from England, America, and Australia. However, non-native English speakers from Europe and East Asia also volunteer. Program coordinators stated that this presents a challenge for temple placements as most abbots of temple schools state they prefer native speakers. East Asian volunteers can usually be placed in a classroom teaching Chinese or Japanese. This minority of volunteers from East Asia also have a different experience because they are usually familiar with temples and the monastic life, however, the particular Thai Buddhist codes of behavior are often new and a basis for comparison.ⁱⁱⁱ

Through relationships with temple abbots, these organizations provide the connections necessary to experience teaching and living in a Buddhist temple while traveling the region. In addition to the organizations and the volunteers themselves, temple school abbots and monk students are an important part of the volunteer experience. Temple school abbots affiliate with these outside agencies that help promote and run the volunteer programs to attract the foreign teachers. Temple abbots coordinate with these volunteer organizations in order to benefit the education of their monks as well as to spread Buddhism internationally. It is important to note that although the abbots and temples remain in charge of allowing volunteers to stay, they task these volunteer organizations to run the volunteer program, by advertising to and screening potential volunteers, and helping to acclimate them. With abbots' busy schedules, it is much easier to affiliate with these professional organizations to run background checks and take care of orientation to the temple environment. But this orientation, of course, cannot prepare the volunteers for all of the experiences and possibilities they will meet while teaching novices and living in a Buddhist temple. While encountering the other in these Buddhist temples and its classrooms, volunteers have their ideas of difference and authentic Asian Buddhism both confirmed and challenged. Both of these experiences are noted in their narrations as aspects of learning and transformations of the self.

Encountering Difference

For international tourists, the promise of difference and authenticity through encountering 'the other' during travel creates unique cultural experiences. In contrast to

tourists' urban, busy lives, the cultural other has the potential to provide authenticity and difference. In Thailand this difference is contained primarily within one figure: the monk. Michael Jerryson discusses how the Buddhist monk is a symbol of the Thai state and nation (Jerryson 2011: 50). With its majority Buddhist population, the conflation of Buddhism and Thailand becomes a large part of tourist imaginaries of Thailand (Schedneck 2015). Jane Iwamura discusses the ways the "Oriental Monk" figure within popular culture, through his nonsexual solitary spirituality, is made acceptable and appealing for mainstream consumption (Iwamura 2011: 22). Monks become representative as symbols of Buddhism and values ascribed to it including peace, kindness, and calmness.

Teaching English to monks allows volunteers to interact directly with the people who are perceived to represent the essence of Thai culture. Temple environments and communities are seen as authentic and become popular not only as spaces of difference but also as a site of learning about Thai culture and religion. The ability to experience Buddhist temple life with its ceremonies and robed monks embodies this difference and authenticity especially for interested English-speaking travelers from the Global North. International visitors' most memorable moments engage multiple senses: seeing the sunrise and orange robes of monks, the glittering golden Buddha statues, hearing the Pali chanting of the monks and bells chiming in the morning and evening. These sensory moments match the experience of visitors hoping for difference.

Encountering the other and confronting difference depends of course on one's own lifestyle and worldview, and volunteer organizations employ the perspectives of volunteers from the Global North in their promotional materials. The website of Friends for Asia utilizes the ideas of Thailand as a "traditional" society:

"Saffron robes, morning alms and novice monks – and not a tourist in sight. It's hard to believe that such a staunch traditional life still thrives in the 21st century, but Chiang Mai's temple schools are a world away from 'everyday.' As a volunteer English teacher, you'll experience the difference first-hand. Morning comes early in Chiang Mai's temple schools. As you arrive, novices line up to receive morning announcements from the faculty. Prayer and meditation follow, leading up to the start of class at 8:30 am. Another round of prayer and meditation follows lunch. Education in these temple schools is holistic – a marriage of mind and body rarely seen in the West" (Friends for Asia Website).

Daily morning activities at a Thai Buddhist temple school here are contrasted with one's life at home. Besides the oversimplification of daily life in "the West" and the romanticization of Buddhist education in Thailand, this statement assumes difference is a sought after commodity. Why would someone volunteer in a familiar place just like home? Holland and Huggan write that the otherness of foreign peoples is hoped to aid in "rejuvenating a humdrum domestic culture" (Holland and Huggan 1998: 48). These volunteer organizations have developed specific ways of advertising that play with their target audiences ideas of difference and the other.

Volunteers repeat these ideas in their reflections upon volunteering. Participating in the daily schedule of the temple can meet sensory expectations of Buddhism. Lauren, a middle-aged American volunteer at Wat Suan Dok, echoes this emphasis on difference in an interview: "it was all so different from anything I have ever experienced. The chanting, the rules of respect, taking off shoes...this was all very different for me."^{iv} As well living at the temple constitutes difference and authentic experiences hoped for as volunteers encounter the

aesthetic beauty of the temple through Buddhist art. Brady, an American on a gap year, lived in Wat Srisoda in Chiangmai for two months. During this time he commented in his blog about the beauty of the architecture, mural paintings, golden statues, pillars, and of course the sonorous sounds of Pali chanting. Brady remarks: “every morning and evening, close to dawn and dusk, the temple grounds are filled with the wholesome, peaceful sound of the monks chanting in the ancient Buddhist language of Pali” (Brady Campus Y Blog). But he also points out other forms of difference that are not as pleasant: the garbage dump and damp bathrooms. He writes: “In other places, it is not so beautiful, such as in the permanently damp bathrooms (all of them are uber moist!), or in the massive and fragrant open-air garbage dump that sits just outside the...cafeteria. Yum” (Brady Campus Y Blog). Both negative and positive forms of difference are interesting here, as both instances are still very far from life in the USA. The attractiveness of difference is apparent from these quotes. These volunteers underscore that their travel experiences allowed them to partake in something new and different from their everyday lives.

Victoria, a recent college graduate from England, records how a favorite activity during her volunteer period was visiting temples, finding some that were peaceful enough to meditate in. Sitting in meditation in a Buddhist temple embodies an authentic experience and encounter with difference in the space of the cultural other. Victoria also had such moments during the school day. She writes “before lunch there’s always a chanting of thanks, which completely moved me to my very soul the first time I heard it. It was all overwhelmingly beautiful, the temple, the kindness, the peace and serenity of it all, I shall never forget those first feelings” (Victoria Wat Doi Saket Project Blog). The difference of the ritual and sounds as well as participating in the life of the temple community creates experiences of difference that volunteers highlight.

Interacting with Buddhist monks is another experience of difference emphasized by volunteers. Hunaid, a middle-aged American volunteered for two months at Wat Doi Saket and took part in the daily almsround. The abbot, Phra Sirichai, allowed him to carry alms for him. Hunaid writes “He also gave me a Thai name, ‘Kaa ja-om’ which has brought many smiles on Thai faces. It refers to the person who helps the monks on their daily alms rounds. It was a delightful experience as I met many welcoming villagers” (Hunaid Wat Doi Saket Blog). He calls volunteering and living in Wat Doi Saket an incredible learning experience.

“I would be amiss if I did not write a bit about daily life at Wat Doi Saket. Without having lived at the wat, I would not have had such a rich experience. Most of all, I would have probably never learned what it takes to go from a novice monk to an ordained monk and what it is like to live as a monk. I did not need an alarm clock as I was woken up each morning at 5am from the sounds of the monks praying and chanting in Pali. Most often, I would go to the *mondop* [chanting hall] so I could feel the energy of the prayers” (Hunaid Wat Doi Saket Blog).

For Hunaid, difference relates to the ways he was able to engage with the Buddhist monks as well as the Thai villagers while following the schedule of daily life in the temple. For many volunteers the most different experience is taking part in temple life.

The Wat Doi Saket Project is one of the only programs that offers the opportunity to live in a temple, which is taken advantage of by about 90% of the volunteers. Volunteers living at Wat Doi Saket are often able to develop relationships with monks, especially those that stay for over a month and are interested in Buddhism and want to learn more. Brady wrote this about the monks he taught: “The monk friends...what can I say? They are awesome. The best people. Most of them are around my age, 18 or 19, and they call me their brother. I hang out with them almost every week night, since we all live in the same monastery, and we just seem

to connect really well” (Brady Campus Y Blog). Similarly, Jonathan, a middle-aged American wrote to me about his friendships with monks:

I befriended a couple of monks and got to know about their backgrounds and how they happened to become monks. I tutored 2 novice monks and learnt about their life and how they left home and chose to become a monk. It was these relationships that engaged me with Buddhism above and beyond just reading about them in some book.”^v

Making friends with these novice students constitutes the encounters of difference that volunteers stress in their communication and memories about their experiences.

Experiencing rituals and speaking with monks constitute the difference hoped for. In an interview, Nina told me that she wanted to live in a Buddhist temple to learn about new ways of life and cultures. She stated: “I want to know who I really am and test myself by entering into new situations. I don’t want to be another *farang* {white person} in a resort or tourist market.”^{vi} Instead she sought the authentic experience of meeting and interacting with Buddhist monks. These encounters with difference and experiences of authenticity are significant for travelers in recounting their time volunteering. However, these moments of difference are not surprising, but expected. Although this difference is interesting and exciting for volunteers, challenging perceptions of difference and authenticity is also a significant aspect of the experience for volunteers.

Challenging Authenticity

Skinner and Theodossopoulos’ book on expectations in tourism discuss how tourists must deal with cultural perspectives and worldviews that are challenging and surprising given their initial expectations (Skinner and Theodossopoulos 2011). In some intersections of Buddhism and tourism, if expectations of difference are not met, the Buddhist religion, temple space, and the lives of monks can be critiqued. The Laos government commodified their culture and religion beginning in the early 1990s, especially Luang Phrabang as a place of “romanticism and royal mystique” (Holt 2009: 187). Because of this, novice monks ritual activity of the morning almsround has become a major tourist attraction (Holt 2009: 197). Because of expectations of Buddhism and its monks as exclusively serene and contemplative, French and other Euro-American tourists sometimes critique Luang Phrabang’s novices (Holt 2009: 191). The particular Western imaginaries of Buddhism is at odds with the reality of novice monks sitting in internet cafes, being outside of the temple in the afternoon, and answering cell phones (Holt 2009: 193). As a consequence of the Western perceptions of Buddhist monasticism, when novices and monks do not act as perfect mindful embodiments of Buddhist ideals, tourists’ expectations in Laos are not realized. In contrast to these tourists to Laos, the volunteers’ experiences in Thai Buddhist temples are more immersive. Because they have extended exposure and possibilities for understanding the temple community, their response to the similarly unexpected behaviors and actions of their novice monk students was, for the most part, accepted rather than critiqued, adding a different kind of authenticity to the temple setting and the monks themselves. Authenticity, as a form of intimacy, is found in the encounters with monks and other temple community members, even if they are not fully meeting the ideals held by the volunteers.

As described above, English-teaching volunteers in Thailand hope for difference where they will come to know the other and gain cultural capital back home. However, most volunteers find, after being asked about their experience, that Buddhist monks are “just like

regular people.” This familiarity is surprising but not criticized by the volunteers who were expecting a space apart from modernity. Britney, a recent American college graduate, said this to me in an interview after her experience teaching for a month at Wat Phra Singh: “I thought the classroom would have a much more serious feel to it” but she learned through her interactions with the novices that “they really are just like any other boys, they can be loud and rowdy, etc.”^{vii} Beyond the aesthetic differences of the temple space and monastic robes, the monastic life is more similar to modern Western lifestyles than imagined. While interacting with novices and monks, most participants are struck by their ordinariness. Through experience and interaction they learn this group is composed of unique individuals, some more serious about Buddhism and the monastic life than others.

Volunteers quickly realize that monks are normal people and learn from their observations that the actuality does not fit their impossible expectations. The placement coordinator at Friends for Asia stated that volunteers choose the teaching monks program because they want to experience something other. But during the course of the teaching, volunteers soon discover that novices are regular boys— not holy little boys, just little boys. She remembers that one volunteer was shocked when some novices took off their outer robes and started fighting. Volunteers also have misconceptions about the rules of monasticism and expect that monks won’t break any of these rules. Volunteers wonder why they see some monks eating after noon, playing sports or smoking, all of which are prohibited within the Thai Buddhist monastic code. They see monks with smart phones, chatting on Facebook, and wonder how they could afford this luxury. Where do they get the money? Shouldn’t they live simply? They are attracted to difference and the experience of a non-typical tourist with special access to the other. When the other acts not as expected volunteers are challenged to think about difference and reevaluate their perceptions of authenticity.

Expectations of monks as silent, stoic, wise, and always in a meditative repose come from media and popular culture that has perpetuated these impossible stereotypes. Unlike some have found in Laos (Holt 2009) and among the hill tribe groups of Northern Thailand (Johnson 2007; Novelli and Tisch-Rottensteiner 2012; Walter 2015), when these expectations of monks’ behavior and demeanor are not met, volunteer tourists adjust their ideas to match reality. Mike, a young man from Switzerland, also had the goal of learning more about Buddhism. He described to me how he wanted to volunteer in order to explore an interest in Buddhism he had had since high school. He wanted an immersive experience and hoped that by living at the monastery he would get to have an experience of what it was like to really live in the tradition, and experience the lifestyle of a Buddhist monk. However, the reality did not align with his expectations of the other. He was surprised at how flexible the schedule was and how comfortable the young novices seemed in their environment. Mike learned that the monastic life, in some cases, is not so strict, with every hour not spent in meditation. Because there was less distance than he expected, he was able to create more close relationships and a more realistic understanding of monastic life in Thailand.^{viii}

Authenticity, as a form of intimacy, is found in the encounters with monks, even if they are not fully meeting the ideals volunteers hold. Mark took his summer vacation from an American college to volunteer through Friends for Asia after taking a course on Buddhism. He was placed at Wat Pan Tao and assisted with conversation classes for first and second year middle school students in speaking and listening. He was surprised by the technology monks used as he thought Buddhism valued silence and contemplation. In an interview he said: “The monks don’t follow the rule about entertainment and are clapping, singing, dancing, especially to K-pop [Korean pop music].” He was surprised by this ordinariness as he continued: “I think

I wanted to see the monks in Thailand with my own eyes, more so than actually learning about Buddhism here academically. I have to admit that I was looking for a different, unique experience. Going (and doing) something different and unfamiliar was quite appealing to me.^{ix} The difference of the experience was appealing to him but he was more interested in the reality as his main objective was to see how monks really lived through observing and interacting with them.

The dissonance in expectation between difference and reality can lead to new knowledge about Buddhism. Some volunteers are practitioners of Buddhism and want to learn more about the practice beyond meditation, hoping to integrate this into their lives at home. Jonathan, who I interviewed after he had returned to his home in America, lived at Wat Doi Saket for two months because of his interest in Buddhism, calling himself a Buddhist. He was interested in volunteering as a way to add understanding of the religion to his planned meditation retreat. Jonathan was curious about the monastic life and admitted that he had little idea about how monks lived. He wrote:

“I did not have any idea whatsoever as to what a life of a monk is like, except that they live in a monastery and go out for alms to deliver blessings to the local residents. I certainly had no idea that there would be novice monks living in the temple; as a matter of fact, I did not even know of the concept of a novice monk or for that matter or how a person comes about being a monk. It was my basic understanding that a person can give up their worldly belongings and move into a monastery and start meditating.”

Surprisingly he found that monks are not all perfect beings who dedicate their lives to silent contemplation. This familiarity instead of difference was unexpected for Jonathan. He continued: “Now, when I see a monk, I know what he has gone through to get where he is and I see him more as a person.”^x Despite this perceived lack of difference and unmet expectations, Jonathan now sees monks as people and describes himself as a transformed person, intellectually and emotionally.

In this way, the volunteer experience serves to humanize this monk figure. The novice monk becomes not a representative of the culture but rather a unique individual. Teaching the monks, even for a short while, challenges the perspectives of volunteers and debunks some of the popular cultural myths about the monastic life. These interactions soften the monk who volunteers otherwise would imagine to be an isolated, stoic figure who would have no interest or opportunity to speak with them. Jonathan found that the most surprising thing for him was that all monks are different: some are loud, some don't meditate, some are quiet. He had put monks on a pedestal before, thinking they are more than human. He wrote: “There were many stores inside the temple for monks to buy things for their daily consumption – this I had not expected. I had just never thought about monks having any money to buy simple things. It had never occurred to me that monks have to swim in the same water as we all do.”^{xi} But in reality, he found, they are just normal people who dress differently and they have specific rules. Therefore the experience showed him that monks are unique individuals rather than a remote hermit, serene in his solitude. The first realization for many of these participants is that monks are people too. This opens them up for further exchanges that come to be seen as more authentic despite their unmet expectations of the other.

Conclusion

This study of volunteer English teachers in Thai Buddhist temple schools demonstrates how volunteer tourism can challenge foreigners' ideas of authenticity when experiencing a Buddhist way of life. In all of these temples, English teaching is mixed with learning about Buddhism through intercultural exchange, providing an attractive balance for those interested in Buddhism and service. English teaching volunteers in Thai temple schools seek authenticity and difference. In some cases this is found, through sensory aspects, as volunteers in interviews and blog posts often mentioned listening to Pali chanting every morning and evening, seeing the gold statues in the temple buildings, smelling the incense, candles and flowers during rituals. However, beyond this superficial difference, the monastic life is more similar to modern Western lifestyles than imagined. Volunteers learn most importantly that monastics are regular people, as well as in some cases, are able to imagine an alternative worldview and take some of these ideas and practices into their own lives. They learn how they react to difference, to being in new environments, to understand different worldviews and alternative lifestyles.

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- Wat Doi Saket Project Website. <http://www.atmaseva.org>

Note

ⁱ During the majority of my research this program was called the Wat Doi Saket Project. This project was founded in 2009 when the abbot asked ATMA SEVA, the NGO Wat Doi Saket has worked with since 1990, for increased English learning opportunities for the resident monks. However, starting in January 2014, the staff has affiliated with Future Sense Foundation and changed names.

ⁱⁱ The program maintains an affiliation with Phra Maha Insorn, principal of the school at Wat Nong Bua. Volunteers currently teach in this temple and live and tutor in nearby temples where novices live and attend this school. Other projects that volunteers have been involved with are building temple structures, such as the ordination hall at Wat Nong Bua.

ⁱⁱⁱ During my field research and investigation of these programs, I did not encounter any volunteers from Asia.

^{iv} Interview with Lauren in Chiangmai, July 10, 2013.

^v Email communication with Jonathan, June 6, 2013.

^{vi} Interview with Nina in Chiangmai, July 9, 2013.

^{vii} Interview with Britney in Chiangmai, May 27, 2013.

^{viii} Email communication with Mike, July 3, 2013.

^{ix} Interview with Mark in Chiangmai, July 10, 2013.

^x Email communication with Jonathan, June 6, 2013.

^{xi} Email communication with Jonathan, June 6, 2013.

Medical Tourism Literature: A 10 Year Journey

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The purpose of this study was to explore for possible gaps in the medical tourism literature and to gain a better understanding of recent medical tourism research trends. A document analysis was conducted and the medical tourism studies published in tourism-related high-ranked journals (A* and A) in the past 10 years were reviewed. Tourism Management was found to be the outlet where the majority of studies were available, followed by Annals of Tourism Research. Despite the rapid growth of medical tourism, the findings show that extremely limited contributions have been made to the recent medical tourism literature. Such scarcity, nevertheless, can be understood. First, there is a paucity of information on medical tourist behavior despite the growth of this segment of tourism. This shortage may exist because it is difficult to get access to medical tourism organizations and obtain empirical data from patients because of the confidential nature of medical records. Second, only a few well-established theories have been utilized in the present literature suggesting that there are plentiful opportunities to apply additional principles and theories to medical tourism research. Finally, although many Asian countries—especially Thailand, India, and Malaysia—have become well known medical tourism destinations, little is known about medical tourism in such destinations. Investigation into medical tourism in Thailand is scarce. The current study puts forward that there is a need for medical tourism researchers to contribute more knowledge in this area. Further research should focus on medical tourist decision making and comparisons between medical travelers using different perspectives. The use of travel information sources and social media in medical tourism may be other topics of interest to tourism scholars. In addition, further psychological theories could be utilized in order to confirm their appropriateness for particular contexts.

Keywords: *Medical tourism, document analysis, literature review*

Introduction

Medical tourism has been developing since the 19th century and this development has been very rapid in recent years. By definition, medical tourists refer to those who travel for medical treatments outside their usual places. Cohen (2008) has categorized medical tourists into four classifications depending upon the tourists' main medical purpose, namely,

'medicated tourists,' 'medical tourists proper,' 'vacationing patients' and 'mere patients.' The first group includes typical tourists who have to be treated for accidents and health problems during holidays whereas the second group is visiting a destination for some medical treatment. The third category refers to tourists who travel mainly for medical reasons; however, they involve some vacation when possible. The last group, mere patients, visits a destination only because of medical reasons.

The leading medical destinations are in Asian countries. Thailand has been a well-known destination for health tourists since early 1970 as a place for sex transformation surgery and cosmetic surgery. Bumrungrad International Hospital in Bangkok and Phuket International Hospital are now famous as medical service providers. Malaysia entered into the medical tourism industry after 1998 (Connell, 2006) because the Asian economic crisis resulting in local patients becoming reluctant to seek treatment in private health care. Singaporean medical services have later sought to be competitive with Thailand and Malaysia. With higher labor costs in comparison to their neighbors, Singapore's advertisements focused on high technology treatments. In addition, India is also a popular destination for medical tourists despite its image of being an unhygienic destination. However, medical tourists look for lower cost treatments and faster services than in their home countries. As such, these Asian destinations become well-known to western medical tourists who have to deal with long-waiting lists and the expensive cost of treatment at home.

Thailand is a popular destination for medical tourism, attracting an estimated 2.81 million patients in 2015, up 10.2 percent compared to previous years. In 2013, medical tourists pumped as much as US\$4.7 billion into Thailand's economy, according to government statistics (Medical Tourism Magazine, 2015). Malaysian medical tourist statistics show that Malaysia had nearly 900,000 international medical tourists receive treatment in 2014 which was a 20% growth rate in comparison to 2011 (Malaysia Healthcare Travel Council, 2016). Whereas around 850,000 foreign patients in 2012 generating revenue worth \$3.5 billion (World Health Organization, 2014).

This growth of medical tourism in Asia drew the attention of the researchers to gain more understandings of existing research in this area and to seek the key area within medical tourism which are under-researched. Therefore, in the current study, we aim to explore possible gaps in the medical tourism literature and to gain better understands of current trends in this area.

Methodology

A qualitative method using document analysis is utilized in this study. Document analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents. Like other analytical methods in qualitative research, document analysis requires that data be examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge (Corbin, Strauss, & Publications, 2008). In addition, it is less time-consuming due to available knowledge, as such, it is more efficient than other research methods. Document analysis requires data selection, instead of data collection (Bowen, 2009). Nevertheless, document analysis is often utilized in combination with other research methods to gain a deeper knowledge in research studies. In this study, the researchers chose to apply document analysis solely due to the purpose of the current study being to explore gaps in the medical tourism literature. We selected the existing medical tourism related-literature from the A* and A ranked tourism journals, as ranked in the Australian Business Deans Council (ABDC) journal list in 2014. The journals included were the *Annals of Tourism Research*, *Tourism*

Management, Journal of Travel Research, International Journal of Tourism Research, Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing and Journal of Vacation Marketing. The key words used in collecting the existing literature included medical tourism, medical tourists, health tourism, medical facilitators and health services. Our coverage of the key areas is, thus, intentionally not exhaustive. However, by placing an emphasis on these A* and A journals, it is believed that one can gain the most important conceptual dimensions of medical tourism studies. In addition, we limited the range of time for the journal publications for 10 years, from 2005 until the current year. This criterion is to seek for trends in contemporary research.

Findings

We found that several papers have been published regarding medical tourism literature reviews (e.g., Chen & Wilson, 2015; Connell, 2006, 2013; Eissler & Casken, 2013; García-Altés, 2005; Leggat, 2015). However, the majority of studies involve health and medical perspectives with few studies coming from tourism-related journal outlets. It was found that, despite the rapid growth of this type of tourism and while much research has been conducted on medical tourism related topics, an extremely limited number of scholars have published their works in tourism-related journals. This research discovered 17 papers published in A* and A ranked tourism-related journals as showed in Table 1. Tourism Management was the outlet where the majority of studies were available. In addition, within these existing literature, only two aspects are evident, comprising medical tourist behavior and medical tourist facilitators. In relation to medical tourist behavior, the key focus was on tourist motivation, which is discussed in the next section.

Medical tourist behavior

In broad perspective, consumer behavior is one of the main concepts that researchers are interested in studying in the context of marketing and tourism literature. In general terms, consumer behavior involves certain decisions, activities, and experiences that satisfy consumer needs and wants (Solomon, Russell-Bennett, & Previte, 2010). Classic models of consumer behavior tend to depict consumption-related encounters as a linear progression from needs recognition, through information search, evaluation, purchase, and consumption. Based on this model, the key concepts being studied in travel behavior research include decision-making, motivation, satisfaction and loyalty (Cohen, Prayag, & Moital, 2014).

When travel motivations were examined by tourism scholars, the push factors of rest and relaxation were found as the key tourist motivations for the majority of tourists in general. However, in relation to medical tourist motivation, it was found that pull factors dominate push variables for individuals seeking medical travel experiences overseas. One main medical tourist motivation relates to cost effectiveness. Expenses and long waiting lists at home drove tourists to travel to receive medical services outside their home countries, where they could get reasonable medical service fees (Chuang et al., 2014; Connell, 2006). This key motivation explains why the main region for medical tourism is Asia. Especially, Thailand and India are popular with tourist segments that sought cost effective medical providers. In Thailand, medical tourists could save up to 75% in comparison to how much they could pay for treatments in their own countries. Furthermore, service quality and the availability of tourist attractions are medical motivation found in the literature (Yu & Ko, 2012). This finding illustrates one type of medical tourists, which is the vacationing patients as classified by Cohen (2008). These medical tourists seek to combine holidays and vacation time with treatment.

Table 1 Medical tourism literature after 2000 in the leading mainstream tourism journals.

author(s)	tourism journal	key concepts
García-Altés (2005)	Annals of Tourism Research	challenges and opportunities of health tourism
Connell (2006)	TM	opportunities of medical tourism
Sayili, Akca, Duman, and Esengun (2007)	TM	tourist perceptions toward medical destination and medical tourist characteristics
C. G. Lee (2010)	TM	role of health care sector
M. Lee, Han, and Lockyer (2012)	JTTM	The intention of Japanese tourists to travel to Korea in a medical tourism context
Cormany and Baloglu (2011)	TM	medical tourism facilitators
Moghimehfar and Nasr-Esfahani (2011)	TM	medical tourist destination choice
Ye, Qiu, and Yuen (2011)	TM	medical tourist motivations and experiences
Yu and Ko (2012)	TM	medical tourist perceptions
Connell (2013)	TM	contemporary medical tourism
Han (2013)	TM	medical tourist retention
Wongkit and McKercher (2013)	TM	typology of medical tourists
Yeoh, Othman, and Ahmad (2013)	TM	medical tourist marketing tools
Han and Hyun (2014)	JTTM	Perception of international medical tourists staying in a medical hotel
Chuang, Liu, Lu, and Lee (2014)	TM	potential growing segments of medical tourism
Han and Hyun (2015)	TM	medical tourist retention
H. K. Lee and Fernando (2015)	TM	antecedents and outcomes of the Medical Tourism Supply Chain

It should also be noted that medical motivations are the context base. The extant studies presented that cultural factors played an important role in medical tourist behavior. Regardless of being from collectivistic cultures, tourists from different countries of origin exhibited different motivations for medical tourism. While Chinese tourists were cost sensitive, Japanese put more attention on safety aspects. In contrast, Korean tourists sought quality of services and tourism activities during the treatment (Yu & Ko, 2012). Further research in this area should investigate travelers from individualistic background to see if they act differently from those from collectivist cultures.

Recently, some arguments have been raised regarding the literature that shows that medical tourists do not necessarily seek for a lower-cost treatment at a less developed destination. Rather, some sought higher quality care at destinations such as the United States. In addition, others also sought better medical services than they could receive in their own countries (Connell, 2013). This literature suggests that medical tourism services do not necessarily offer a lower cost of service. Reasonably, they better satisfy medical tourists with better service quality, regardless of patient expenditure, at least for some groups of medical tourists. However, in some cases such as migrants and immigrants from less developed countries, people are likely to return to places associated with a more comfortable and familiar health system like in their home countries. Therefore, in addition to cost effectiveness and service quality, medical tourists also seek a comfortable environment during treatment. The literature implies that different groups of medical tourists present a variety of travel motivations. As such, further research will contribute to a deeper understanding of this growth niche market.

Furthermore, another medical tourist motivation is seeking an opportunity to improve one's own quality of life. On one hand, tourists from highly restricted countries with restrictive policies are likely to look for a better chance in life. For example, to overcome the 'one child policy,' Chinese women travelled to give births in Hong Kong. Moreover, those children are able to acquire Hong Kong permanent residence status which leads to accompanied benefits such as visa-free treatment when overseas and Hong Kong's social welfare (Ye et al., 2011). On the other hand, medical tourist motivation also relates to seeking medical treatment at destinations where is legally available. One study, in the context of Iranian medical destinations, investigated the decision factors in medical destination choices for fertility treatment among selected Muslim medical tourists (Moghimehfar & Nasr-Esfahani, 2011). In addition to the general variables of cost effectiveness, lack of medical expertise in home countries and tourist attractions, some specific factors in regards to medical destinations are found to play significantly important roles in this particular medical tourism context. In the case of infertile couples, Moghimehfar and Nasr-Esfahani (2011) found that legal and moral issues are concerns for couples residing in some Muslim countries. That is, those who seek fertility treatment deem to travel to Muslim medical destinations where surrogate motherhood and egg donation are allowed. This point relates to the cultural factors found in Connell's study (2013) where he discovered that medical tourists travel to culturally similar destinations, for instance, Indonesian medical tourists sought treatment in Malaysia. The present literature suggests that pull factors are important factors in medical destination choices. More investigations should focus on how push factors associate with medical tourist decision making.

In relation to characteristics of medical tourists, investigations into country of origins, frequency of medical tourists and length of stay were found in the published studies. First, the literature shows that recent research has placed much attention on short-haul medical travelers. The majority of the medical tourist studies involve subjects who are tourists from

neighboring areas, for example, the majority of medical tourists in Malaysia were from Indonesia and Singapore (Yeoh et al., 2013), health tourists in Hong Kong were from Mainland China (Ye et al., 2011) and Japanese tourists went to Korea for medical purposes (M. Lee et al., 2012). However, medical tourism research investigating tourists who traveled long-haul for medical care are rarely seen, despite the fact that Western tourists have been serviced by medical providers in Thailand (e.g., Wongkit & McKercher, 2013). Regarding length of stay, medical tourists tend to stay longer than leisure travelers. A study of medical tourists in Malaysia (Yeoh et al., 2013) indicated that most medical tourists were repeat visitors and spent more than seven days on average at the destination.

As well as countries of origin and duration of stay, information source was also being investigated. The literature shows that information obtained from primary sources is more important than that from secondary sources. For example, word-of-mouth from friends, family, relatives and doctors were an influential source of information for medical tourists (M. Lee et al., 2012; Yeoh et al., 2013). Once again, it should be noted that this information was given by tourists from collectivist-dominated countries such as Indonesia and Japan. As such, contributions from the context of individualistic countries would be valuable to both tourism scholars and industry.

Similar to other contexts of tourist behavior, another key area in examining such behavior is customer behavioral intention. Although there are numerous previous studies investigating travel intention, only limited research has examined medical tourist intentions. One recent study (M. Lee et al., 2012) applied psychological theory to investigate tourist intentions regarding health treatment and beautification treatment from the perspective of Japanese medical tourists to Korea. They found that attitudes, social influence and travel barriers influence medical tourist intentions to engage in both health and beautification treatment. It should be noted that attitude and travel constraints have greater impacts on intention to undertake beautification treatment while social influence has a higher influence on intentions to take the health treatment.

However, in the context of tourist destination marketing, repeat visitors remain an important tourist market for successful destination development, as destinations tend to rely more on repeat tourists (Liu, Li, & Yang, 2015; Oppermann, 2000). Understanding tourists' revisit intentions is important due to its significant effect on future behavior. In general, numerous studies have focused on predictors of revisit intentions in different contexts. It was shown in the published literature that satisfaction, past experience and destination image influence revisit intentions and behavioral factors. However, in terms of medical tourist revisit behavior, extremely limited studies have been conducted. To the best of the researchers' knowledge, only one study examining medical tourist revisit intentions is found in the A*/A ranked journals. A study by Han and Hyun (2015) suggested that perceived quality, satisfaction, and trust in the staff and clinic have significant associations affecting intentions to revisit clinics and the destination country; and satisfaction and trust acted as significant mediators. In addition, in comparison to perceived service quality, perceived medical quality contributed a greater influence on satisfaction, trust and intention to revisit. Moreover, trust in the medical service providers was significantly higher than trust in the staff. This information could benefit medical service providers in attracting more tourists seeking treatment from their organizations. In addition, other behavioral theories, for example, the theory of reasoned action and the theory of planned behavior, should be applied when examining behavioral intentions and actual behaviors of medical tourists.

Unlike the traditional belief that medical tourists are homogeneous, Wongkit and McKercher (2013) argued that medical tourists are actually divided into four different groups

depending upon types of treatment sought, the motivations for visiting a medical destination, the decision making process, and their travel characteristics. This existing research stated that tourists who sought invasive treatments were inclined to pre-plan their trips and preferred destinations with well-known centers of medical treatment. Those who were short-haul travelers primarily made the trip for medical services whereas tourists from long-haul countries mainly undertook a trip for a holiday. In addition, tourists with the main purpose of vacationing were most likely to have dental procedures and general health check-ups. Such examinations could offer advantages for medical tourism services in order to assist medical trip management. Furthermore, as suggested in the literature, word-of-mouth, either from offline resources including friends and family (Yeoh et al., 2013) or from online sources (Chuang et al., 2014), have an impact on medical tourists' decision making. Therefore, more literature in relation to medical tourist motivation could provide more understanding of such a diverse tourist market. The following sections discuss existing research in relation to medical tourism suppliers.

Medical facilitators

As well as from the demand perspective as reviewed above, a limited number of researchers have examined medical tourism from the supply side. The supply side in regard to medical tourism includes health care, medical tourist facilitators and medical tourist accommodations. Health care is one of the key destination attributes in medical tourist destination choice, nevertheless, empirical studies of the interrelationship between health care and tourism has been neglected. Within this scarcity, C. G. Lee (2010) highlighted the positive effect of health care on international tourism in Singapore. It was suggested that the government should established its destination to be a leading medical destination to gain a greater number of potential medical tourists in the long-run. However, some limitations of entering into medical services should be considered. For instance, successful health service providers need to prepare for effective medical infrastructure including both human and physical resources (García-Altés, 2005). This leads to a high cost of preparation. In addition, there is also a need for high competitive marketing strategies to battle with the existing well-known medical service providers. In such cases, an early entry health care, especially medical destination governments may need to differentiate its organization from other present medical suppliers. For example, Malaysia aims to market high quality products at low prices (García-Altés, 2005). Furthermore, the governments are responsible for regulating and instituting policies to ensure high standard medical service providers in the destinations, for example, quality of care, infrastructure and technologies used in treatment.

One of the main medical tourism infrastructures is travel facilitators. It was evident that, little is known about medical travel facilitators. Such facilitators could be operated either within tourists' home countries or the destination regions. Moreover, the medical facilitators could be in the form of both actual travel facilitators, such as travel agents, and online facilitators, such as websites providing services offered to the potential medical tourists. One study from Cormany and Baloglu (2011) investigated supporting services from selected medical facilitator websites offered to prospective medical tourists. Cormany and Baloglu (2011) found differences in both website content and services offered from facilitators across the regions where they operated. Medical tourism facilitators in the US were more likely to be providing services to many countries, as a result, they are more likely to offer assistance in transferring medical records, providing destination area cell phone support, and working with clients in financing options to pay for both travel and medical costs. European website facilitators, on the other hand, were likely to offer services in more narrow areas, for example,

arranging medical appointments and coordinating site-seeing opportunities. Tourist attractions might be an important element offered by the European medical facilitators as many European destinations emphasize a less critical surgical offering (Cormany & Baloglu, 2011). Online medical facilitators in Asia, however, are more likely to provide information regarding translation services, aftercare services at the destination and hotel accommodations. Moreover, as Asian medical destinations are likely to offer reasonable costs for medical tourists, estimated cost of treatment is usually provided in the web content. Although information about medical travel facilitators and their offered services can be gathered from this recent study, there is still a lack of information regarding utilization of such facilitating websites adopted by potential medical travelers.

As well as the role of medical facilitators, a focus on accommodations for medical tourists is also rare. To the best knowledge of the researchers, very limited research can be found in the journal outlets that met the requirement of this study. Han (2013) examined distinctive attributes of medical accommodations involving international tourists in Korea. His mixed-method research study found three main components of healthcare hotel attributes consisting of financial and convenience advantages, personal security and availability of products and services. Such attributes influenced perception, affect and trust which led to medical tourist intentions. In addition, among these elements, personal security was seen as the most important attribute of the healthcare hotel as perceived by the medical tourists. However, the majority of the respondents in Han's (2013) study were Asian who may be more concerned about security than those from Western countries. Therefore, further research might adopt his idea and examine tourists with other nationalities. Recently, Han and Hyun (2014) identified the significant influences of willingness to stay at a medical hotel. They found that Physical convenience and in-room treatment were evident as the most important factor for willingness to stay, followed by post-care services and the medical tourist package. In addition, perceptions concerning price were found to be a significant predictor of tourist willingness to stay in a medical hotel. As expected, first-time travelers perceived these advantages at significantly lower levels than repeat cohorts. Further examination may need to seek a deeper understanding of what first-time medical tourists need for their decision-making process. In addition, levels of hotels were not considered in the present study (e.g., luxury/world-class, mid-scale/mid-range, and economy/budget) (Han & Hyun, 2014) which could impact the willingness to stay in a medical hotel.

Discussion and Conclusions

The key concerns for destination marketers are to attract more tourists visiting their destinations. In relation to medical tourism, the destination marketers should sustain the increasing growth of this tourist market by motivating such medical travelers to revisit the destinations for further treatment and to undertake a leisure vacation. Additional insights into tourist behavior and greater understanding of medical tourism supply, including healthcare accommodation, will help service providers capture more first-time medical tourists and retain return customers to a destination.

Despite the phenomenal growth in this niche market, recent studies in medical tourism still focus on narrow areas including travel motivation and medical tourist facilitators. Even though travel behavior is a wide area consisting of decision-making, information sources, travel motivations and loyalty, previous research still leaves a lot of room for medical tourist scholars to investigate. In addition, well-known psychological theories, for instance, the theory of planned behavior and the theory of reasoned action, should be adapted to seek further understanding of medical tourist behavior. In addition, a comparison study of medical tourists

from different backgrounds should be conducted in order to gain insights into medical tourist behavior which would benefit medical policy makers. As suggested in the literature, medical tourists are heterogeneous groups, as such further research on market segmentation is also recommended for tourism scholars. In addition, many medical tourists, and especially their travel companions, somehow intend to engage in some 'standard' tourist activities. Hence, further examination should be conducted to provide a greater understanding of how this market contributes to a destination in terms of economic and marketing issues and there should be more discussion of how this compares to typical tourist segments. Beautification medical tourism receives more attention from patients than the traditional transplantation medication (Chuang et al., 2014). As such, future research in this area would contribute more information to the tourism literature. Moreover, as medical tourists can be classified into, at least, two categories either health treatment or beautification treatment (e.g., Chuang et al., 2014; M. Lee et al., 2012), further research should examine differences in travel motivation and behavior. Additional factors, including emotional variables, should be examined.

In order to understand tourist decision-making, travel information sources and needs should be examined. Although the present literature argues that word-of-mouth is found as the most important source of medical travel information, more research should be done to support whether it is generalizable to other segments of medical tourists. In addition, many sources of travel information are found in the tourism literature including travel agents, magazines and tourists' past experiences. Therefore, medical tourist researchers may be interested in investigating such existing information sources as they relate to medical travelers. In the most recent trend, investigation into medical tourism using the concept of big data can also contribute more knowledge to tourism literature. The utility of social media platforms and mobile applications can be focused to gain more understandings of medical tourist behavior—for instance, the usage of the internet in relation to medical tourists' decision making.

The number of countries seeking to develop medical tourism continues to grow rapidly, especially in Asia, for example, Thailand, Malaysia and India (Connell, 2006). Scholars across this area should examine closely how health and medical tourism affects the residents in medical tourist destinations. In Thailand, most of the local Thai residents are unable to afford 'too expensive high-class' health services in such 'medical tourist services provided' hospitals. This point raises a significant concern regarding ethical issues and health and medical service providers. In Phuket, Thailand, a famous hospital serves more 'tourist' patients than locals. Therefore, a further understanding of the impact of medical tourism should be provided to help prevent a shortage of medical services offered to locals in well-known medical destinations. Similar to other studies, this research has some limitations. For example, the researchers only focused on the extant medical tourism studies in the past 10 years that were published in the A*/A ranking journals. We found that only a limited numbers of journal outlets meet our conditions including *Tourism Management* and *Annals of Tourism Research*. As such, these research findings are limited to these tourism journals. However, we believe that focusing on these A* and A journals provided the most important conceptual dimensions of medical tourism studies. In addition, it might be wise to undertake a more comprehensive research approach which includes other tourism journals in order to provide more insights into the medical tourism area. Moreover, there are other issues, such as spa and well-being, that should be studied. A review of literature emphasizing such topics would provide in-depth information about these particular areas of the health and medical literature.

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Promoting or Devastating? On Confidence Crisis of Traditional Chinese Medicine Tourism

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Traditional Chinese Medicine tourism has gained much momentum during the past few years and it makes an impression that the emerging industry can grow forever. This research studies a medical case recently happened in China, the objective is to examine the true attitude that common Chinese have towards TCM treatment. Utilizing the method of text data mining, the study finds out that the general opinions about TCM among Chinese people are quite negative. The reasons for the confidence crisis can be summarized as the disconnection of the 3 critical factors that determine the ultimate effect of TCM. Various scenarios involving swindle in TCM tourism make the new type of tourism even more vulnerable, and the short-sighted market behavior is devastating for the reputation of traditional Chinese medicine and the harm is irreparable. The government needs to moderate its developing plan for TCM tourism and eye on the building of a system highlighting integrity.

Keywords: *TCM tourism, text data mining, administrative policies, sustainable development*

Introduction

It has been widely accepted that medical tourism would be one of the most promising industries for the next few decades. As of 2016 July, the Medical Tourism Index (MTI) released by Visa and Oxford Economics shows that “the sector is already worth an impressive US\$439 billion, and could soar to a staggering US\$3 trillion by 2025.” (Hospitality Net). Some developing countries such as India, Thailand, and Philippines have already benefited great from this emerging industrial field. For China, the startup seems a little late yet it has picked up much momentum recently. Earlier this year the government pledged to develop traditional Chinese medicine (TCM) into pillar industry, “by 2030, TCM should make a notably greater contribution to social and economic development.”(news.xinhuanet.com), and the nation’s 13th Five-year plan also highlights TCM tourism as an essential part of promoting service sector. All the policies have revived the hope of TCM practitioners that the long-standing deplorable

status of TCM might be improved in the coming years. Yet for various reasons, it is too early to be optimistic that TCM is bound to have a bright future. When TCM links with tourism, it complicates the situation even more because the newly “compounded” industry has got more elements involved. Such as tourist attractiveness, beverage and accommodation, transport, and medical insurance, etc. Thus, this paper is about to deal with one of them: trust of tourist.

Literature review

As the TCM tourism is in its infancy in China, so does the relative academic research. Early researchers focus mainly on the significance of developing TCM tourism.(Tian G.Z, 2005) Some make detailed introduction of the practices prevalent in other countries, especially the neighboring Asian countries like Thailand and South Korea who are taking lead in medical tourism, and argue that China should design more effective mechanism to promote TCM tourism. (Gao,J.2010; Song,Y.Q,2011) Some authors explore the administrative discriminations against TCM in the past and propose that policies of improving the status of TCM and the practitioners must be made. (Zhou.Z.M,2010). Some studies discuss the obstacles that must be removed when develop TCM tourism, such as insufficient support from relative authorities, the lack of a comprehensive plan, the backward infrastructures of some regions which are rich in TCM resource, the outdated managerial mode of manufacturing enterprises, and the poor coordination between tourism and medical sectors. (Ma Liang, 2013) Some case studies are conducted, exploring the viabilities of developing TCM tourism in certain regions. (Tong, X. H, 2004) Local advantages and the prospect of TCM tourism are positively analyzed in theses studies. Researchers are eager to provide pieces of advice, too. Some suggest that marketing concepts like 4Ps, namely products, price, promotion, and place are all useful tools for TCM tourism.(Zhang, Q, 2012). While the researches have offered many brilliant insights into the TCM tourism, they seldom give emphasis on one harsh fact, that is, medical tourism differs from any other forms of tourism because it deeply concerns with the tourists’ health. The ultimate standard to evaluate medical tourism should be “is that trip really help me recover from my illness, or at least alleviate a little? ” If a sightseeing visitor finds the landscape of a scenic spot quite banal, he gets disappointed at most and may regret his money was wrongly spent. But for the medical tourist, the consequence of an unsuccessful trip is much graver and his health may be at risk. Based on this consideration, this paper explores one of the core issues that may eventually influence the sustainability of TCM tourism: to what extent that the tourists can trust in TCM?

Confidence crisis of TCM — A case study

TCM in the eyes of westerners and Chinese

The practice of inbound TCM tourism can be traced to 2005 when a group of Swiss tourist came to Hangzhou, Zhejiang province and received the TCM treatment. Later on many similar trips were made to other big cities such as Beijing, Shanghai, and Nanjing, etc, then more hospitals and medical institutions of different regions jumped on the band wagon, with new projects relevant to TCM tourism being launched and many tourism bases, including heritage museums, medicinal herb planting parks and TCM processing factories built or renovated. Those tourist programs mainly take foreigners or citizens of middle to upper class of Chinese society as potential customer. Among them, Sanya city, Hainan province has made its name due to its unique natural environment, concentration of TCM experts, convenient transportation network and complete hospitality facilities. Besides receiving numerous domestic tourists, Sanya Hospital of Traditional Chinese Medicine is popular with tourists from

Russia, Swiss, and some other countries. Some foreign political leaders got satisfactory treatment there and this greatly improved its fame. It was designated as national model hospital for TCM tourism in 2015. As TCM gets its influence known by the world, more westerners are showing their interests in some therapies. Not long ago at the Rio Olympic Games, some celebrity athletes were eager to try cupping or acupuncture to rehabilitate. As some may pride in the traditional Chinese therapies being accepted by more westerners, in china, however, the recent death of a young actress Xu Ting has reopened the long-existent debate among the public over the effectiveness of Traditional Chinese Medicine. The actress who was diagnosed with lymphoma initially chose traditional treatment over chemotherapy; partly out of the fear of debilitating effects along with chemotherapy, partly out of the faith in TCM. Having suffered terribly “even with the TCM treatment” (Xu Ting’s blog), she died just 3 months after the diagnosis at the age of 25. The incident even drew much attention from abroad. Foreign media like BBC, Guardian, CNN, all had reports on it. The aftermath to TCM and TCM tourism is hard to predict now, but exploring the people’s attitude towards such tragedy may proved to be worthwhile. Knowing what the modern Chinese think of their heritage may give some clues to forecast the future of TCM tourism. Started from a case study, this paper is trying to:

1. Examine the people’s opinions about the actress’s death: Should TCM be responsible?
2. Identify the integral elements that are essential to the effect of TCM.
3. Unpack improper practices in TCM tourism and offer suggestions for dealing with the problems.

Study methods

This paper employs text data mining to find out the attitudes of the public towards TCM. The whole process goes on as follows:

First, we collected written text materials from relevant web and blog sites, with a general focus on the theme: Xu Ting’s death and TCM. (weibo.com; tieba.baidu.com; lijiao.blogchina.com; xcar.com.cn) The authors of these pieces of text include Xu’s family members, fans, friends and regular netizens who heard of the death and want to air their views on the subject.

Next, to make the unstructured data readable for software, pre-processed work has been done. We scrutinized each piece of post, deleting meaningless sentences or phrases, symbols of emotion, duplicate information, and some other irrelevant information. After the process of data filtering and cleaning we have got 485 pieces of comments and merged them into one text document.

Then the content mining software Rostcm 6.0 has been applied to complete the computing task. To improve the accuracy of semantic analysis, we added quite a few new entries to the original glossary offered by the software. Such as “old TCM practitioner”, “abolish TCM”, “pseudo-TCM”, and etc.

With the outcome, we got rid of some words that frequently appeared but made little sense for the study, such as “I”, “we”, “and”, etc. After calculating the words frequency out, we categorized the individual words or phrases into groups, and further explain the main ideas of each category by referring to the original texts of comment.

Data analysis

Table 1 100 high-frequency phrases from the original texts

Rank	Phrase	Frequ -ency	Rank	Phrase	Frequ -ency
1	Tcm	657	51	Culture	99
2	Chemotherapy	521	52	Stymie the development of TCM	87
3	Western medicine	509	53	Witchcraft	80
4	Treatment	438	54	Shabby clinic	79
5	Cancer	399	55	Spread of cancer cells	65
6	Patient	393	56	Blindly	60
7	Lymphoma,	374	57	Malignant tumor	59
8	Cupping	331	58	Missed the best time	59
9	Denigrators of TCM	303	59	Adjust body's function	57
10	Hospital	299	60	Murder	56
11	Gua sha	287	61	Aged TCM practitioner	54
12	Fear	287	62	Nutrition	54
13	Choose	265	63	Prolong one's life	50
14	Pain	261	64	Substitute	50
15	Die	256	65	Ridiculous fantasy	50
16	Abandon	255	66	Incurable disease	50
17	Charlatan	255	67	Sheer nonsense	43
18	Acupuncture	239	68	Alleviate symptoms	42
19	Mercenary	233	69	Instinct for survival	42
20	Scientific approach	233	70	Cured	42
21	Ignorance	221	71	Tragedy	42
22	Result	221	72	Cold hearted	42
23	Struggle with cancer	220	73	Little side effect	40
24	Genuine TCM practitioner	197	74	Pity	39
25	Modern medical techniques	183	75	Pseudo-science	39
26	Standard treatment	177	76	Deteriorate	39
27	Abolish TCM	177	77	Luck	39
28	Bloodletting	177	78	Quick effect	39
29	Downright deception	177	79	Stress	39
30	Final stage	174	80	Family	39
31	Moral decline	169	81	Unhealthy life style	38
32	Credulous	166	82	Early stage of disease	38
33	Improper treatment of Western medicine	166	83	Medical level	38
34	Prejudice against TCM	166	84	Friends' death	37
35	Suffer	166	85	Metaphysics	37
36	Inconvincible theory	164	86	Support TCM	37
37	Rip patients off	159	87	Absolutely useless	37
38	Chinese medicine materials	152	88	Survive clueless about the disease	37

39	Kill	141	89	Die with lucid diagnosis	37
40	Pseudo-TCM	141	90	Shandong province	37
41	Profession ethics	137	91	Life quality of patients	34
42	Cheap treatment	133	92	Diagnose	34
43	Convert to Buddhism	132	93	Disillusioned	32
44	Placebo effect	132	94	Quality of medicine herbs	32
45	Vegetarian	128	95	Son preference	32
46	Unreliable	122	96	Conscientious	32
47	Costly treatment	113	97	Parents	30
48	Operation	111	98	Common sense	29
49	Supplementary treatment	99	99	Unfair status of TCM	29
50	Wei Zexi	99	100	Punish	

Based on the above result, we pieced together some representative opinions by grouping the words into categories that can make sense.

Table 2 grouped expressions concerned with the reasons of the actress's death

Meaning unit	Categories of opinion
Cupping Choose Abandon Guasha Pain Charlatan Acupuncture Mercenary Scientific approach Bloodletting Downright deception Suffer Inconvincible theory Rip patients off Placebo effect Unreliable Witch Miss the best time Murder Ridiculous fantasy Pseudo-science Deteriorate Quick effect Metaphysics Absolutely useless Disillusioned	TCM to blame
Denigrators of TCM Fear Result Genuine TCM practitioner Modern medical techniques Standard treatment Abolish TCM Final stage Moral decline Improper treatment of Western medicine Prejudice against TCM Pseudo-TCM Shabby clinic Profession ethics Cheap treatment Costly treatment Operation Supplementary treatment Wei Zexi Culture Stymie the development of TCM Spread of cancer cells Malignant tumor Adjust body's function Aged TCM practitioner Prolong one's life Substitute Incurable disease Alleviate symptoms Little side effect Early stage of disease Friends' death Support TCM Survive without being aware of cancer Die with lucid diagnosis Life quality of patients Quality of medicine herbs Unfair status of TCM	TCM innocent
Ignorance Credulous Kill Convert to Buddhism Vegetarian Blindly Nutrition Instinct for survival Tragedy Cold hearted Pity Stress Luck Family Unhealthy life style Son preference Parents Common sense	Other factors

Table 2 presents 3 types of attitude towards Xu Ting's death. One group believes that the TCM treatment killed the actress and TCM is totally worthless. One group argues TCM is innocent. The third group assumes that Xu's death has connection with other factors.

For the first group, there's no belief in TCM at all. Most authors of posted texts are well-educated people who tend to judge things basing on scientific rationale. Some typical posts read as follows:

*...Just because Xu Ting chose TCM treatment, she missed the best time to cure the disease...if she received chemotherapy at first, she might stand a better chance to survive...
...At last when she got disillusioned with TCM and resorted to Western Medicine, it's too late... she was killed by her silly belief in TCM...*

...Yin and Yang, the Five elements, how weird conceptions they are!...We are now in the 21st century but how come such antique witchcraft still has its way and takes lives of innocent people?

...Cupping, guasha, acupuncture, and herbs are totally groundless TCM approaches ...I never believe in such stuff...It is ridiculous fantasy that TCM can cure a patient...

...When you get acute disease, say appendicitis, the only medical means that can save your life is operation. You can never expect TCM has quick effect as Western medicine does... TCM, at most can just give patients some placebo effect...

...the only way to treat cancer is undergo chemotherapy...

...TCM is pseudo-science, there's no doubt about it. So stupid of her to believe metaphysics can cure disease...

For the group who defends TCM, they labeled the social media users who bad-mouthed TCM as "zhongyi hei"(denigrators of TCM). The attitude of this group is somehow a little complicated:

1. Most of them think the actress's death has nothing to do with TCM.

...Be realistic, please. What she got is cancer and in the final stage when being diagnosed. Neither TCM nor Western medicine can save her...the result is just the same...

...cancer is cancer, never did TCM or WM claimed they can treat cancer...

...doctors are mortal beings, who can save a girl from incurable disease? Besides, why did she choose TCM? Because she got scared by a few friends' deaths accompanying with terrible pain caused by chemotherapy...

...the improper treatment of western medicine is taking place all the time, why do people turn a blind eye to it?...

2. Some argue the girl had been deceived by charlatan:

...she should have sought standard medical treatment, but instead, she went to a shabby clinic in Shandong where even the basic facilities were not guaranteed...what she encountered was Pseudo-TCM...

...the doctor who treated Xu Ting is pseudo-TCM practitioner. Any well-trained doctor acknowledges the limit of medical means. That's basic quality of being a medical worker. How dare this guy receive such an incurable patient?

...a sensible TCM practitioner would never convince patient to treat cancer only by employing TCM approaches. It is widely recognized among TCM field that the most effective way to treat cancer is to integrate TCM and Western medical means.

3. Some give their supports to TCM

...Can't TCM perform operation? Don't forget that the first anesthesia powder was invented by Chinese doctor HuaTuo. Those cursed TCM are certainly too ignorant about their culture heritage ...

...I believe TCM has its magic. My parents and grandparents never take Western medicine when fell ill, they all lived for up to over 80 years.

...My whole family benefited from TCM when we contracted hepatitis 7 years ago. Western medicine did not improve our conditions at all, only cost us an arm and a leg and produced much side effects... support TCM...

...TCM has great philosophy to help people maintain healthy. It pays more attention to prevent the occurrence of disease so that it spares us from a lot of sufferings...

...TCM uses multiple means to regulate the functions of our body and enhance the body's own defense system, thus prolongs patient's life. With western medicine, after all sophisticated tests done, you die soon with a lucid diagnosis; With TCM, it might not be able to give you clear explanations on everything relevant to your illness, but it may allow you to survive for quite a long time in spite of your cluelessness about the disease.

The third group attributes Xu's death to some other factors:

...the parents are cold-hearted. Due to their son preference they got 6 daughters and 1 son in one poor family. The girl had to support the family at the age of 17 and work too hard... .

...the parents are selfish monsters! All the economic burdens fell on the young girl, all her earning was sent to his parents; buying new home, paying the tuition for his youngest brother...meeting all sorts of her family members' material needs. She was murdered by her family.

To better understand the overall emotions people have towards the incident, with the help of software Rostcm 6, the study also makes a sentiment analysis.

Table 3 Statistics of Sentiment analysis

Categories	# item	ratio
Positive :	78	16.1%
Neutral :	71	14.6%
Negative:	336	69.3%
Scale of positive sentiment		
Mild (0—10) :	13	16.7%
Medium (10—20) :	41	52.6%
Strong (>20) :	24	30.7%
Scale of negative sentiment		
Mild (-10—0) :	74	22.0%
Medium (-20—-10) :	117	44.8%
Strong (<-20) :	149	23.2%

The table 3 indicates that in general, the negative sentiment account for 69.3%, while the positive sentiment only 16.1%. Although authors of online posts have different opinions on whether or not the death of Xu should blame on TCM, they do agree on one point: the present medical care in China is upsetting. With WM, most complaints are about the high cost of treatment, “over treating” and side effect. As for TCM, although many netizens think TCM should not be responsible for the actress’s death, they are much disturbed by the down side in TCM industry. Some have become suspicious of the effect of TCM after repeated frustrating experience with TCM treatment. Some have found that professional level of TCM practitioners differs greatly. Some argued that TCM is valuable for Chinese but the inheritance is extremely worrisome. As some online posts say:

...We once had a TCM practitioner in our village, and he is marvelous and revered by everyone. Now such proficient doctor is a rarity.

...my past personal experience told me that TCM is very effective if employed appropriately, but after the aged TCM doctor once treated me passed away, it is impossible for me to find any other doctor as excellent as he was.”

A few TCM practitioners also joined the debate, they complain about the lack of motivation:

...as a TCM practitioner, I have to say TCM has always been treated as inferior to Western Medicine. The administrative policies are absurd and unfair...no conscientious TCM doctors can get a sense of dignity and to be frank, my passion for work was eroded away long time ago...

Discussion

Apparently, the case of Xu gives another heavy blow to the reputation of TCM. All the reactions of the public are understandable. Yet the basic question remains unanswered: is TCM effective?

In fact, the disbelief of TCM mainly derived from the disconnection of the elements that determine the effectiveness of TCM system. Since traditional Chinese medicine is sort of holistic medicine, various factors have to be taken into consideration during the process of treatment. It is much more complicated than Western medicine which usually involves instrumental examination of disease and stereotyped treatments. For TCM at least 3 dimensions directly influence the curative efficacy: proficiency of the practitioner, the agreement between therapy and the patients' circumstances, and the quality of medical materials. The three core elements can be illustrated in a triangle as follows:

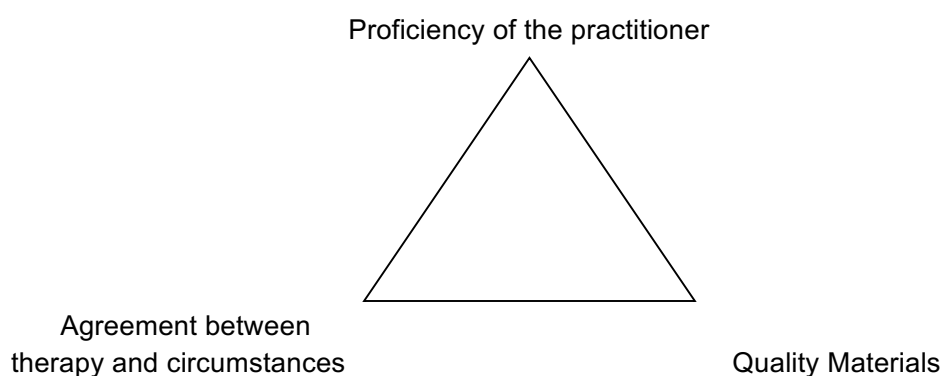


Figure 1 unity of elements determining TCM effect

The triangle is simple, but what it wants to convey is that only when the three requirements are fulfilled as a whole can TCM exhibit its power. Put it in another way, the three dimensions need to work simultaneously.

Proficiency of the practitioner The doctor's first challenge is "bian zheng", which means to understand the illness as complete as possible. In this stage, he needs to make sure in which part of the body the pathological change is taking place; what is the real cause of the problem. This is proved very difficult because superficial symptoms often hide the real nature of certain disease. So the doctor has to trace down to the root of disease, which requires good judgment. He should tell symptoms that are of big significance indicating the true cause of disease from those of minor significance. At the point of giving treatment, the doctor needs to be familiar with every single TCM material and the possible adverse effect. Meanwhile, the human body's endurance to particular material is also a consideration, for instance, maybe 2 herbs are documentedly effective to a disease, but some patients may get allergic to one herb but OK with the other. If such things happen, doctors must be quick to spot the wrong material and take corrective measures. Only very well-informed doctor can do this. Such capacity is not beyond attainment, but requires painstaking training and practice. TCM sees the development of disease is a dynamic process. An experienced doctor is also supposed to be

able to predict the progression of the disease. Thus, a treatment plan for heavy disease is usually divided into several steps, and different therapies are designed for the same person in different treatment stages. Sticking to one fixed prescription can never make a good TCM doctor. The application of TCM therapies depends much on doctors' proficiency. In short, a TCM doctor must be intelligent, observant and resourceful

Agreement between therapy and circumstances It is a common sense that the right therapy must be used for the right illness. But with traditional Chinese medicine system, even for the same symptom, different doctors can have totally different interpretations thus consequently influence the follow-up choices of therapy. There are numerous prescriptions passed down from the ancient famous doctors, and the effect of those therapies also stands the test of time. In practice, however, it is always advised that the team-up of the individual herb be altered or adjusted according to patients' circumstances. Basing on one prescription, adding or deducing the dosage, and substituting one herb with another of the similar function are all allowed and sometimes necessary. This much increases the difficulties of giving proper treatment. In his long medical career, any doctor, more or less, may have developed preference to certain therapies, but that can lead to the ill-matching of the therapy and patient's symptoms. So giving the right person right medicine sometimes just becomes a slogan.

Quality Materials Traditional Chinese medicine places much emphasis on the authenticity of herb materials. The TCM pharmacologists all agreed that the quality of the herb products of the same name differ greatly in different areas, due to the various weather and geographical conditions, and most importantly, the soil texture. So even if an excellent doctor treats his patient with flawless therapy, if the medicine materials are not good enough, there is still doubt whether the patient can get soon recovery.

So far it is clear that to claim TCM useless is unjust. Rather, because of its sophisticated system and the patient-oriented mentality, TCM deserves much respect. But when any of the three factors discussed above goes wrong, it may give rise to all sorts of troubles.

Problems in TCM Tourism

In recent years TCM did earn its fame at some critical moment, such as in 2003 when SARS gone rampant. For severe illness, it is common practice in some big hospitals that several experienced doctors get together to work a treatment plan out so that it can avoid mistakes and greatly improve the effectiveness. For some ailment, however, most Chinese may find the duration of slight illness is usually longer than expected. The reasons now are not hard to figure out: the doctors they have might be only half-expert, therapy is not suitable for their symptoms, and medicine is not of good quality. If the TCM in public hospitals does not work as the unity triangle suggests, how can we believe that TCM in tourist areas treat tourists in a more serious way? In fact, the three elements mentioned above seldom synergized in TCM tourism.

Shortage of qualified TCM practitioner

In many resort areas that claim to provide TCM service, only a small fraction of the staff gets complete medical education. Most of them just received some preliminary training to use some skills like cupping, Gua sha, moxibustion, or massage. As to why use these skills and for what symptoms should they be applied, it is beyond them and they do not care. Yet by all means they got certain types of certificate that can justify their qualification required by administration department. It is hard for medical tourists to discern the charlatan from genuine

TCM professionals. The lack of qualified TCM practitioners in resort areas leads to serious situation that patients can be misdiagnosed without being aware of that.

Little Agreement between therapies and illness

Exaggerating the effect of a particular medical approach or material

TCM has multiple means to cure a patient according to patients' situation. In some areas that do not meet the conditions of developing TCM tourism, the trick is to apply one or two simple methods, say, cupping or guasha to deal with any patient. The idea is these treatments are convenient and performed just on the surface of human body and would not cause serious problem. The truth is they do cause much more horrible consequence if applied to the wrong person. When the wrong therapy is given, it can only deteriorate the patient's situation. This is particularly true with Xu Ting's case.

Traditional Chinese Medicine highlights the teaming-up of materials. That is, the best effect is produced only when the necessary materials are properly selected and grouped, and well proportioned. In the areas that are the origins of particular herbs, however, the effect of a single herb is often extolled to the skies. Regular TCM materials are labeled as "sacred medicine" for high blood pressure, for diabetes, and so on. In fact, even Jingshen, the traditional "king of traditional Chinese medicine", nowadays is considered not as potent as it used to be due to the artificial cultivation. Emphasizing the miracle of any single material doesn't comply with the basic principle of TCM. Even worse, it creates chaotic situation in the market of TCM materials. For example, "Ejiao", donkey-hide gelatin, "taken by women who suffer from anemia, dry coughs or dizziness" is in such high demand that resulted in a deluge of imitations, "with around 40 percent likely to be fake." (xinhua net.com), and the price of the product has increased 11 folds during the past 10 years, the growth rate is actually higher than that of the property business. It seems that all visitors to Donger, Shangdong province where Ejiao is originally produced must take some home, no matter whether or not they really need that. Some experts pointed out that with the general living standard having been raised greatly in China, and the nutritional level being brought up, not so many women needs this product as in the old times. Unfortunately, rich people still obstinately believe they need it and the blind purchase result in the skyrocketing of the price. While the patients really in need can hardly afford it.

Profit-oriented promotions hurt both tourists' pockets and health

Tourist destinations are always good at persuading tourist to buy in bulk. With the concept of "sub-health" getting popular with the public, TCM attracts a great many of wealthy Chinese who are ready to invest in their own health. These people often become the soft targets for TCM tourism. They are more likely to be convinced to buy medical product that "works magic". The price is always exorbitant. There's report about foreigners having bought TCM products at scenic resorts at a price 10 times higher than that of in regular TCM shops. Usually when such story happens, the tour guide played an important role.

In tourist destination, the practitioners of TCM tend to give large dosage to his patients and the promotions in the affiliated medicine shops are bewildering. For example, if your purchase reaches 300 Yuan (around 50\$), you can get 10% discount, or if you buy over 7 potions of a prescription, you get 1 extra potion free. That violate one of the basic principles that Traditional Chinese Medicine exhort, "zhong bing ji zhi", that is, to stop taking medicine as soon as the symptoms disappear, even that means the waste of the rest medicine. For some chronic disease, doctors should keep changing the prescriptions in different stages of

the patient's recovery process. That demands practitioner's close attention to the patient's conditions. But in tourist area, making money is usually the first priority. The critical principles of TCM may be totally ignored. Practitioners always make his customer believe their illness need large dosage of a single prescription. Besides the financial loss, more harm comes from the misuse of the product.

The quality of medical materials is not guaranteed

With the fast developing of TCM tourism, it becomes a fashion for many Chinese cities to set up "zhongyi Jie", literally, "TCM Street", refers to a business district which many TCM clinics locate in. Those streets are often near tourist areas. The clinics usually boast of specializing in treating a particular category of disease. The treatment fee is much higher than that of a normal hospital. Practitioners are professionals but the quality of medical materials may be quite poor. As mentioned before, TCM highlights the origins of medicine materials, but with modern cultivation techniques the herbs of the same name can be produced in many areas but the quality differ greatly. For example, astragalus membranaceus, a widely used TCM herb is planted all over the country, but only product from northern China has best effect. To cut the cost, the clinics may use southern ones but charges the same price of the northern herbs. Some clinics have used substandard TCM materials of unknown sources. That makes another big potential hazard for the TCM tourists.

Conclusion

So far, the study has found out that the prospect of TCM tourism is far from being desirable if the problems mentioned above are not handled promptly. Domestically the paradox is looming: on the one hand, people still emotionally want to rely on the two-thousand-year old medical system when they get ill. On the other hand, they are so often disillusioned by their treatment experience. Little by little they lost trust in TCM. For TCM tourism industry, the big selling point is the strength that TCM owns in curing some chronic disease, yet various scenarios involving swindle make the emerging industry even more vulnerable, and the short-sighted market behavior not only ruins the reputation of TCM, but also hurt the tourism sector in many ways. When promotion of the TCM tourism turns out to be devastation, the harm is irreparable. Realistically, TCM tourism in China has a hard uphill road ahead.

To improve the situation, the authorities' paramount task should be constructing the integrity of TCM system so that to rebuild up the people's confidence in TCM. We here provide pieces of advice as follows:

First, along with offering policies supporting the TCM tourism industry, government needs to reconsider their blueprint more cautiously. Particularly, when there is no reliable human resource to support an industry, it is high time to slow the pace of development and further, to check if there are any loopholes in the past policies. After all, TCM tourism is concerns with human being's health. It is no laughing matter.

Secondly, the basic principles of TCM should be popularized as a systematic project both at home and abroad. The demystifying of TCM is of particular importance. So that people can get a whole picture of what TCM is about and take a sensible attitude towards TCM approach. By the way, when any healthcare incident of public influence happens, there should be a mechanism of getting things clarified. In Xu's case, so far there is no official respond has ever been made to cease the dispute about TCM. The administrative sectors who want to give TCM industry a big push just keep silent. Thus people get more confused when decide on healthcare approaches.

Thirdly, instead of just focusing on the profit derived from TCM tourism, the government should be on high alert to what is really going on in the TCM tourism industry. The threshold for developing TCM tourism must be raised, and a series of measures are in need to regulate the medical treatment market. Only when dishonest behaviors are curbed does the tour deserve expecting.

To summarize,

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Potential, Motivation, Perception and Tourism

Motivation of University Student in Indonesia Traveling to International Folklore Festival

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As special-interest tourism, attending international folklore festival is emerging for university student in Indonesia. This study examines the motivational factors of university student in Indonesia involve in folklore group of their university attending international folklore festival by investigating the characteristic of this group of travelers.

To provide a detailed insight into motivation this research will be conducted using a qualitative method. The researcher carried out semi structure interviews of twenty people of pre-trip attending international folklore festival. Interviews will be transcribed and thematic manual coding was used to analyses the data. The study clarified motivations as studied before from the literature review: Leisure, relaxation and recreation, self-esteem, socializing / enjoyment of company, self-Actualization, escaping, opportunity to learn unique activities with environment and live like other, understand other cultures, spirituality and combining experiences. Another motivation also emerged from the finding: honoring others, challenge themselves by overcoming obstacles and honoring the country. Knowledge about this specific traveler's motives would enable related industry in meeting their needs. It create a good venue to tap into future target markets for tourism development.

Keywords: *motivation, youth, folklore festival, Indonesia*

Introduction

Tourism is often described as contemporary social phenomenon, and such relationship between tourism and society is complex and mediated by many variables. The purpose of this study is to explore the motivation of generation Y, specifically university student which travel to international folklore festival by investigating the characteristic of this specific group.

Generation Y is also emerging as topic of academic literature, but the focus has been primarily on information and technology use (Gardner and Eng, 2005) and attitudes to learning and education (Oblinger, 2005). Unfortunately, very little research done about their travel and tourism behavior. In fact, in 2012, \$217 billion of the \$1.088 trillion tourisms "spend" worldwide came from this generation.

Since the international folklore festival organized in Europe, the events had become an annually organized events, and had conducted in numerous country around the world. CIOFF (International Council of Organizations of Cultural Festivals and Folk Arts) created in 1970, an organization under UNESCO which aim for safeguarding, promotion and diffusion of traditional culture and cultural assures the coordination of about 250 CIOFF Festivals in more than 50 countries reaching some 50,000 artists. Based on the website of CIOFF, Global Tourism & Travel Aspects of CIOFF activities noted this interesting fact:

Every year 15 million people attend CIOFF Festivals & Events, constituting CIOFF Worldwide audience.

5.4 million people travel considerable distances within their own countries and abroad to watch International Folklore Festivals every year.

3000 International Cultural Dance and Music Groups travel the World each year to perform and share their culture at CIOFF International Festivals & Events.

Over 90000 International Cultural Performers and Craftsmen tour other Countries of the World each year to demonstrate their arts & crafts.

This study is exploring three major components which are: motivation which is very broad and complex, characteristic of youth as the travelers, and international folklore festival as the destination. Studying motivation requires multivocal understanding which require to maintain social dimension order to gain an understanding of why people travel (Jamal et al 2003), thus also should be specified, of what group of travelers traveling to where on how they travel, with this examination method, the motivation of the subject if the study will be revealed. There are many existing theories about tourists' motivation but still none of them can define what exactly and why it motivates people to travel (Dann, 1977). Lee et al. (2004) in a review of the literature on festival motivation summarized earlier work and concluded that a core set of motives for event participation existed irrespective of event theme or location and inclusive of a range of different nationalities. However, Lee's study focuses on festival attendees, not from performers' point of view. Performer or active participants are likely to have different motives and higher levels of involvement which makes them different from audiences that need further investigation.

This research is an exploratory research aims to investigate the motivation of the university student in Indonesia traveling to international folklore festival as performers, which define two research objectives which are to identify the characteristic of youth traveler (Generation Y) and to reveal their motivations attending international folklore festival as performers.

Literature review

There three major elements later to be inspected in this study that are: motivation of travel, youth traveler, and folklore festival.

1. Folklore Festival

The participation in festivals, and what we may broadly term 'celebratory events', is an increasingly significant aspect of contemporary tourist experience.

The folklore festival analyzed in this study define as folklore festival registered in CIOFF. The term folklore refers to any type of traditional art originated from the country. The performance defines as elaborated hence it adjust for international audience. The origin of folk festival is concerned with ideals of tradition and 'authentic', even a 'natural style of dance or music played by folk' (Myers, 2004). Folk music and dance has been referred as social genre, which encompasses codes, rules of behavior, social relationship, ideological meanings and shared understanding. (Fabri, 1982).

Categorizing folk music and dance in this way indicates how and why genre that claims link to authenticity should foster a community of devotees. Such devotees seek to keep alive this 'non-official', independent art style that is distinguished from commercial genres and professionalism by the ideology of the folk 'community' interactions, with a porous boundary between performers and audience: 'committedly inclusivity, a celebration of culture from

below, ground(ing) cultural production in community and the 'face-to-face' (Smith & Brett, 1998). Folk art becoming a 'scene' through collective consumption and production of the art. This collective experience can create a heightened social interaction, where participants learn social meanings of the performing art and generate further meaning themselves.

The festival layout contributes towards a relaxed village atmosphere, with performances taking place on a main stage, in a local barn, a café, side of the street, community hall etc. While most festival are seemingly attended by participants on largely casual basis, for fun and entertainment, with no sense of any particular commitment, for some more specialized festivals many participants may be particularly committed and remain for several days (Mackellar, 2009).

Festivals are not merely a few days or hours of frivolity. Specialized forms of participation generally involve high levels of commitment and have been conceptualized through the theory of 'serious leisure' (Stebbins, 1982, 1992, 2001).

Serious leisure a concept developed by Robert Stebbins, is defined as amateurism, hobbyist activities and career volunteering. The amateur pursuit of attending festival as performers are contrasted to performance as professional pursuit, define by employment for financial reward. Stebbins offers taxonomy of sixteen forms of organizational volunteering and coins term 'career volunteering' where there is 'continuous and substantial helping' rather than single donations or acts (Stebbins 2004).

By comparing personal and social reward of 'serious leisure'. it appears that finding satisfaction from serious leisure provides mix of personal rewards and social rewards which re-satisfying in themselves but far outweigh the inevitable tensions and disappointments to be encountered along the way. Volunteering performers traditionally implies selflessness and service, but the literature on volunteering as serious leisure suggests that benefits are personal rather than social.

2. Youth traveler (Identifying youth through generation theory)

In order to understand to study travel motivation, it is essential to study the social context of the group. Therefore, it is very important defining youth through their generation identification. Youth at age 18-30 years old at 2016 classified as generation Y. This also to overcome the expired consequences of defining the age group by age, rather than generation in order pro long this research finding.

Two points are important about generation theory:

While external events are experienced by all people at the time, they are most critical for these individuals in their formative years, and these events continue to influence values and outlook through lifespan.

This macro-level socialization influence does not determine all behavior (Nobel and Schewe, 2003). Although they share some common characteristic but they also differ in many ways (Donnison, 2007). As recent study by the World Youth Student Education and Travel Confederation (WYSETC) of more than 8500 Y generation travelers revealed the following key features about these travelers.

The WTO (2008) noted that 70% of all trips taken by young people are motivated by goals such as desire to explore, work or study abroad. One are that has received very little attention in tourism is that change in tourist behavior over time (Moscardo, 2004).

3. Analyzing Motivation of Traveling to Folklore Festival

Motivation has long been a topic of interest for researchers and theorists in the area of leisure and travel and number of definitions of tourism motivation have been proposed. Over the years, numerous theories of tourism motivation have been developed that contribute to a better understanding of why individuals choose to travel. Dann (1977) and Crompton made a significant contribution in proposing the “push” and “pull” factors of motivation. Pull factors are the specific offerings and attributes of a destination that attract tourists to visit the destination to satisfy their needs and wants, whereas push factors are the socio-psychology motives, such as the desire for escape, that impel individuals to travel (Brown and Lehto, 2005, Crompton, 1979, Dann, 1977 and Snepenger et al., 2006). Iso-Ahola (1982) suggested that approach (seeking) and avoidance (escape) are the two primary motivations for individuals to become involved in leisure activities, both of which have personal and interpersonal dimensions, and stated that it is possible for individuals to have both motives at the same time. Pearce and Lee (2005) developed the Travel Career Pattern (TCP) and suggested that an individual's motivation to travel changes with the level of his or her previous travel experience. Individuals with high levels of travel experience are motivated to travel by factors related to “self-development through host-site involvement and nature seeking” (Pearce & Lee, 2005, p. 235), whereas individuals with low levels of travel experience are motivated more by factors related to stimulation, security, and recognition.

With variety of motivation theory, researcher will use push and pull theories for this research, because it will help distinguishing and classifying different motivational factors for university student travels to international folklore festival and different appealing aspects with regards to destination and way of traveling. Dann (1977) explains that push factors are internal to the person and predisposes one to travel while pull factors are those aspects of a destination, which attract tourists. Bowen and Clarke (2009) suggest that pull factors can be geographical proximity, accessibility, availability of attractions/services, affordability, peace, stability and safety. According to the same authors, both motivational factors, push and pull, can be engaged simultaneously. In other words, push and pull motivational factor can be matched between each other in interrelationships. By this, it is meant that certain push factor corresponds to certain pull factor.

Although travel motivation has been extensively studied in tourism literature over the time, the discussion of motivation of university student travel to folklore festival to perform is relatively new and academic research in this area. Therefore, collection of empirical data will be needed. The latter will be gathered by individual interviews, analyzing the different respond and concluding whether certain similarities appear among them.

Several researchers have seen motivations as the driving force behind all actions (Crompton, 1979, Fodnbess 1994; Iso-Ahola 1982). Motivation is then an initial point in studying tourist behavior and beyond that for understanding systems of tourism (Gunn, 1998; Mill and Morrison, 1985). Although commentators have agreed on the fundamental importance of motivation, in 1987 Jafari noted that no common been research attention and commentary since then, Jafari's view still seems appropriate since, despite multiple efforts, no widely agreed conceptual framework has emerged (World Tourism Organization, 1999).

Getz and Andersson (2010) explained that festival tourism had been studied by many researchers from many perspectives: impact (of varying types), place marketing, travel patterns, displacement, effects, motivation, market segmentation, quality and satisfaction, regional development, relationship to urban renewal development, and links to culture and community

Researcher aware the difficulties on studying motivation. Unlike the frequently measured purpose of travel (e.g. 'for business' or 'for pleasure'), which is considered to be public and self-explanatory the motivations or underlying reasons for travel are covert in that reflect an individual's private needs and wants. (Gee et al., 1984). The wide range of human needs and the methodological difficulties in measuring them also make travel motivation research challenging (French *et al.*, 1995). Additionally, the universality of the topic potentially poses problems in constructing theories that apply across cultures (Smith, 1995). Nevertheless, despite the difficulties, the value of pursuing travel motivation studies can describe as extensive. Although there has been an awareness of the need to develop motivation theories, existing approaches only partially meet all the requirements of a good theory (Pearce, 1993b).

Due the obstacles regarding study travel motivation, researcher decide to use one basic theories which are push and pull theory by Bowen and Clarke (2009). It is also very important to classify the certain group of travelers, their way of travel and their destination. On the other hand, because of the richness and depth of the concept, it is appropriate that the study of tourist motivation should be equally multi-vocal.

Jamal and Lee (2003) make a fundamental distinction between micro and macro approaches to the study of tourist motivation. The former is closely identified with (social) psychology and focus on disequilibrium in the need system, the use of approach/avoidance models, and so on. However, Jamal and Lee, beg to differ on this last point since they feel that many of this accompanying assertions and related hypotheses have been inadequately tested.

After reviewing the whole theory of travel motivation, characteristic of youth traveler and motivation of performers travel to folklore festival, researcher conclude of the core motivations as follow:

Table1 Synthesize of motivation of youth traveler attend festival abroad

Motivation	Explanation	Theory Inventor
Expectation	An expectation is anticipatory belief about what a destination can offer as experiences to the tourists and being a critical factor in shaping travel expectations Predictions about their expectations about a festival destination cannot be made.	(Theodossopoulos and Skinner, 2011), (Crompton, 1979), Pearce (2011), (Xiang et al., 2011).
Leisure, relaxation and recreation	Activity, excitement and movement at alternative time. Suspend normative codes of conduct in the search for individually fulfilling experiences.	(Hagard and Williams 1992); (Bennetand Lachowetz, 2004) (Schneider and Backman 1996)
Self Esteem	Earning the respect of their peers. Grounded in cultural meaning system	(Kenrick, Li, and Butner, 2003), (Bruner, 1990; Shweder, 1990).
Socializing / enjoyment of company	Enjoyment of company. What makes festivals special has been found to center around uniqueness and quality, as well as atmosphere. To be part of a group, enhance family	(Mohr et al., Uysal et al., 1993). . Prentince and Andersen (2003) (Getz and Cheyne, 1997).

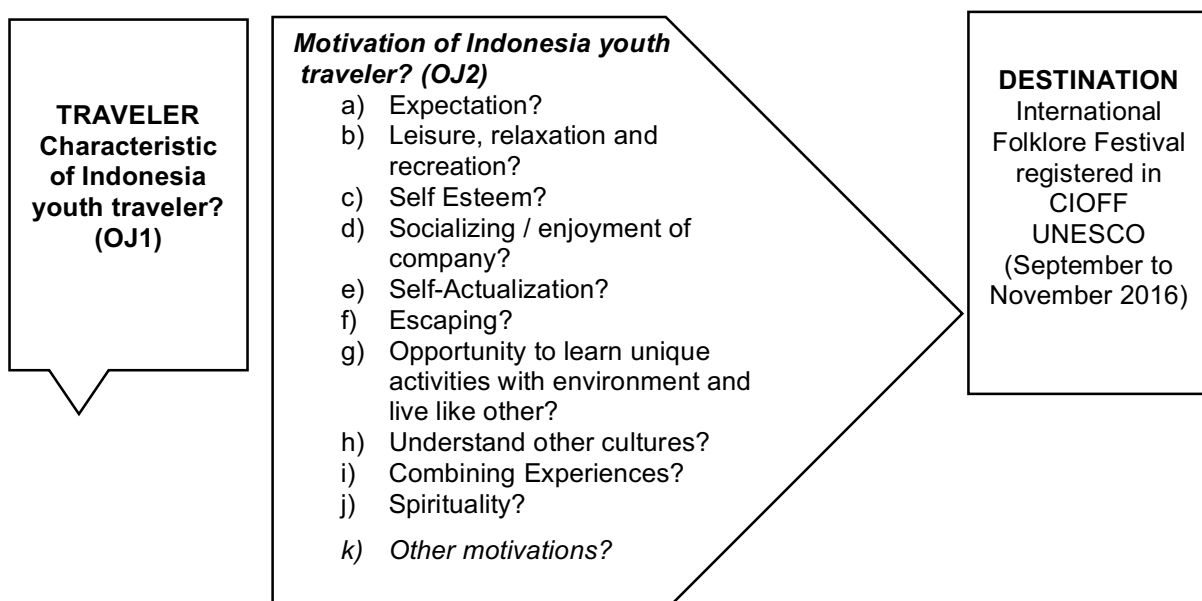
	<p>togetherness meet with new friends, extend social contacts and be with others who are enjoying themselves.</p> <p>Festivals are social phenomena, found in virtually all human cultures, comprising five elements:</p> <p>A sacred profane time of celebration, marked by special observances;</p> <p>The annual celebration of notable person or event, or the harvest of an important product;</p> <p>A cultural event consisting of series of performance of works in the fine arts, often devoted to a single artist of genre;</p> <p>A fair;</p> <p>Generic gaiety, conviviality, cheerfulness.</p> <p>Festivals are social practices that communities have engaged in for generations as means of expressing beliefs and celebrating identities. Viewing themselves part of the larger entity rather than themselves.</p>	<p>(Isar, 1976). (Falassi 1987), (Ekman, 1999). (McDonnel et al. 1999)</p>
Self-Actualization	<p>a need to 'fit in' and access a sense of community and belonging</p>	<p>(Maslow, cited in Kotler et al. 1994) (O'Reilly and Vella Zarb, 2000; Saatchi and Saatchi, 1999)</p>
Escaping	<p>Desire to leave the everyday life environment behind in order to obtain psychological rewards through traveling to a contrasting environment.</p> <p>Core values of this group of youth which are freedom, flexibility and choice'.</p>	<p>Iso-Ahola (1982), Tikkanen (2007) (Huntley, 2006)</p>
Opportunity to learn unique activities with environment and live like others	<p>Engage in an experience that is somehow novel or exciting.</p> <p>Opportunity to experience the unique <i>atmosphere</i> of collective celebration.</p> <p>Opportunity to learn about and participate in unique activities and environments.</p> <p>Observation of and participation in the way of life of others For a short time, travelers become part of another community or culture. They do what the locals do with relative ease and minimal involvement or commitment.</p> <p>Strives for authentic tailor made experiences that symbolizes the 'freedom, flexibility and choice'.</p>	<p>(Scott, 1996; Tomljenovic et al., 2001; Uysal et al., 1993). (Huntley, 2006).</p>
Understand other cultures	<p>Festivals and events are primarily celebrations. Creativity, expressions of cultural uniqueness</p>	<p>(Dunstan 1994). (Hall 1993; Smith 1989).</p>

	and local talents, customs and lifestyles are intrinsic components of the celebration. Provide opportunities to learn about other cultures, customs and ways of life and encourage greater understanding and tolerance of cultural diversity Encourage retention and revitalization of unique cultures and traditions.	
Combining Experiences	Seek multiple experience and quite often attempt to multi-task in their pursuit Clustering facilitates ease of access and provision of multiple connected experiences, which also provides choice and balance between challenge, adventure, fun and relaxation, as well as socializing.	(Charters 2010)
Spirituality	Some of people's achievement motivations to be derived from religious ideas that they encounter in their cultures.	Max Weber (1979)

Source: Author's development

This figure conceptualizes the objective and link with the research question. The motivation was result of extract from literature review of understanding characteristics of international folklore festival, analyzing travel pattern of generation Y, and general motivation theory which already studied before. Figure 2.1 describe the framework of this study, traveler as subject of the activity, international folklore festival as destination and motivation which will be later identified.

Figure 1 Conceptual Framework



Methodology

Research design

Qualitative methods are used to conduct research when outcomes need to meet high quality standards. The aim is set high to determine unseen causes and motivation of certain type of group to such way of travel and achieve a deep understanding of participant's emotions and perceptions (Edmonds, 1999 in Coats and Ferguson, 2013). It is crucial to grip the sense for respondent motivation and comprehend the reasons behind their motivations, which leads to the conclusion that a qualitative interview is the best match (Saunders et al., 2009).

Twenty student engaged in four different folklore group of four different university in Indonesia that will depart to international folklore festival from June to October 2016. Age of the respondent selected between 18-22 years old.

This study conducts in Indonesia, specifically in two big cities in Indonesia, which are Jakarta and Semarang. It is conducted from July to October 2016. Qualitative study certainly will give different result each time it was conducted, so time frame is really matters for this study so another further study might not be relevant as for different time frame.

Researcher need to fully understand the linkages between the observed of home and away. By this technique tourism as production (macro) be united with tourism as consumption (micro). The interview phase of the study is reported in detail in Lee and Pearce (2002). Intensive interviews with a small number of travelers chosen because of their different travel experience and life-cycle phases. Following his study, concept of 'theoretical saturation' in the focus and small-group literature was used to guide the study (Krueger, 1994, Strauss and Corbin, 1990). It is important that respondents are engaged in social process of maintaining a successful interaction with an interviewer, and the way they respond reflects circumstances, moods and capacity. Same technique implied for this study.

When conducting qualitative studies, researchers is using purposive sampling instead of probability because they seek to gain understanding about a specific group. The researchers aim to explore "discover and/or refine theories and concepts" in order to support the purpose of their study (Devers & Frankel, 2000, p. 268). The use of another method within qualitative research is the idea of concept mapping. According to Wheeldon and Faubert, (2009) concept mapping is a visual way for participants to categorize their values, and has been used in a number of fields including science education, engineering, mathematics, psychology, and health. They found that there is a great potential for this method in the social science field as well. This concept could prove to be useful in the travel industry if it is cost and time effective.

After the essays were completed, data will have submitted electronically and scanned by hand for common word usage and phrases. The researcher placed the data into categories illustrating the common motivations shared by the participants. The most frequent phrases and common word usage on the spread sheets led the researchers back to the raw data to analyze the context in which the phrases were used. This practice added insight into how and why students feel their motivation to travel to international folklore festival.

On data collection, researcher used semi structure interview. Semi structured interview combines the flexibility of unstructured interviews with the ability to compare key questions or topics (Brunt 1997, Finn et all 2000). This is perhaps the most useful format conducting qualitative research as it gives interviewee license to talk freely while being able to follow up with probing questions on topics that arise (Turner 2010, Zorn 2008). This is the method adopted for this study. Semi structured interview are also ideal if there is only one chance to

interview someone and time is limited (Bernard 1988 cited by RWJF 2008). These also allow more room for comparison, as the same general topics are covered in each interview. This research uses face-to-face interview. The researcher was concerned that this type of interview might be uncomfortable for the respondents, since they need to interact face to face with the interviewer (Sekaran, 2003), but it gives actual ambience of where researcher could recognize the interaction better.

Data collection and analysis

The research utilized inductive, theoretical approach using comparative analysis and interpretation of empirical material, 'comparing data to data, concept to concept, and category to category' (Charmaz, 2000) in a way that is applicable to the contexts and participants in the research site (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Charmaz, 2006; Radel; 2010).

This research is using purposive sample. The sample picked by detail criteria. During the interviews researcher took notes and video recorder with consent by interviewee. Then the researcher used template analysis to transcribe the interview proceeding into themes. In order to avoid an overwhelming task that could demotivate the researcher and reduce the quality of the work produced, the data were organized during the field research (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

In order to generate answers to the research questions, thematic analysis was employed for this study. This is a generic approach to the analysis of qualitative data (Gomm, 2008; Robson, 2011). It allows the researcher to captures interesting and important evidence that relates to the research questions (Robson, 2011). It differentiates, combines data including generating reflection on the information (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The analysis results in identifying and describing implicit and explicit ideas within the data (Guest et al., 2012).

Findings and Discussion

It appeared that some major factors that had been analysed from the literature review did really appear on finding, and surprisingly there are some others factors that uprising that have not analyse before.

1. Self-discovery and self-actualizations

Almost all respondents express this reason as their motivation. Travel for purpose of self-development or self-awareness is not a new concept (Cronin, 2000; Rojek, 1993; Wearing, 2002), but is particularly pro-nounced for this group of travelers.

Self-actualization can be also characterized by desire to change or reinvent oneself. Some respondent who had joined the program before, was not just looking of the experience but also explore who he/she was.

2. Opportunity to learn unique activities with environment, live like other and understand other cultures.

The majority of the individual respondents indicated that they would like to have more interaction and contact with local people through this trip. These trips enabled the travelers to gain a deeper understanding of different cultures, traditions, and lifestyles, as well as first-hand experience of local life. It appeared that respondent desired different kinds of interaction with the local community, for instance, to "stay with local families," learn how to make the local cuisine from local people," and "have dinner with local families." In addition, half of the

interviewees expressed their desire to develop better and long-term relationships with the local community through multiple visits, because long-term relationships would enable them to have an in-depth understanding of the life and actual needs of local people, which would facilitate the provision of more comprehensive assistance to relieve different problems in the local community.

3. Self-esteem.

Personal development and growth, the responses of the study participants confirmed the finding that attending international folklore festival as performers which required high commitment is an opportunity for personal development and growth. Such experience enabled the respondents to experience personal change and development, such as increased persistence and perseverance, better communication skills, and the development of leadership and other skills.

4. Escape and Freedom

The journey might represent freedom from societal constraints for some travelers (Kane and Tucker, 2004; Swarbrooke et al., 2003; Wilson, 2004). Examples of divorce in family or broken relationship. For some respondent travel with this group to the festival offered the chance to escape from personal problem at home:

"I sign up for the group, I began to realize, could give me the space I needed to sort out the mess, I often fight with my mother at home, so being with the group and travel for quite some time, give me adequate time to release of what problem I had at home." (119, 22)

A number of respondents were frank about their need to get away from their everyday lives, including family.

For some, attending festivals represent marginal, liminal zones, places outside the normal constraints of daily life, representing 'a liberation from the regimes of normative practices and performances codes of mundane life' (Shields, 1991).

5. Leisure

'Leisure, social or cultural experience outside the normal range of choices or beyond everyday experience (Getz, 1991).

I found that dancing gave me something to feed my soul. Explore my soul within me, inner me, a display to explore the art of me. I always feel present whenever I am dancing, of joining the team I dance more intense with the group. I somehow bring me alive, got my pulse back, my heat back, my passion back. (I3 said that dancing helps her to roaming her own soul, 22)

The tourism literature has long recognized that a pleasure trip is rarely the result of a single motive. Tourists' motives are likely to be multiple (Crompton 1979; Mansfeld 1992; Pearce 1982; Uysal, Gahan and Martin 1993). This multiplicity may occur at both the individual and the aggregate levels of analysis. At the individual level, a performers may have several different needs which he/she desires to satisfy through a festival visit. For example, a need to interact with the family, often inhibited by the independent actions of individual members in the home environment, may be accompanied by a desire for cultural enrichment.

6. Spirituality

There is also a spiritual dimension to some of this extreme suffering. The metaphor of Biblical suffering, linked with hell by respondents in the language they use to describe their experience.

7. Combining experience

To understand of this motive, researcher try to take a deeper analysis hence the factors that are emerging could be widely varied. Some respondent is very clear on defining this motives while others explicitly delude this motive in the other factors, hence the breakdown of this factors could be classifying independently on the other motives as well.

We understand that at this point that all factors emerge from the data analyzing from respondent interview. Surprisingly there are another factors that never be analyze and lately appear from the majority of the respondent:

8. Challenge oneself and Overcoming Obstacles

One Important motivation is the desire to challenge oneself, both physically and mentally. It thus has a link with achievement as well as flow experiences, which refer to the 'complete involvement of the actor with (his or her) activity' (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975:36). Where the skills possessed by an individual and the challenges posed by the activity are finely balanced, leading to intense feelings of enjoyment and pleasure (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975).

The rehearsal for this trip is very exhausting. Hence we have 90 minutes performances in some of the stage. You are very tired but you have to keep smiling, and looking neat and nice on the stage, the last couple of minutes I feel like I am dying. I think about quitting every two minutes, but I do not want to be a quitter. I have finish what I had start it. (I1 12-14):

9. Goal-setting and achievement

There is often a tendency to characteristic a performers journey as ego driven and narcissism. Such top-heavy journey gets nowhere; they linger on the fringe of publicity. Others look to inspire others or achieve social change, some respondent rationalized their participation of the trip as a vehicle to promote international peace and understanding.

I had been studying international relation as my major, and I understand that culture is somehow a platform to build mutual understanding among other countries and promote international peace. I know that we value cultural art in different way, especially folk art in form of performing art. (I8, 2).

10. Honoring others

Sometimes the traveler wants to honour the memory of family member of fulfil their dream.

I grew up seeing my father teaching people gamelan (Indonesia traditional music), and traditional Javanese dancing. Whenever I dance I thought of my father. His dedication to traditional dancing is amazing. (I 13, was inspired to undertake his journeys by his father's influence, which had speed into his consciousness from early age.

11. Honoring the country

One of the important factors is emerge from all respondent, that they are taking trip for honoring the country. While performing at international folklore festival the individual will not

be recognized as him/her or the group, meanwhile, they will be entitled as the country. Such pride was giving enormous feeling of represent the country to international level.

I realize that Indonesia is amazing country in term of culture, you know...we are the richest country in the world of the diversity of culture. I realize that this is somehow a power for my country to 'speak louder' at international level. We might not score much in sport, but I know we can do much from our culture. I grateful to represent Indonesia, to international folklore festival abroad. No matter that we have not much support from government but this is meaningful for me." (I1, 10).

Conclusion

Employing in-depth face to face interviews this study examined the motivations of university student in Indonesia attending international folklore festival. All of the respondents were volunteer-minded travelers with a desire to perform the Indonesia traditional folk art abroad. All of the participants belonged to the Gen Y groups. Their motives were in many ways similar to those identified by Broad (2003) and Brown and Lehto (2005). Indeed, all the seven factors that had been examined before on Chapter 2 do appear as motivation with different degrees of importance.

From the Table2 researcher find that the most common motivation for the respondent attending international folklore festival as performers is honoring the countries which found in all respondent interview. It is due the nature of the international folklore festival where participant representing their country of origin, such motivation derived from sense of belonging to the country which shared by all respondents. Following second motivation is self-discovery and self-actualization, opportunity to learn unique activities, live like others and understand other cultures, self-esteem, escape and freedom, leisure, spirituality, combining experience.

However, the unpredictable motivation that never explored before indeed emerge such motivation are to honoring others, challenge themselves by overcoming obstacles and honoring the country.

Table2 Motivation of university student travel to international folklore festival:

Motivation	Number of respondent	Percentage	Keywords
Self-discovery and self-actualizations	17/20	85%	belonging, status, or recognition
Opportunity to learn unique activities with environment, live like other and understand other cultures.	14/20	70%	the unique <i>atmosphere</i> of collective celebration, Creativity, expressions of cultural uniqueness and local talents, customs and lifestyles
Self-esteem	13/20	65%	cognitive dissonance, conformity, agency, approach-avoidance, self-enhancement, agency, approach-avoidance, self enhancement, and achievement
Escape and Freedom	11/20	55%	freedom, flexibility and choice
Leisure	7/20	35%	leisure, entertainment, relaxation

Spirituality	6/20	30%	
Combining experience	3/20	15%	Combining two or more factors, clustering experiences, and echoes concern with efficiency possessed by them

New motivations:

Motivation	Number of respondent	Percentage	Keywords
Challenge oneself	8/20	40%	Achievement, challenge, suffering voluntary, obstacles
Goal setting and achievement	12/20	60%	Achievement, set-goal
Honoring others	3/20	15%	Honour, memory, family member(subject)
Honoring the countries	20/20	100%	Honour, country, payback

This result later could be implied for specific tourism industry parallel to this study. Segmenting festival markets, specifically international folklore festival, and understanding their characteristics based on motivations of the performers, especially youth from Indonesia, will be important for successful international folklore festival and event managers in the future. Competitive forces will require that managers understand and monitor participants' needs and satisfactions as promoting event features in their marketing strategies. This study identified four emerging unidentified motivations for university student in Indonesia attending International folklore festival which are: challenge, goal setting and achievement, honoring others, and honoring the country. The first dimension of honoring the country explained the largest proportion of the total variance, reaffirming that national pride was a central theme of the festival. For event marketers this suggests that those themes be the core of any event production model and more importantly, that advances be made in further understanding how these motives can be attributed to increasingly specific groups of participants. Although this method of analysis is not employed in other event motive studies, it does demonstrate that the clustering procedure yields meaningful insights for the event manager/marketer into the motives of participants. This procedure should be replicated in the future at other events to help confirm its efficacy. It was also possible to descriptively classify each cluster based on traditional demographic and travel related variables. This process added important profiling information and would be significant in developing promotions and programs that centered on a motive segmentation strategy. Tourism professionals and event managers around the globe understand the growing numbers and importance of international visitors. What once were local festivals and events are now catering to very diverse audiences with very different expectations, needs and experiences. This study then comprises that young people with altruism need way of traveling is emerging. At a minimum it may add important new tourism revenues into the local economy as well as promoting a positive image of the community. If additional event/tourism research continues to show that there is a core set motives for participation, then new studies like this will be needed to provide a viable method of extracting more practical or operational meaning from our understanding of these motives.

Limitations and Recommendations for Future Studies

It is important to identify constrain of the research because it will provide the researchers with 'lesson learned' (Schon, 1983, p.26), and hence, the limitations identified could be taken into consideration for future research in ordered to conduct successful studies. Firstly, time constraints are big issue for this study. The limited time to conduct research certainly affected the scope of what could be accomplished. According to Saunders et al (2009) and Miles and Huberman (1994) it is often a good idea in qualitative research to 'clean' the data, that is to send a copy of transcript to the subject for final check/approval. Second, the sample was limited, in both size and type. This study was limited to folklore groups bound to folklore festival only from on period of October to December 2016. Third, since motivation is an inner state of need, tourists may be not always aware of deep psychological wants and desires which motivate them to travel. Even if they aware, they may not be able to express their true feelings by just answering several question. As noted by Wolfe and Hsu (2004), motivations for travel might be multiple, contradictory or interrelated, and these complicated relationships could be explored and revealed by interviews (Saunders, Lewis and Thornbill, 2009).

These limitations, along with the study's findings, suggest directions for further research. In the future research, the measurement scales need to be validated in disaggregated countries before generalizations can be made. In addition, motivation can be stressed as important preconditions for attitudinal and behavioral change (Moorman & Matulich, 1993). Furthermore, motivation increases attention to festival visitors and produces more stable and enduring attitudes (Lutz, MacKenzie, & Belch, 1983; Batra & Michael, 1986; Celsi & Olson, 1988; Hoch & Deighton, 1989; Moorman & Matulich, 1993). Therefore, the relationship between festival motivation and attitude and behavioral intentions suggested to be explored using a structural equation model in future research. It was also possible to descriptively classify each cluster based on traditional demographic and travel related variables. This process added important profiling information and would be significant in developing promotions and programs that centered on a motive segmentation strategy. Tourism professionals and event managers around the globe understand the growing numbers and importance of international visitors.

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Wildlife Photographers' Motivation in Photographic Tourism

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This research aimed to explore the motivation of wildlife photographers participating in photographic tourism at Khao Yai National Park, Nakhon Ratchasima Province. Thirteen photographers were selected by using purposive sampling as a sampling. Findings were generated by using "the Leisure Motivation Scale" of Beard and Ragheb as well as 7-point Likert scale through questionnaire survey focusing on 4 subscales: 1) Intellectual motive, 2) Social component, 3) Competence-mastery component, and 4) Stimulus-avoidance motive. Additionally, the primary data was collected by conducting semi-structure interviews with the wildlife photographers. The result yielded that for intellectual motive, the respondents were ranking the highest score on the item "to discover new place and things". Meanwhile, the item "to have a good time with friends and be with others" is ranking highest on social component. On competence-mastery component the main respondents photographed the wildlife as their hobby of practicing photographing. Furthermore, the item "to relax mentally" also score over five on the scale of stimulus-avoidance motive.

Keywords: *consumer behavior, tourist motivation, photography, niche tourism, tourism marketing*

Introduction

Tourism is an important part of business sector in the world economic which generates tremendous value income to many countries in each year (Thipsingh, 2015). Tourism is about tourist's values, attitudes, personality, and lifestyle. It incorporates new experience in meeting people, places, cultures and traditions (Simkova & Holzner, 2014). Photographic tourism is one of a form in niche tourism that combined an interest of particular place with interest of taking photos with specific objects. Photographic tourism has recently become a popular type of tourism due to the technological revolution that made photographic equipment (e.g. cameras, lens) affordable for everyone, also providing more features that make the equipment easier to use. Presently, social networks have a major influence in tourism trend particularly in photographic tourism.

In marketing for tourism, consumer behavior in tourism is actually examined tourist motivation for traveling, individual needs and satisfaction which would be called "tourist behavior and motivation". Tourist behavior and motivation are major influences to define form of communication with consumers or for business support. It is impossible to prevent damage in tourism destinations without profound knowledge and understanding of tourists (Simkova & Holzner, 2014). There are numerous studies that demonstrate tourist behavior and motivation towards mass tourism markets. However, limited research had discussed the motivation of

tourist in niche tourism markets, especially in photographic tourism. Hence, this study utilized concepts derived from the leisure motivation (Breard & M. G. Reghab, 1983) aims to investigate motivations of wildlife photographers in order to participate in photographic tourism at Khao Yai National Park.

Literature Review

The Leisure Motivation Scale and consumer behavior in tourism

The international approach to understanding leisure motivation was initially proposed by Bread and Reghab (1983). This approach has proven to be a common method of understanding leisure motivation in examining what normally motivates a person to participate (Beggs & Elkins, 2010). Bread and Reghab (1983) developed a comprehensive list of 48 leisure motivation that is comprised of four subscales: “intellectual, social, competence-mastery, and stimulus-avoidance”. Firstly, the “intellectual” scale refers to mental stimulation which indicates the chance to use personal imagination. Secondly, the “social” dimension shows the need to communication between people or interpersonal relationships. Thirdly, the “competency-mastery” factor illustrates motivation in terms of the aspiration for competition and challenge. Lastly, the “stimulus-avoidance” motive refers to escape and restoration which people seek in their leisure activities (Breard & M. G. Reghab, 1983). The “Leisure Motivation Scale” has been utilized in a variety of settings in order to understand leisure motivation. Lounsbury and Polik (1992) used the “Leisure Motivation Scale” to study the measurement of leisure needs prior to a vacation and after the vacation to indicated satisfaction of tourists. The four subscales met-needs measures were significantly related to vacation satisfaction. Ryan and Glendon (1998) applied the “Leisure Motivation Scale” to study decision of tourist in choosing destination. They adapted the shortened version of the “Leisure Motivation Scale” which applied to a respondent of 1,127 British holiday makers. This shortened version was utilized in order to ask respondents to indicate the importance of listed motivation and asked the scope to which their last holiday met their motivation. Beggs, Elkins and Stitt (2004) had studied leisure motivation in campus recreation sport by utilizing the “Leisure Motivation Scale”. Beggs and Elkins (2010) also utilized the “Leisure Motivation Scale” to examine the relationship between leisure motivation and leisure satisfaction of college students on what motivated them to participate and how those motivations impact a satisfying experience. In a study of consumer behavior in tourism, Lee (2009) presented that the level of motivation to affect in tourist behavior was directly related to gratification or satisfaction in the activities, as well as the possibility of future participation. Additionally, Mannell and Kleiber (1997) stated that the leisure service providers had applied the motivation and satisfaction constructs to plan their services and programs that fulfill the markets’ needs.

Photographic tourism and wildlife observation

Hirsch (2009) said that photography has been an indivisible part of tourism since 1839 for its commercial introduction, the birth year of practical photography. Tourism and photography are involved with each other. There is a long history over the years that the tourist has learned both photography and tourism are complementary to each other (Jagyasi, 2016). A clear definition has stated by Palmer and Lester, of what separates a holiday where photography is a common activity for tourists from a holiday where the focus and purpose is to take photographs—photographic tourism (Palmer & Lester, 2005).

Gogoi (2014) also argued that photographic tourism is a form of special interest tourism in which tourists visit a particular place with the main purpose of photographing subjects that are unique to them. The scope of photography may range from the scenery of landscapes, portraits of people, architectures, culture, and wildlife. A conceptual framework of photographic tourism can be shown with the help of the following figure.

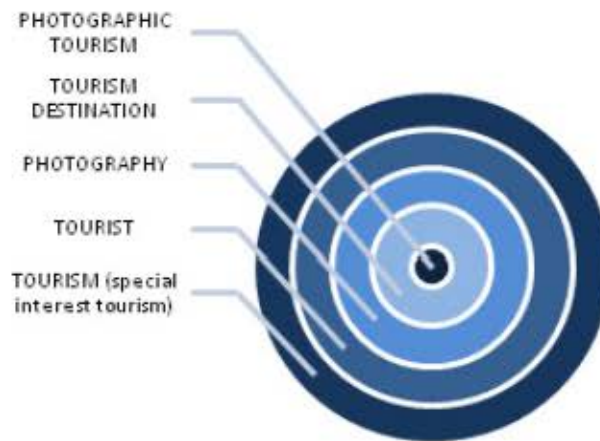


Figure 1 Conceptual Framework of Photographic Tourism

Source Deborsee Gogoi, *A Conceptual Framework of Photographic Tourism* (2014)

Wildlife observation is a type of photographic tourism in which the observation of wildlife is a recreational activity. The observation could be done by the naked eye, through a visual enhancement device like binoculars and telescopes, or by taking photograph via camera and particular lens. The great example of the wildlife observation is bird watching which is an activity for people who interested in bird and research about bird (Dunne, 2013). Dunne (2013) said that bird watching has started since Victorian era by the wealthy people. The collectors collect the eggs and feathers of the birds. Later in 19th century, the rising of protecting wild birds were leading to watching and observing living birds instead of collecting parts or whole birds. In Thailand, Khao Yai National Park is a significant home for variety wildlife animals. KhaoYai National Park are comprehensive by 4 province are Saraburi, Nakhon Ratchasima, Prachin Buri and Nakhon Nayok, covers 2,168 square kilometers. Khao Yai is a World Heritage Site declared by UNESCO, covering 5 protected areas from Khao Yai to Cambodia border. Significantly, Khao Yai National Park is home to approximately 300 residents and migratory birds (Thai National Parks, n.d.). Furthermore, the big bird migration during March through April could make bird watching even more interesting and attracting for wildlife photographer to participate in photographic tourism at KhaoYai National Park.

Methodology

1. Research goal

The research aims to investigate motivations of wildlife photographers in order to participate in photographic tourism at Khao Yai National Park by utilizing the concepts derived from “the Leisure Motivation Scale” of Beard and Ragheb (Breard & M. G. Reghab, 1983) as well as 7-point Likert scale through questionnaire survey focusing on 4 subscales: 1)

Intellectual motive, 2) Social motive, 3) Competence-mastery motive and 4) Stimulus-avoidance motive.

2. Sampling and Data Collection

The targeted samples were a population of wildlife photographers at Khao Yai National Park. However, there was no record for the number of the wildlife photographers who participated in photographic tourism at Khao Yai National Park. Hence, thirteen photographers were selected by using purposive sampling as a sampling.

This research is a qualitative study which divided into two parts. Part 1 using questionnaires consisted of 2 units. The first unit had questions related to demographic and socio-economic characteristic of the respondents, while the second unit included questions related to attitudes of those photographers toward the motivation that influence prior in participatory. Additionally, the primary data was collected by conducting semi-structure interviews in Part 2 for depth interview with the thirteen wildlife photographers who participating in photographic tourism at Khao Yai National Park. Data gathering technique for the research took place on March – April 2015. Four research assistants conducted the interview and one researcher observed, gathered data and evaluated outcomes.

Data (phenomenon)

This research has applied a theory of the Leisure Motivation Scale of Breard and Reghab (Breard & M. G. Reghab, 1983) to a sample of 13 wildlife photographers who participated in photographic tourism at Khao Yai National Park, Nakhon Ratchasima Province. The scale was applied once with 32 questions which divided into 4 dimensions. Those questions had used for asked the photographers to indicated the importance of listed motivations for them and then ranked the answer by using the 7-point Likert scale. Mean and standard deviation (SD) were used for measuring the data. Observation and qualitative summarized had been used as instruments for data treatment from depth interview.

Findings

In the first unit of part 1, thirteen wildlife photographers participated in the study. There was precise representation in term of gender as male for 84.61% and female for 15.39%. In regard to the sample's profile, the majority age of the samples was higher than 40 years old (69.22%). In relation to the objectives of the respondents, the biggest percentage is for their hobby (85%). Additionally, the photographers were asked to specify their frequency of participation in wildlife photographic tourism. Information from the 13 photographers who responded show that 85% participated 1-2 times per month, 10% participated 2-3 times per year and 5% participated every week. Regarding the travel information, 90% of the samples travel with friends, family, and people who interested in photographing the wildlife, and 10% of the samples were traveling by themselves. In this study, Cronbach's alpha coefficients was using to demonstrated a solid measure of reliability for the motivation scales (0.93), as well as each of the motivation motives (0.93 for each motive).

From the second unit of part 1, the result yielded that for intellectual motive, wildlife photographers were highly motivated by the desire "to discover new place and things" (M=5.98, SD=0.58). Meanwhile, the item "to have a good time with friends and be with others" is ranking highest on social component (M=5.02, SD=0.68). On competence-mastery component the main respondents is ranking "to improve skill and ability in photographing" as their highest motivation item (M=4.87, SD=0.67). Furthermore, the item "to relax mentally" also

scores highest on the scale of stimulus-avoidance motive (M=5.12, SD=0.59). A breakdown of results of motivation items is shown in Table 1.

Table 1 Mean Scores for Wildlife photographer Motivation Scale (N=13)

Descriptive Results		
Motivation Items	Mean	SD
<i>Intellectual Factors</i>	5.00	0.66
to learn about things around me	5.03	0.65
to satisfy my curiosity	5.04	0.68
to explore new ideas	4.48	0.62
to learn about myself	4.01	0.60
to increase my knowledge	5.49	0.72
to discover new places and things	5.98	0.58
to be creative	5.20	0.75
to use my imagination	4.32	0.67
<i>Social Factors</i>	4.64	0.68
to build friendships with others	4.97	0.68
to be with others	4.07	0.61
to develop close friendships	4.71	0.65
to meet new and different people	4.90	0.59
to have a good time with friends	5.02	0.68
to be socially competent and skillful	4.77	0.55
to gain a feeling of belonging	4.34	0.83
to gain other's respect	4.36	0.83
<i>Competence-mastery Factors</i>	4.40	0.63
to challenge my abilities	4.78	0.67
to be good in photographing	4.75	0.53
to improve my skill and ability in photographing	4.87	0.67
to be active	4.52	0.66
to develop physical skills and abilities	4.05	0.64
to keep in shape physically	4.04	0.67
to use my physical abilities	4.07	0.57
to develop physical fitness	4.08	0.60
<i>Stimulus-avoidance Factors</i>	4.53	0.71
to slow down	4.62	0.59
to be alone	3.88	0.72
to relax physically	5.01	0.79
to relax mentally	5.12	0.59
to avoid the hustle and bustle of daily activities	4.63	0.87
to be in a calm atmosphere	4.95	0.62
to relieve stress and tension	4.15	0.79
to unstructured my time	3.90	0.72

Note. 1-Strongly Disagree, 7-Strongly Agree

In part 2, regarding the depth interview, all photographers agreed that their cameras are the most important tools for wildlife photographing, the quality of lens are equally important. The lens must be suitable for taking a long shot picture in order to not disturb the wildlife animal. Their clothes also one of the important tools of wildlife photographing which would camouflage for taking pictures and getting closer to the wildlife. Additionally, 80% of the wildlife photographers had an inspiration of portrait photographing before they changed to wildlife photographing and 20% had an inspiration of wild hiking before turned the passion to the wildlife photographing.

The samples were using these marketing tools for searching information before they made the decision of choosing a tour operator of wildlife photographic tourism. 60% of the samples choosing the tour operator by searching information from the existed website, 30% of them got the information about the wildlife tour operator from their friends and relatives by word of mouth and another 10% were not chosen any tour operator because they used to go to the destination but from the different objective.

Discussion

In part 1, the research finding was examined using “the Leisure Motivation Scale Theory” by Beard G. Jacob and Ragheb G. Mounir (1983). The results of this study have shown that the highest motive for participation in wildlife photographic tourism were in the dimension of intellectual motivational factor. The finding support previous research by Thomas and Butts (1998) who found that the travelers staying at hostels were highly motivated by opportunities for cognitive learning which they can have a chance to use their imagination. They found that intellectual motivational variables were the greatest source of leisure satisfaction.

The finding of this study also found that the social factors are less important leisure motivation variables than intellectual motivation variables. This result argued with research by Kanter and Forester (1997) who found that social variables were the most important to the leisure motivation for college students during leisure participation and play an important role in motivation. This study also argued research by Beggs, Elkins and Stitt (2004) and Beggs and Elkins (2010) who found that the competency-mastery motives are the most important variables in leisure motivation of college student. The research finding also argued with research by Ryan and Glendon (1998) which their results found that the stimulus-avoidance factors are the most important to the holiday makers in Britain.

The results of this study indicate that intellectual motivation variables advocate more than other variables to motivate wildlife photographers to participate in photographic tourism. This finding suggests that wildlife photographers who seek activities where they can discover new places and things are more likely to be satisfied with their experience. Wildlife photographers who seeking activities in photographic tourism where they can demonstrate the mental stimulation for themselves are more likely to be satisfied with the experience than wildlife photographers who are motivated to participate by social, competency-mastery, and stimulus-avoidance variables.

In part 2, the finding support previous research by Gogoi (2014) who indicated that photographic tourism is a form of niche marketing in term of special interest tourism which tourists visit a particular place with the main purpose of photographing. In this case, tourists

are interested in wildlife photographing that is unique to them and also has a purpose in using their particular instruments in order to get the best picture of wildlife animals.

Conclusion

The intellectual motivational variables are the most important dimension of motivators for wildlife photographers participating in photographic tourism. It is important to tour operators or service provider organizations to make an effort to provide activities that allow the wildlife photographer to initiate their mental stimulation or have a chance to use their imagination in activities if possible. This may be done through preparing and offering a tour program which include the activities of finding the new places and things. For example, a tour program of photographing the rare wildlife animals in the month of their migration such as big birds migration to Khao Yai National Park during March through April.

However, this study suggest that the other dimension of motivational factors —social factors, competency-mastery factors, and stimulus-avoidance factors are also motivate the photographer to participate in photographic tourism. The implication of this result means that tour operators or service provider organizations that provide the wildlife photographic tourism to wildlife photographers need to find ways to attract photographers to activities that are motivating and contain the elements of social, competency-mastery, and stimulus-avoidance factors. Additionally, very few research currently exists to support the proposition that photographer motivated, further inquiry is essential to understand this phenomenon.

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Repeat Tours – Emerging Phenomenon – A Case Study about the Beach Resort Kovalam in Kerala, India.

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Recent statistics points out the emerging flow of repeated tourists towards the famous beach resort Kovalam, Kerala, in the land of coconuts and backwaters. Kovalam is acclaimed as one of the major beach resorts in India. Research conducted in the field of recurring and repeated tourism highlights the importance of the environment and infrastructure facilities available in the destination (Gyte and Phelps, 1989; Oppermann, 1997; Kozak, 2001). This research aims at identify the underlying factors which motivate the tourists to return to the same destination. With the help of the tourism promotion council, a survey was conducted to get information regarding the number of repeated visitors. Questionnaire distributed to find out the real intention for returning to the same place by the tourists were not answered completely and comprehensibly. Hence, personal interviews in an informal way were adopted to find out the reasons for their love towards one particular destination. Informal interviews were conducted with local shop owners, tour operators, rickshaw and taxi drivers. The results of this study indicated that the tourist friendly atmosphere and the willingness of the local people to mingle freely with the tourists were the most important destination attributes and travel motives for repeat visitors to Kovalam. Factors like natural setting and calm waters and moderate climatic conditions also paved way for this emerging tourist phenomenon. Concerning their perception on destination loyalty, the study revealed that respondents were loyal to Kovalam and would bring along more friends in their repeated visits. The study clearly points out to the strong faith of such tourists towards the local stake holders and the value of simple friendship emerging out of it. Such tourists visiting houses of local friends and their relatives and taking part in local rituals and ceremonies is also becoming a trend.

Keywords: *repeat tours, informal interviews, destination loyalty, friendship*

Introduction

Kerala, the greenest state in India, is located at the southern tip of the Indian sub-continent. Owing to the lush green enchantic beautiful scenery, this strip of land is often termed as “ Gods own country” in the tourist circles. Kerala is blessed with some internationally famous pristine beaches as well as breathtaking hill views and high ranges. Kerala is also named as one of the ten paradises of the world by National Geographic Traveler.

Kovalam is an internationally renowned beach in the southern part of Kerala with three adjacent crescent beaches. It has been a favourite haunt of tourists, especially Europeans,

since the 1930s. A massive rocky promontory on the beach has created a beautiful bay of calm waters ideal for sea bathing.

The leisure options at this beach are plenty and diverse. Sunbathing, swimming, herbal body toning massages, special cultural programmes and catamaran cruising are some of them. The tropical sun acts so fast that one can see the faint blush of coppery tan on the skin in a matter of minutes. Life on the beach begins late in the day and carries on well into the night. The beach complex includes a string of budget cottages, Ayurvedic health resorts, convention facilities, shopping zones, swimming pools, Yoga and Ayurvedic massage centres. In the tourism sector, repeat visitation is assumed to be a desirable behavior. It is found that among all the tourist locations in Kerala, Kovalam is becoming a place for repeat visits by the tourists. Among the international tourists, British tourists lead the list followed by France, Germany and United States. As far as the domestic tourists between the states are concerned, the neighboring State Tamilnadu leads the table followed by Delhi and Karnataka.

Objective of the study

To identify the reasons for repeat visits by tourists to a destination like Kovalam.

To find out the mindset of these repeat visitors as well as the local community.

To identify the key factors which determine the coming of repeat tourists.

To identify the socio-demographic profile of the repeat visitors.

And also to identify the detrimental forces which act as repulsive factors for the tourists.

Review of related literature

Less attention has been paid to the study and literature of retaining customers in the tourism sector as well as that of repeat visits to the same location, previously. (Reid, and Reid, 1993; Opperman, 1999). But recently, several studies are being conducted in this area. Gyte and Phelps, 1989; Opperman, 1997; Kozak 2001 have studied the impact of the previous destination and its impacts. Ahmed, 1991 studied about the flow of tourists around the world and its socio economic and ecological impacts. The study by Dymond 1997 brought out the tourists' perception of the environment after years of visiting the same destination.

The study conducted by Gitelson and Crompton, 1984; Juaneda, 1996 aimed to establish whether there was an association between previous visits and the intention of choosing the same destination in the future. They have found that usually second timers tend to undergo more or frequent visits to the same destination. It is also found that first time visitors are less satisfied than the repeat visitors.

As per the study of Gyte and Phelps (1989) Mallorca, in Spain is having the highest number in repeat visitations. 55% of the visitors were repeaters compared to the 45% of the new comers. This study also leads to the conclusion that more the visits, more the intention for revisits. Kozak (2001) found that the satisfaction-revisit intention relationship was weaker in less developed destinations than mature destinations.

Fallon and Schofield (2004) revealed that different hierarchies of factors might account for the overall satisfaction of first-time visitors and repeat visitors. That is different destination attributes function disproportionately in satisfying first time and repeat visitors.

Methodology

To attain the objectives, a study was conducted. Some quantitative aspects have been used. Yet, the major research methodology is qualitative in nature. Qualitative research is a well-established approach to researching phenomena in the tourism sector. Late from the

1970's, this method is seen widely used in the fields of tourism studies and management. The acceptance for qualitative research is mainly due to the ability to provide rich, in-depth knowledge from multiple view points, with regard to the "how" and "why" of tourism related phenomena and experiences. Qualitative research is useful for studies at the individual level, and to find out, in depth, the ways in which people think or feel.

Questionnaire

Questionnaire is a paper-and-pen instrument that is administered to the respondents. The usual questions found in questionnaires are closed-ended questions, which are followed by response options. However, there are questionnaires that ask open-ended questions to explore the answers of the respondents. Here, both open ended and closed-ended questions were used to get responses. Data analysis and interpretation will be easy by using close-ended questions.

Structured interviews

Between the two broad types of surveys, interviews are more personal and probing. Questionnaires do not provide the freedom to ask follow-up questions to explore the answers of the respondents, but interviews do. An interview includes two persons - the researcher as the interviewer, and the respondent as the interviewee. The advantages include the provisions to ask follow-up questions which can lead to better understanding of the answers. Here, the interview is structured based on closed ended questions which are easier to generate data for easy analysis. Pre-determined questions are used to get the optimum results. Interviews, especially structured ones are generally used to collect large amounts of data about what the interviewees think as well as they do on sensitive issues especially on talking the drawbacks of a place while in a foreign country as a tourist.

Focus group discussion

This group discussion provides an opportunity based on discussion mode to analyze deep on a particular topic or issue. While discussing, arguments may occur and a clear understanding of the topic will also become possible.

Observation

This is a tool where the respondents can be studied and observed without their knowledge. This becomes an important tool when the researcher analyses things in an objective manner. Particular behavior and manners of the respondents can be monitored and later analysed by observation. An observation schedule needs to be prepared for effective analysis.

Data collection and findings

The questionnaire was designed in such a way to collect the general information from the tourists who visit the beach resort of Kovalam. The questions were limited to just ten to minimize the effort of the tourists to fill it up. This effort was taken mainly for statistical purpose in knowing their nationalities and mainly to know whether they are first timers or repeated visitors. This questionnaire distribution was conducted with the help of District Tourism Council through their tourism promotion volunteers. Arrival of tourists in Kovalam, is mainly seasonal hence this study was conducted from August – 2015 to February 2016. Normal tourist flow to this region will be only during this season.

Areas covered in the Questionnaire

Name- Age- sex- country- first timer or repeat visitor (number of times) – individual or group- would like to visit again - If so the factors which lead to that coming- the most liked and disliked thing while in Kovalam.

2,89,612 foreigners arrived in Trivandrum district in the year 2014 as per the records maintained by the Tourism department of Kerala. Among them more than 1.5 lakhs foreigners had visited Kovalam beach resort. The rest of the foreigners were mainly ethnic and medical tourists. The number of foreigners have increased during the year 2015.

However, the questionnaire distribution held during the six months could cover only around 15000 visitors. English language was a problem with some. Only 11,768 questionnaires were available finally for compilation in readable condition.

Most of the visitors were from the United Kingdom followed by France, Germany and United States. The age group of the visitors were mainly from 20-30 group as well as from 50-60 group. Visitors from Germany mainly belonged to the upper age group. Among the 11,768 respondents 5457 visitors were repeat visitors. 4290 visitors have visited Kovalam more than twice. Surprisingly, around 2856 visitors had visited Kovalam more than five times. Compiling became quite difficult in the matter of other questions. Among the repeat visitors again Britian heads the table.

Short Comings

Of the total 1.5 lakhs of visitors only 15,000 visitors could be reached. The reasons for their repeat visits were plenty. However, in the discussion part, this area has been analysed properly.

Structured interviewed

Interview was held mainly with repeat visitors. 1856 people were interviewed within the span of six months by the researcher and some other research students. Interview questions were structured in such a manner to understand why or what makes them visit Kovalam again. The deterring factors were also asked. The beauty is that most of the repeat visitors who took part in the interview were quite happy to respond. Questions were directed to know their relationship with the local community and their involvement in local affairs.

Focused group discussion

Such discussions were conducted near the sea shore itself almost seventy times with different groups of people. The discussion points were mainly on the satisfaction level of the visitors. Wonderful suggestions were put forward by the tourists during those discussion sessions in improving the general conditions and facilities of the tourist resort. Discussions were also held with tourism department officials, tourism promotors , local taxi and autodriviers and local people. It is found that the local atmosphere prevailing in and around Kovalam is quite ideal in inviting tourists to their land. Directly and indirectly the local community are highly benefitted by this. They are happy and proud to mix with foreigners in their own ways and means. In the discussion also the main point highlighted by the repeat visitors was also the cordial and inviting friendly approach by the local community. They would invite these foreigners to their homes and take them to the local temple and religious festivities also. The tourism officials are also of the opinion that the local people and their attitude is the main factor for the repeat visits by these tourists. No one dares to disturb or attack the visitors in any way

as the local people themselves act as police on the spot and resolve the issues even if such thing arise.

Observation

Based on an observation tool, the researcher tried to analyse the visitors to Kovalam and their general behavior, attitude to local people and others. It was found that the tourists were walking in and around Kovalam without any inhibitions. Every now and then when they come across local people they wish each other with Hai, good morning etc in a natural manner. It is found no visitor was struggling or finding it difficult regarding anything. The moment a visitor stops to clarify something there will be helping hands around them from the part of local people, auto taxi drivers and shop owners. So generally, the visitors were found quite happy except some stray incidents. Language wise also they have no problem if English is used, as the local community is quite good in using the language from educated people to the street hawkers. Nowadays, several youngsters especially those who are working in hotels and restaurants are found to be speaking good, French, German and Russian languages also.

Discussion

As per the statistics available it is well clear that the repeat visit phenomenon is prevalent among the tourists who visit Kovalam beach resort. Findings clearly show that this destination is the one in Kerala which receives most number of same visitors in the following years. British Tourists outnumber other tourists in this aspect. Generally the UK visitors have got a natural affinity to Kerala, or India as the old Colonial manners and reminiscences are still intact in Kovalam. A popular monument in Kovalam is a colossal structure that makes every British feel proud. This fort is a beautiful example of the influence of British architecture in the South. They never feel an alienation while in Kovalam, as they experience their own way of greetings and manners here in this place. All these factors contribute towards the idea of coming back to the same place again especially for the British people.

Another factor which found to be attracting the visitors is the temple related festivals. Here, in Trivandrum, there is an annual ritual festival where almost four million women folk join together in a particular place and cook offerings for God. This event happens during the month of February every year. New trend is that several women tourists are coming simply to attend this ritual on a regular yearly basis. These tourists stay near Kovalam and attend this ritual which is only ten kms away from Kovalam.

Similarly, several factors have been brought forth by the respondents for their love for this destination and repeated arrivals. Hence, all the major findings are compiled and prioritized as per the research findings.

Proximity to the international airport. Kovalam is hardly 10 kilometres away from Trivandrum International airport. A straight stretch brings a visitor to Kovalam from the airport within fifteen minutes after one's arrival. An array of cheap transport facilities also makes things easy for a traveller.

Wide range of lodging facilities from five star hotels to dormitories which suits the backpackers. The recent trend is the homestay facilities provided by the locals and interestingly the repeat visitors prefer the home stay.

The sea is warm to swim in. Warm sea is a highly treasured novelty to western Europeans. This is another major attraction for tourists coming from bitter winter climatic conditions.

Kovalam Sea is quite safe to swim in and the life guard facilities are proper. This adds a feeling of safety for the visitors

The beaches are long and sandy and cove-like. This type of beach settings is highly desired by the Western Europeans. The palms have some inner appeal to Europeans as they suggest exotic and warm locations. It's west facing beaches are perfect for enjoying lovely sunsets, another major plus for tourists as mentioned by several visitors.

The fact that India in general is very good value for money for Europeans – specifically, for Europeans, low priced accommodation and meals out.

In Kovalam, there is no shortage of English speaking Indians. Even those with minimal English can converse about the basic issues that tourists need to discuss. This condition makes the tourists comfortable in this place and lure them to be back to this destination.

Kovalam has lots and lots of character and a most relaxed ambience (little lanes, lack of motor traffic). This is doubtless a major factor in tourists choosing the return to same resort. The relaxed “laid-back” atmosphere and the fact that restaurants and shops are open so late into the evening is a huge attraction to this beach resort.

The relative cheapness for western Europeans of a holiday in Kovalam combined with the fact that the climate in Kovalam is at its excellent and thus most tourist-friendly from November through till end of February which coincides with the coldest, drabest months in Europe. Many wish to escape part of the long winter back home. Kovalam provides a relatively cheap opportunity for such escape.

A big plus for women tourists is the lack of sexual harassment. As told by Madam Christine from England “Local men are polite and on an incident where an Indian man (usually a tourist to the area himself I was informed by locals) has been (albeit only somewhat) pestering towards me, a local man has tactfully and effectively helped me and “politely” got rid of the pestering man. Feeling safe on holiday is so very important and one feels safe in Kovalam.”

The mass of small lanes with interesting small shops, massive choice of restaurants and cafes mixed amongst them, is certainly a feature of Kovalam that appeals strongly to European tourists as brought forth by them.

Another major plus point reiterated by tourists is regarding the array of shops and restaurants on the beach front and also the traffic free zones. For them this place is a pleasant hustle and bustle of noise – not the honking and fumes of motorized traffic.

Another attraction the tourists love to watch is the village catch by the fishermen in the mornings is a fascinating sight and often foreigners help the fishermen in the process too.

Local cultural events – eg temple festivals – are of great interest and delight to many foreign visitors and in Kovalam, tourists are happily included in them by locals.

The downside

Some drawbacks in this area were also pointed out by the respondents. Here also the beauty is that such proposals and suggestions were made mainly by repeated visitors which obviously means that they really wish to see improvement in these areas for they wish to visit Kovalam again.

Occasional power cuts. This was a grave problem before, now they say there is quite an improvement in this condition.

Shopping in Kovalam, as several visitors pointed out is a bit of a hassle. During the focused group discussion, the words of Madam Elina from France “Shopping in Kovalam. This is tedious to Western Europeans. Most of us don't like bargaining for items. We like

items that display the price and more importantly still, we like to go into a shop and be allowed to browse than be pounced upon by the shopkeeper who proceeds to show us things we don't want. We therefore exit the shop quickly and don't look around which of course detracts from the shops potential sales. I actually gave up shopping in Kovalam except for bookshops and places where you don't bargain. The exception I made was to shop and once shop (only one) where there are large "fixed price" notices facing the outside so passers-by can easily see it. They were not pushy and let you browse. Most holiday sales are of items that are not essential to the buyer so being allowed to browse uninterrupted is the best way for a shopkeeper to maximize sales. Western tourists generally love browsing in shops."

Public toilet system in Kovalam needs to be improved to better hygienic standards. The street and beach hawkers sometimes make some nuisance to the visitors by pestering to sell their products

Conclusion

Repeat visit is a worldwide tourist phenomena. People generally love to visit places again with more familiarity and added knowledge of that particular place. The confidence level of a repeat visitor is more when he reaches a destination which is far away from his continent. By repeat visits, one could save money by using cheaper means of transport and even by learning to bargain for their purchases. All these factors contribute to the growth of repeat tourism.

There are a myriad of reasons for visitors repeatedly coming to the beach resort of Kovalam. The whole study was to research and analyse the factors behind this phenomenon. It can be concluded that the ever inviting adjusting nature of the local people is the main factor which pulls these tourists to be back to this place. The innocent relationships which develops in the first visit itself pave way for the urge for the next meeting. Value of relationship is the major component of these visits. Along with that the less expences and better standards and safety too lure foreigners to this place. Thus Kovalam beach resort becomes dear among western tourists as well as to domestic tourists also.j

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Luxury Tourism, Developing Destinations: Research Review and Trajectories

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Contemporary tourism scholarship on luxury travel and destinations has largely focused on developed regions and mature destinations. On the other hand, the study of luxury tourism in emerging or developing destinations merits scrutiny. A study of this composite dichotomy of luxury & developing destinations offer new ways of conceptualizing resources utilized, maintained and made available in emerging luxury destinations. There are three parts to this paper: 1) a survey of the literature to better understand the stage and state of luxury tourism in emerging destinations 2) an evaluation of developments and allocation of resources vis-à-vis luxury tourism and 3) identification of a research trajectory for luxury tourism as an emerging area in developing destinations. This paper contends that though luxury tourism seemingly stands in an inverse relationship to developing destinations, it is all the more important to examine the nascent stage of growth and challenges to bring studies on both luxury travel and developing tourism regions full circle.

Keywords: *luxury travel, affluence, physical environment, social perceptions*

Introduction

This paper serves as a catalyst to spur studies on luxury tourism in the context of developing regions. This will allow greater appreciation of the exchanges and experiences that take place between luxury tourism and developing destinations. A review of the existing literature locates luxury travel in the context of developed and developing destinations. An understanding gained from visits to developing countries with concentrations of luxury resources and use of their services combined with a review of scholarship provides the basis for this conceptual paper. Additionally, secondary sources from the literature on Mexico's enclave luxury resorts and travellers' comments from the digital media on India's Maharaja Express train are also used as supporting data to synthesise and understand the production of luxury experiences for high-end visitors in developing countries.

There are two primary reasons to attend to this study on luxury flows in developing countries. Firstly, many economies of the world are now focusing on speedy development projects instead of taking one step at a time from manufacturing to mega industry to service

economies. Countries like the UAE (Zembowicz, 2009), Maldives (De-Miguel-Molina, De-Miguel-Molina, & Rumiche-Sosa, 2011; Scheyvens, 2011; Zubair & Bouchon, 2014) and Kazakhstan (Koch, 2014; Fraser and Kim 2016) have adopted this strategy of leap frogging. On the other hand, in Asia for example, Vietnam (Asian, 2008; Chi, 2004) and India (Ahmad, 2014; Atwal & Jain, 2012) are developing countries where the private sector and foreign investments play a role in the development of luxury resources and attractions. Since luxury tourism assumes a significant role in the development of a destination, it demands as much attention from scholars as other domains of the tourism field.

Secondly, academic focus thus far addresses the recurrent themes of poverty (Scheyvens, 2011; Holden, 2013), growth (Gu, 2000; Rogerson¹ & Kiambo, 2007), social (Laeis & Lemke, 2016), gender (Apostolopoulos, Timothy, & Sönmez, 2001; Chant, 1996) and political issues peculiar to developing destinations. Brenner and Aguilar (2010) studied Mexico's luxury tourism impact and found that the benefits from concentrations of luxury resorts and urban centres did not trickle down much to the citizens. Martínez-Ruiz, Martínez-Caraballo, and Amatulli (2010) found that unlike in the past when luxury retail businesses established in high traffic urban centres and tourist concentrations, today, the pattern has transformed to new stores opening in emerging cities with rising incomes. The authors found that luxury brands are more inclined to take into account the intangible aspects such as aesthetics and brand value as more than sufficient to have consumers overlook the location of the retail stores' neighbourhood. The luxury market itself has evolved from consumer items to experience (Wiedmann, & Hennigs, 2012;2013; A place, 2015; Danziger, 2005), just as travel behaviour is changing.

Because luxury tourism is located in multiple realities and mostly realizable in developed destinations, it is safe to acknowledge an unfilled space in the literature. Each emerging destination has specific characteristics and origins related to distinctive luxury tourism segments.

This paper is a review exercise by two authors, one from an urban-luxury destination (Singapore) while the other is from a developing country (India) with a nascent luxury segment dispersed in little pockets of growth and resources. Having researched and visited several emerging destinations with pockets of luxury districts such as Ho Chi Minh's lively District 1, Kuala Lumpur's bustling KLCC Twin Tower centre and Delhi's posh Select City at Saket or the Emporium Mall at Vasant Kunj, we limit our focus on the paradoxes of luxury tourism when located in emerging destinations: the infrastructure, the hospitality services and the general presentation. Scholarly attention to these key tenets can elucidate conditions that portend when luxury tourism intersects developing countries or destinations.

Secondary sources are utilised to discuss coalescing factors impacting emerging luxury destinations, with studies drawn from India and Mexico. In this sense, as a conceptual review, there may be inherent limits of this presentation primarily due to the lack of scholarship available in this interstitial space. However, this exercise should largely be viewed as a study of opportunities and challenges facing emerging luxury segments in developing countries. This unravelling of destination development patterns allows for scholarship to extend an existing knowledge base from an apparently incoherent relationship between two variables.

Contextualizing the Emphasis

Here, we examine definitions of luxury tourism as perceived and actualized. Thereafter, the term is contextualized in relation to developing countries to expand our review and address future areas of research. These two important terms are a) luxury tourism; and

b) developing destinations. Defining and clarifying our understanding will assist us further in drawing a broad conceptual study here.

Just as budget refers to the low-priced services and hospitality provisions (Medlik, 2003), luxury refers to high-priced services and hospitality. Though references were made to luxury trains and hospitality services as a way to explain other terms, descriptions on travel or luxury hospitality was not included in a 2003 lexicon (Medlik, 2003). No entry on luxury destinations was included in the encyclopaedia compiled in 1959 by Pearce and Jafari in 2002. However, in the latter, there was sporadic mention of luxury travel in the context of other types of tourism such as modes of travel and accommodation. A very old pronouncement on 'what is luxury?' serves us well today. Davidson (1898) claims that people can be forgiven for not holding a definite and common meaning on luxury. In other words, the meaning of luxury varies for each individual and in the contemporary world, the meaning of 'luxury' has become more multidimensional than ever (Wiedmann, Hennigs, Siebels, 2009). Danzinger (2005) makes a convincing point with the illustration of Starbucks which successfully persuades consumers to pay three to four times more for just a cup of coffee when they could get it cheaper elsewhere. Danzinger argues that it is the experience and feelings that motivate the consumer to go beyond just the product in this instance. Extrapolating the meaning of luxury from the literature and contextualizing it in travel schemes, it is apt to define luxury travel as the condition in which people seek experiences in a place away from home at a level bestowed only to those who can afford and desire a degree of exclusivity (Danzinger 2005) and full quality service presented in an efficient way (Spenceley & Meyer, 2012). In other words, luxury tourism is a type of travel activity that involves a segment of people who do not mind spending for high quality comforts, services and products in a destination.

One essential point to note is that, luxury tourism does not take place only in a destination where there is a six-star hotel with a presidential suite. Luxury travel experience also takes place in a mode of transport like an airline's first class cabin or a yacht that sails with a private skipper and security. Luxury tourism may also consist of visiting or staying in the most elusive or exclusive of places, where peace and tranquil prevails. Here, individuals can enjoy the star lit night skies or absorb the sounds of nature in remote and largely inaccessible areas. For example, the dessert lodges of Australia; glass igloos in Finland and the camp pods of the Antarctica all provides the adventurous and wealthy a new experience (O'Ceallaigh, 2016). These places increasingly defy the stereotypical concept of luxury travel. Corollary to these places are the changing consumption patterns of the wealthy. Increasingly, destinations and commercial product advertisements have changed their language from one that is of high value to a more sensual experience. The experiential mode plays a very important mode in the design we call luxury travel.

Developing destinations in this operational sense refers to the places that are at a stage of growth but not sufficiently productive or efficient in managing its resources. The maintenance of resources has yet to meet desired level. The United Nations describes developing countries as having a low per capita income and with other basic indexes of literacy, housing and health as below par set by developed countries or regions. The term developing countries refers to places where the per capita income is low and the industrial base is narrow. The World Bank in fact has done away with these types of definition and focuses on the income levels of the country (Somvanshi, 2016). For example, India and Mexico are frequently listed in the World Bank, IMF and United Nations documents as developing countries.

So, how do we reconcile developing destinations viewed as devoid of all the perceived luxury setting to host premium experience seeking tourists? To demolish the myth, three key observations have to be taken into account.

Firstly, the fact that a country is developing does not mean that luxury tourism cannot co-exist. On the contrary, as mentioned in the earlier examples luxury tourism can take place just about anywhere so long as it can create the premium service and quality experience. The world consists of defragmented economies within specified country boundaries. Therefore, the success of creating luxury experiences is independent of the country as a whole or all the elements perceived as necessary for luxury tourism.

Secondly, the market views could be also diametrically opposite. While people from developing countries see glassy hotels, posh cars and western fashion as luxury – towards the “material scale”; westerners in general may find the mode of travel in first class style desirable, the exotic charming and wilderness attractive – towards the “experiential scale” (A Jopurney from, 2005; Sun, D'Alessandro, & Johnson, 2014).

Thirdly, global and local private interests make a difference in the selection of a place to traffic luxury tourism. The interests of international brands in developing countries appears to take shape for two reasons. Rising income and burgeoning aspirations spurs retailer interest. Second, investment opportunities in urban centres such as New Delhi, Mumbai, Beijing Shanghai, Manila and many other cities combined with tourist traffic and high income dwellers provide the base for a potential market. A variety of other combinations such as the resorts in Mexico, and isolated casinos found in South Korea point to a disruptive if not a disorderly idea of luxury tourism taking place just about in any location.

The interface between luxury tourism and developing countries is important in our study of tourism. The Butler's Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) curve suggests that destinations apparently follow systematic ascending development stages. When we place luxury tourism and developing destinations together, the micro level analysis does not quite fit the macro concept of the TALC curve. Where there is sporadic progressive attraction in a destination, the anomaly of luxury developments in the midst of a developing region requires new thinking and analytical direction in theorizing ways of understanding the paradoxes.

According to Kollmeyer (2009), growth in affluence will lead to an increase in demand for luxury goods and services. In the larger context such movements in the economy reflects a shift from deindustrialization to a service economy. Of course, this does not mean there is happiness achieved as reflected in the case of China's experience (Brockmann et.al 2008). At the peak of making money, gaining more monetary rewards may be of marginal importance to the wealthy. At this point, a new class of wealthy may turn their attention to other aspirations such as political change.

Similar to India, conditions of poverty and affluence coexist in America in extremes exacerbated by differences in race relations (Rank and Hirschl, 2001). Despite socio-economic disparities, in major cities like New York City and Los Angeles, luxury malls and dining services are readily available in wealthy neighbourhoods and districts. While the social and economic factors can be independent compositions of a luxury destination, the literature suggests that there must be a certain level of infrastructure to attract luxury travellers. Cole (2011) studied the synergies within the tourism industry where facilities such as accommodation, entertainment and other attractions combine to determine the growth of a destination in the TALC path.

Atwal & Jain (2012, p. 9) describe the new era of Indian consumers as the “no strings” generation. These are consumers who are brand conscious and seek a refined way of living a good life. Jain, Roy & Ranchhod (1992), found that large number of Indians purchased luxury branded products and hire services due to the social circle where individuals follow or learn from others. They primarily change their behaviour to influence perceptions that lead to prestige and status in society.

Ryan & Stewart, (2009) find that the goals of luxury tourism can be incompatible with the ideals of eco-tourism. The imposition of restrictions on peoples’ movements and construction means that despite being in a desert enclave, government programs to regenerate the greening of the dessert does not sufficiently accommodate luxury travellers’ freedom.

Corporate travellers from China for example were found to be interested in material consumption and modernities of a destination (Kwek & Lee, 2013). In this example, we learned that coming from a developing region, those with the wherewithal tend to seek the higher side of life when traveling. Additionally, the emerging phenomenon in tourism flows suggest local elites in developing countries find traveling to mature destinations a pull factor to purchase high brand products (Luhnow 2013).

Given that luxury is selectively limited and elite specific (Hansen and Wanke, 2011), the focus tends to be on a specific class of travellers. On the other hand, there are a number of studies that takes luxury tourism into a different direction. Increasingly, researchers have been exploring the way in which luxury travellers’ encounter the poor, retail shopping and general amenities, to impactful transformation of perspectives (Dion & Arnould, 2011; Bendell & Thomas, 2013; Pritchard, Morgan, & Ateljevic, 2011). The benefit of luxury travellers on the masses of the host country (Ruggless, 2007; Kwek, & Lee, 2013) and the development of the immediate landscape. The third perspective focus directs us to the notion that luxury tourism need not be the only domain of the elites or the wealthy. Yeoman (2006) argues that the aspirational class is another aspect that needs further investigation. Just as we explore the phenomenon of luxury tourism interfacing developing countries, so too the emerging aspirations of the people in that destination has to be taken into account.

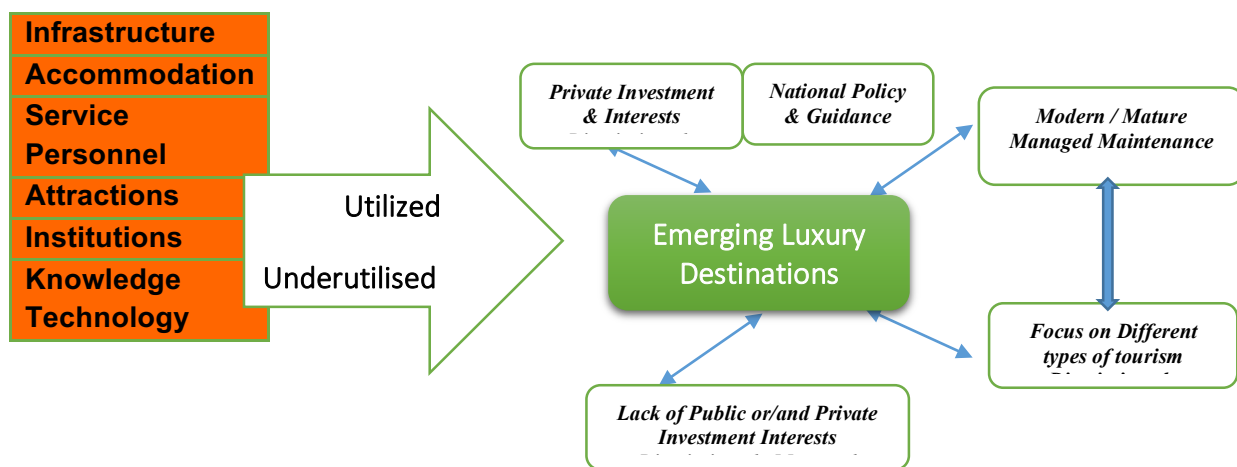
Characterising and Conceptualizing

In this section, we cite studies on Mexico and India as two examples to elucidate the characteristics and challenges faced by developing countries and their experiences in creating and maintaining luxury segments. Studies on luxury destinations can be largely taxonomized by the presence of four significant resources. These are attractions, service personnel, accommodation and infrastructure. However, one important element that needs to be included is also the national or private institutions that support the luxury segment for its sustainability. These elements are worth exploring here to accentuate the nuances closely connecting luxury travel in a developing destinations’ multitude landscape.

The expected demand and supply in an emerging destination can be rising but this need not necessarily be in tandem with the resources available. The following diagram represents the state of luxury destination.

Diagram 2 *Ingredients for Emerging Luxury Destinations*

Resources



In this model, emerging luxury destinations undergo a series of complex negotiations. Resources such as infrastructure, accommodation, service personnel and attractions have to be fully utilised in order to achieve a state of modern and managed maintenance of the various resources. Often, the issue in an emerging luxury destination concerns the efficient utilization of the resources. The construction of well-built, flowing and connected transport networks is essential to a place to function as a luxury destination. Aside from accommodations of the 2-4 star ranking hotels, larger and sophisticated residence style needs to be also available. In order for brands like Bvlgari, Ritz Carlton and Marriott’s to be attracted to invest in this segment, very close and concerted effort has to be made between government economic promotion bodies, the local private sector along with international investors.

The other two thrusts that characterise an emerging destination’s pathway is the quality of service personnel and key attractions to create the hospitality and activities that would have the pull factor. The state of emerging destinations at this level may not necessarily achieve maximum or ideal levels of service as would a mature luxury destination. Professionals in the service sector have to be a well-trained resource and in an emerging destination training institutions may not have the sufficient expertise and quality that would meet international standards of the industry. These institutions are themselves continuously upgrading and pursuing excellence, however those efforts are insufficient to accommodate the growth of the luxury segment.

This model does not explain the way people derive meaning from luxury pleasures which has been much of the preoccupation of scholars in the marketing discipline. In the diagram above, the stage for a macro analysis of a destination begins with the resources and the success of the destination in developing and maintaining a luxury destination is dependent very much of the modus operandi of the state and private sector as a factor of the economy. While it is a challenge to calculate the factor endowments, it is possible to measure the tourists arrivals and the revenue generated to create an understanding of the value of an attraction (Shareef, Hoti and Mcaleer, 2008)

Of the variety, two types of luxury based economies can be found in developing destinations. These are the enclave and integrated luxury economies that characterise developing destinations. In this following section, we examine Mexico and India as examples of these stark contrast.

Mexico

The enclave types of luxury resorts in the Mexican coastal regions have been unsuccessful in integrating the immediate interior regions (Brenner & Aguilar, 2010). State planned luxury resorts were considered as a means to achieving sustainability in regional development. However, in the case of Huatulco, Mexico shows that enclave tourism does not really benefit the locals where investments are concentrated in remote clusters (Brenner, 2005). Using ethnography study, Matilde (2011) observes that the Yucatan peninsula consisting of the biosphere eco reserve is one of the most pristine inland tourism destination. Hacienda Temozon Sur which is located in this region contains spa, golf and accommodation all within an exclusive holiday resort. This elite holiday in the Hacienda highlight the distancing of tourists from the locals and being presented an imaginary of paradisiacal enchantment, quite different from the experiences of the locals (Matilde 2011).

Mexico for more than past two decades, has been successful in attracting tourists. Hospitality accommodations have transferred from state owned to private and now transnational holdings are taking the lead in creating the luxury feel for tourists where there is a demand. In 2012, Mexico was named the "Tourism Board of the Year" by Virtuoso, a company that advises on luxury hospitality services (Mexico recognised, 2012).

The key point in this example is that Mexico is recognised as a developing country. However, it boasts a series of coastal and inland resorts that targets luxury travellers. Most often, because these resorts are spatially isolated, the benefits to the resident population is hard to come by. It is a model that isolates an important tourism activity from the local activities of the citizens. True to the characteristics of luxury tourism, exclusivity and far removed from resident population intrusions, this condition is inevitable.

India

The mindfulness of these travels can be transformative in their own values and the way they appreciate rather than feel dissonance (Lengyel, 2015). India is selected for this focus on a paper that largely explores the value of luxury tourism in developing destinations for three reasons. First, as a large nation state, the country is undergoing rapid growth and developments which interest luxury brands (Schultz & Jain, 2015). Since independence, India has never aspired to be a global economic powerhouse until 1984 when the new government of Rajiv Gandhi decided to take the country on a modernisation and international marketization path.

Second, India offers a unique history of numerous royal family and today many more self-made wealthy individuals and families have emerged. Third, there is a rise in material wealth and an intense scale of consumerism. Combined with these developments are the national resources carefully selected by the public and private sectors to re-centre them as heritage tourism. In all of these changes, there also remains much poverty and everyday infrastructure that does not jive with the luxury segment. For these reasons, India offers a complex if not a paradoxical point of entry to understand luxury tourism as an emerging activity in a society that is on the move to modernization. There is a social exhibitionist norm of

flaunting wealth to gain recognition and elevate social status. Indians are brand conscious and Country of Origins is a major factor in their purchasing factor (Schultz, & Jain, 2015).

Turning to one of India's key resource attraction for luxury travellers is the Maharaja Express train. In an analysis of luxury tourism in India, the experience of Maharaja Express train passengers through various digital and print media suggests that travellers do not miss the very thing that is anathema to luxury tourism experience in a developing country. Here is an excerpt quoted from a traveller John (pseudonym) from the United States, on TripAdvisor who had just returned from a tour ride on Maharaja Express train.

...What surprises me is that no one mentions the rough ride. We did not get one good night's sleep during our journey and, in fact, one of the other travellers said it was like trying to sleep in a washing machine. And, all of us within ear-shot, couldn't help but agree. We had a Junior Suite so to hear the one reviewer remark on the 'fabulous' bed, makes me think we took a different train.

TripAdvisor (2016)

This example reveals that developing countries have a difficult time delivering the perfect luxury feel. At the stage of development where the infrastructure is not at a desirable level. As mentioned earlier, the infrastructure of luxury tourism is very important. But understanding that a developing destination does exist in a condition where not all can be perfect.

An Indian national muses over the state of the tourism industry being in a dilapidated condition due to poor government planning and lack of creating experiences (Mehta, 2015). Yet, there are those who do enjoy the rustic charm in the experiential sights. A travelogue in the British newspaper, *The Telegraph* describes the scene:

The journey on to Fatehpur Sikri allowed time for watching scenes that so enthral foreign travellers in Indian railways. From lush green fields women emerge with bundles of grass perched on their heads, making for a cluster of rudimentary dwellings. Close by are discs of dung, painstakingly arranged in herringbone fashion to form a beehive-shaped pile to dry in the sun. Herds of long-eared goats are looked after by children too young for school, and camels hauling carts wait at level crossings, their head and necks in a haughty posture as though expressing their disdain for such humble work.

Kerr (2014).

Clearly, the experience speaks of othering and something that is ordinary for the hosts turns out extraordinary for the overseas luxury traveller. This may not be a scene of what the ordinary would term as luxury. This is a case where the luxury traveller chances on the host way of life and absorbs the routine of the hosts to be an experience he learns about. Then, there is a two-way experience that appears contrite and pretentious. The hosts in the developing countries have to make way for a clean, orderly and organised presentation for the luxury travellers.

The key to enjoying the Maharajas' Express, for me anyway, is to pretend as though you're in some kind of elaborate improv and that none of this is real. When they literally roll out a red carpet at a village station and the music starts playing and beggars in rags are shepherded to the side so you can stride past ... that's all just pretend. Actors in convincing garbs.

Golder (2016)

Golder who took a ride on Maharaja Express who was supposed to have written in positive light given he is a guest. Revealing the truth about his travel experience and the encounter of the “other” who can speak or are powerless to the money that rides through their rice bowl. These under-privileged class of people attempting to eke out a living from the luxury travellers are overpowered by the necessity to present a cleaner and high status image for the patrons. As subalterns, the natives can't speak but to serve the masters with cash in their till.

The Mexico example presents an enclave resort with an expectation that the neighbouring masses will benefit from the economic trickle of the luxury resorts. The Indian illustration suggests that integrating luxury travel experiences for the guests and hosts can be challenging. An arrangement of engagements may just be a matter of experiences unlike in a mature or developed luxury destinations.

In an attempt to summarize the key areas of research opportunities that portend in the interstitial space between luxury tourism and developing countries, we are able to expand on some extra and important topics. The dichotomy between enclave and defragmented luxury tourism is an area that can be explored in both comparative and impact studies. The experiences of the host and guest in the interactions in developing countries could also be significant if studies can unravel the othering and venture into the postcolonial challenges. Finally, at the policy level, research has to also look at the way public and private institutions are playing a supportive role in skilled manpower provisions and investment facilitation. These are some of the areas in which the intersection of luxury tourism in developing countries has to offer.

In the case of the Philippines, an idea exists that luxury tourism can actually have a lower impact on the social and physical environment if they are distributed to islands less inhabited by locals (Parrocha, 2016). Several areas of research can be a consideration. Developing tourism research in this field requires several considerations when taking luxury tourism into account. The service quality, types of attractions that caters to a class of travellers, the impact of luxury travellers and clearing of land meant for elite lifestyle development

Concluding Remarks

The fair distribution of quality tourism requires minimal space and concentrated service. Fostering tourism research in luxury and the intersection with developing countries can be fruitful if concentrations can address the significance to the hosts in relation to economic developments and the expanding elite circles of the population base. Another area of research can investigate luxury tourism as a catalyst for community based tourism where hand crafts and other basic economies can be integrated into the larger scope of wealthy travellers experience. This leads us to ponder over the behavioural traits of luxury travellers from developing countries and their behaviour overseas (Kwek & Lee, 2013). Additionally, research based on themes, focused on developing countries which offers – Wine Tourism, Cruise Tourism, Luxury Hotels & Resorts, Fine Dining and Modes & Service facilitated by transport, are some areas to foster further understanding in terms of impact and comparative studies.

Just as the literature on tourism and poverty in developing countries tends to focus on community-based tourism, and power relations between glocal forces (Spenceley & Meyer, 2012), luxury tourism is concerned with ensuring that ‘only luxury’ remains in the eye-line of

the guest. The daily activities of hosts are side-lined in favour of facilitating 'luxury experiences'. But at what costs?

One other prospective area of research is the motivations and travel behaviour of the newly rich from developing countries. Do they go for the experience or material accentuation? And in the case of luxury tourism in the developing countries, to the extent that experiences may be paradoxical, there is always a benefit (José, Rivera, & José 2010) as shown even in the case of the Mexican example albeit trickling amounts where as in the case of the Indian example integrative networks of forces overlap in a place overtime to create worthy improvements to the general masses in the host destination.

Recognizing that this study is mostly based on two country highlights, the limits exist to extending the concept to much larger net of developing destinations. Therefore, variations are possible if developing destinations specifically are studied in relation to luxury tourism. Hence, we propose the idea of locating the existence of luxury tourism and its operational characteristics in developing countries, the extent that it penetrates local participation and contributes to their well-being. Another challenge, is the availability of data and information of the national strategies. Does luxury tourism create a symbiotic relationship between the tourists and locals, at the same time contribute to the positive image of the emerging destination.

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Health, Transboundary and Tourism

Sustaining Healthy Tourism for the Aging Tourist: A Comparative Analysis of Noise Pollution in Europe and Asia

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One dimension of sustainability in tourism is the degree to which tourist age cohorts will continue to remain tourists, thus sustaining the industry and its revenue source. As populations from richer countries age (especially after they retire and thus have more travel time available), the older age cohort can be expected to become an increasingly important revenue source for the tourist industry. Aging research suggests that a common problem facing older people is their reduced hearing faculties –this has at least 3 major characteristics –reduced ability to hear, reduced ability to distinguish different sounds and sound sources, and reduced tolerance towards loud noise. This study focuses on the last, as an obstacle to enjoyment of tourist destinations for the older tourist, and thus a potential obstacle to sustainability in an industry which, having surpassed the \$1 trillion milestone, has become a major contributor to the global economy, and one with less ecological footprint than others. (Lehrer 2014, 2015).

This study will measure by means of a noise meter the decibel levels of central locations in various centres popular with tourists, in different global regions. Since both towns with reputations as tourist centres, and general and larger cosmopolitan centres attract large numbers as popular tourist destinations, measurements will be taken in both. For example, in Europe, London and Bournemouth in the U.K. will provide convenient measurement locations; in France, Paris and Nice; in Italy and Malta, Naples and Valletta; in Asia, Bangkok and Chiang Mai in Thailand; in Hong Kong the city centre and a neighbouring island; in Indonesia Jakarta and Bali. 100 minutes will be spent measuring decibel level peaks, and their frequency, in each location. The resulting data will thus be available for comparative analysis 1/ by cosmopolitan centres compared to tourist towns; 2/ by country and 3/ by region, as well as in aggregate. The twin objectives are to provide the tourist industry with greater awareness of this issue, and to provide tourist entrepreneurial groups and policy makers with some data, albeit small-scale, for any public noise reduction programmes over which they may have some control (e.g. private and public music through loudspeakers, private and public broadcast announcements, vehicle noise etc.)

Keywords: *sustainability, aging tourists, noise pollution*

Introduction

When does sound become noise?

There could be ascribed to sound a magnetic quality –of both attraction and repulsion –positive and negative. The same sound volume, measure by a decibel meter, might be

considered positive for a particular type of sound –e.g. the symbols or the trumpet in an orchestral concert; and negative for a different type of sound –e.g. a pneumatic drill or the firing of a rifle. The latter would be described by the sound receiver as noise. However, it cannot be assumed that all persons would find the sound of symbols and trumpets as attractive, or rifle shots (or even pneumatic drills?) as repulsive. The impact of sound reception on the human ear travels through subjective channels.

The role of water in human soundscape

‘Water, water everywhere’ (Coleridge)

‘To stand quietly alone on the bank of the Thames –it brought the relief that only water brings. London at that time could still be tranquil at night; the certain blissful peace found at moments in cities when all around seems nothing but fiery noise.’ (O’Connor, 2003).

Considering that some 70% of the earth’s surface is covered with water, it is a lot less ubiquitous in urban settings, where an increasing proportion of the global (and tourist/itinerant) population resides, than one might be led to expect, considering some 2/3 of the earth’s surface is water. However, it can be considered an invaluable resource there, for not just the obvious reasons of providing potable inexpensive liquid, and the basis of plumbing and sanitation. It can be used as a ‘pacifier’. Water may not eliminate noxious noise contamination. But it can serve to alleviate:

Specifically, some uses of water in the context of urban concentrations would consist of:

- a/ Rivers, seafronts, waterfalls and lakes –all provided by the munificence of nature;
- and
- b/ Canals, ‘man-made’ lakes, waterfalls and fountains –all manufactured by humanity.

Some of the more famous and popular among tourists (and nationals) would be:

the fountains of Rome (immortalized in “3 coins in a fountain”)

Salubrious in the city of London: the fountain next to Marble Arch;

Hyde Park: the “Serpentine”

St. James Park lake

Rivers –in London, the Thames; in Paris La Seine; through Europe the Rhine.

Noise levels? Depends on river use; potentially more quiet than roads, but not necessarily –noise level measurements for Bangkok waterways, with heavy boat traffic? Thames? Seine? Rhine was traditionally used as major (and therefore noisy commercial) artery for heavy transport, as historically was the Thames.

For coastal cities like Barcelona, ocean acts as visual backdrop, but how much as “sound backdrop”?

Smaller ‘tourist towns’ like Bournemouth or Broadstairs or Dover in the U.K.?

Noise in public vs private space

Public road and sidewalk space

vs

Private dance halls

Age differentiation recognition by regulatory authorities

By private commercial organizations

By persons on a face-to-face personal basis

E.G. use of cel phones for loud conversations in trains, on buses, and in other public space. How much sensitivity towards others in close proximity? How much differentiation on basis of age of closely proximate neighbor (fellow passenger, senior sharing bench in public park etc.)

Twilight space (the interstices between public and private)

A good common example is the use of patios by restaurants, which take over some pedestrian pavement space, usually next to a road, but sometimes next to a lake/waterway, and/or a boardwalk adjacent to a waterway. The empirical observations on Edgware Road fit the former, more common category.

The airport and aircraft noise controversies:

Toronto's 'Island Airport'

England's stalemate between Heathrow and Gatwick: where to locate the new terminal, and why?

How draconian should public noise abatement measures be? At what level should regulation be enacted –national, Provincial/State, city/municipal? This would affect the measures of enforcement, and the potential level of enforcement and punishment for noise pollution violations.

In the UK the Britannia chain of hotels has successfully pursued a strategy of catering to the aging cohort of national tourists, by offering them an almost all inclusive package of 1/ comfortable bus transport, directly to their hotel; 2/buffet breakfast and buffet dinner, and 3/ discounted local group tours. Since the group is relatively insulated from most extraneous noise factors, and the hotels post signs requesting respect for other guests' need for quiet, this particular integrated tourist group seems to have adequately taken care of senior tourists' needs; albeit at the cost of potentially 'mollycoddling' the more adventurous individuals in the package tours. It is worth mentioning that the owner and CEO of the chain of hotels is himself aged 85.

Note that many of the above issues affect the entire spectrum of demographics in the population to be studied. This paper would like to focus on the effect of noise on the aging cohort, and its reduced tolerance, both physiological and psychological, of noise pollution. The impact this has had, and the potential future impact, would be of special interest to the tourist plans of seniors, both national and international.

Objectives of Empirical Study

This has been a very modest pilot project, to ascertain what sound sources seem to consistently crop up, in different locations and countries, at such levels as might cause physiological and/or psychological discomfort or pain, among elderly people. Locations were deliberately chosen which would be expected to attract a large cohort of tourists.

Methodology

The tools and techniques employed were simple in the extreme, and designed to permit one research person to fulfill multiple roles, in order to minimize costs. Pen and paper were used to record sound measurements –these recordings were collated and transcribed

into an 'excel' set of analyses for each of the 4 countries studied: Canada, the U.S., the U.K. and Spain. A small, portable and relatively simple but dependable and accurate sound measuring device was used, to provide decibel measurements, one per second, over 2 consecutive periods of 15 minutes each, except in the cases of 2 locations where the decibel level was registering over 90, for a significant period of time –in those cases, the observation period was halved to 15 minutes, for health and safety reasons to protect the researcher.

Methodological Considerations and constrictions

With more ample financial resources the empirical study would have employed a team of observers/recorders, paired, to check on the accuracy of the recordings, with each pair focused on the major sources of noise pollution uncovered:

e.g. under the category 'motorized vehicles':

1/ the engine noise of conventional cars and light vans, sports cars, motorbikes, buses, trucks, public and emergency service vehicles and others; 2/ braking noise for each category; 3/ horn/emergency siren usage for each category, and 4/ other.

Similarly, paired observers/recorders would have differentiated loud talk, laughter, screaming/squealing and other human sounds, between 1/ adult men, 2/ adult women; 3/ male teenagers, 4/ female teenagers; 5/ male children; 6/ female children, and babies of either gender (often difficult to differentiate)

Since the researcher funded the project himself, and was therefore the sole observer/recorder, not all of these sub-categorizations were perfectly covered.

Sometimes (though actually not as often as feared) sounds are blended, so that it is difficult to distinguish between and accurately record the different noise sources contributing to a particular DBA reading. When this did occur, (esp. in Barcelona, where there was an approximate equality in the density of traffic between motorbikes and cars/light vans and buses, the most prevalent sound source was identified and recorded; contributory sound sources were ignored; e.g. the sound of a loud motorbike would 'drown out' the sound of any other vehicular noise.

Difficulties in sense measurement

Sound is not the most difficult human sense to attempt to measure in terms of impact. Our olfactory sense poses an even greater problem, though it has been considered our most primeval (and therefore fundamental motivating?) sense. Taste is likewise a highly subjective sense –one person's notion of delicious may be another person's definition of foul. The methodology employed here could not be applied to amass data for either of these senses. Since sight is most readily harnessed for research purposes, most studies do tend to depend on observation. Questionnaires can attempt to encapsulate some of this sensory information; but employing them would have required much higher levels of funding than were available for this study.

Data analysis -some highlights from the empirical study

(See Appendices 1-4 for the complete tables of measurement data for each of the countries studied)

With one minor exception, (where there were no other data available for one specific location), decibel levels below 70 db were excluded from this analysis, since they were considered below a risk level or a normal annoyance level for seniors.

In Canada 5 locations were selected, all within the province of Ontario. 4 locations were in Toronto, one in Port Credit, a small suburban town some 25km west of Toronto, situated on the Credit River as it enters Lake Ontario. The total number of sound measurements recorded at 70+ decibels was 2,402.

Close to 50% (1,171) of the sound measurements were below 75, and a further 300 measurements were 75+, but below 80 decibels, making a total of just over 61% of recordings below the 80 decibel level. The vast majority of measurements comprising the 70-74.9 sound range (857) consisted of light vehicles (cars and vans) traversing the epicenter of downtown Toronto, at Yonge and Bloor. The only other significant mass of measurements recorded was also at that intersection, and consisted of a busker playing a Chinese one-string instrument. That same source provided the overwhelming majority of sound measurements for the next range of decibels 75-79.9. Construction vehicles provided the majority of measurements of sound in the next range of 80-84.9, and most of those were in the Dufferin/Davenport area of mid-town Toronto. The total number of measurements in that range, at 11, are relatively small. A different source of sound forms the bulk of the recordings making up the vast majority (732/740=98.9%) of the decibel range of 85-89.9. In fact, the range parameters mask a worse reality: the vast majority of the sound recordings in this range were at or above 89. However, the recordings were in a private not a public space –a commercial dance hall; thus participants were electing to be there; and if uncomfortable with sound levels, to leave. The same source provided the majority of sound measurements in the range 90-94.9 (147/158=93%); but the remainder (11/158=7%) were recordings of the sirens/horns of emergency vehicles (police/fire/ambulance). 20 further sound recordings from dance music fell in the next decibel range of 95-99.9, and just one topped the 100+ range.

In the U.S. 4 locations were selected, 2 in the Falls area of Niagara Falls, and 2 in the city of Buffalo, in upstate New York. The total number of sound measurements recorded at 70+ decibels was 49.

The contrast of paucity of data between Canadian and U.S. locations is clearly striking. It is mostly explained by the fact that, with exception of the Rainbow Bridge recordings (there being no other recordings measured there whatsoever!) no recordings below 70 decibels were included in the collation of the data. Both Niagara Falls sound measurements record zero vehicles, they being too far away to affect the measurement and the Falls themselves acting as an effective 'sound blanket for other extraneous sound; likewise no music was measured/recorded for any of the 4 locations. In fact the greatest contributors to sound were buses in the Buffalo area, which made up 25/47=53% of the total sound sources at 70+ decibels. Even the buses exceeded the 80 decibel threshold in only 6 instances out of the 49 measurements, comprising just 12% of the U.S. total. A further explanation to the paucity of recordings in the Buffalo area might be that it is an economically depressed area, and few private vehicles were in evidence, compared for example to downtown Toronto in the Canadian portion of the study. (Additional data collection in the U.S. should include other urban environments, e.g. New York city/Washington D.C.)

In the U.K. 5 locations were selected, 3 in London and 2 in Bournemouth, which is a seaside tourist-oriented town on the South Coast of England. The total number of sound measurements recorded at 70+ decibels was 811.

As with Toronto, Canada, the most striking figures making up high decibel recordings stem from the same source –music (both 'canned', not live). A major difference is that in the case of the U.K. the music was in the public arena, and was in fact being used as a prelude to a series of marathons and mini marathons, making up a 'Marathon Weekend', whose

proceeds were designated for charity. The vast majority of the recordings in the range 85-89.9 (270/283=95.4%) emanated from the loudspeakers pumping out music for several hours, within 20m. of Bournemouth Pier, and even closer to the seafront promenade, a favourite walking/cycling route for people of all ages (and a red-tailed fox encountered outside of measuring hours, quite late at night!). Likewise the 90-94.9 range is dominated by the loudspeaker music, providing 28/34=82.4% of the total number of U.K. sound measurements at that relatively high level. Easily overlooked but still worthy of note is the proportion of buses (15/111=13.5%), motorbikes (10/111=9%) and loud men talking/shouting/laughing in the context of a restaurant patio on Edgware Road, close to the West End of London (66/111=59.4%), which make up the total of sound measurements in the 80-84.9 db range, if we were to exclude the measurements for music.

In Spain 5 locations were selected, 2 in Lloret de Mar, a seaside tourist town some 75km North of Barcelona, 1 in Girona, an old town somewhat inland and just less than 100km North of Barcelona, and 2 in the city centre of Barcelona. The total number of sound measurements recorded at 70+ decibels was 1,384.

Only a very small proportion of sound measurements exceeded the 80 db level: 152/1384=11%. Of these the great majority emanated from a handtool being used to repair the wall of a hotel near its outside patio, in Lloret de Mar. The sound continued constantly for 5 minutes during the measurement period, then ceased. Other than that one noise source, the main contributor to 'noise pollution' would be considered motorbikes, which make up the majority of the sound measurements in all 3 ranges: 70-74.9, 75-79.9 and 80-84.9 dbs. Nonetheless trucks and buses do contribute a major source of sound in the 70-79.9 ranges, esp. in the city centre of Barcelona –that finding perhaps not to be unexpected. However their contribution to noise above the 80 db level was found to be negligible throughout the 5 locations measured in Spain.

Aggregating all 4 countries' sound measurement totals, the study recorded 4,644 units of sound of 70 decibels or higher (2 measurements for below 70 dbs were included in the Niagara Falls measurements, being the only data recorded!)

The reason that readings above the 80 decibel level have been emphasized in this analysis is given by the following extract:

"Hearing loss coupled with low tolerance to sound is another termed recruitment, a condition where soft sounds cannot be heard and loud sounds are intolerable (or distorted). For example, a person with recruitment may have hearing loss below 50 decibels while at the same time; sound above 80 decibels may be intolerable. The result is a narrow range of comfortable hearing."

The socio-political context of sound and loud noise

In pondering the results of the empirical study, the researcher was led to ask himself why people do make sounds which were above the norm; why did they make excessive noise? The following seeks to provide at least a partial categorization, in the hope of leading the way into further and more rigorous investigation for the motivation of loud noise perpetrators:

1/ Status-seeking noise perpetrators:

e.g. Loud sports car drivers; loud motorbike riders

2/ Personal attention-seeking noise perpetrators

e.g. people using vehicle horns for reasons other than danger warning; loud talking, shouting, laughing, shrieking, screaming, singing, whistling and crying

It is clear that categories 1/ and 2/ are not mutually exclusive; however a person operating a loud vehicle for pleasure (as opposed to a truck or bus driver, for example) will be subjecting him/herself to constant attention, both auditory and visual, which will underline their status aspirations/pretensions; whilst those employing personal sound production, such as loud talking, shouting and laughing, would find it difficult to sustain attention and any status which might attach to that, over long periods of time. Exceptions of course exist, such as busking at high volume level, which would be aimed to attract attention, and would be expected to attach to the perpetrator a particular socio-economic status –but probably not the high SES which the sports car operator might be seeking to project.

Only in the last example can the motivation for making loud noise be ascribed to commercial reasons; in all the other examples, one would expect the motivation to be social and/or psychological. In terms of attempting to modify the behaviour of noise perpetrators, different approaches would be required. Different cultures and different social order legislation and enforcement exist in each administration. Additional study would be required to explore how various administrations might, and how in actuality they do attempt to contain, control and curtail decibel levels from the above personal activity sources.

In the context of tourism in general, and of tourism among the elderly in particular, it is by no means clear whether they might universally seek to avoid locations with high volumes of sound from either of the above categories. It is conceivable that many might be drawn by such behaviour out of curiosity. It is also quite possible that some may be participants in such status and attention-seeking behaviour –in other words they should not be considered only as passive recipients of decibel excesses.

Other categories of excessive noise production are not personal in orientation. The following is a not completely exhaustive list of some of these categories:

- 3/ Alerts
- 4/ Alarms
- 5/ Public events
- 6/ Unintended side-effects of activities
- 7/ Military/Political/Civil disturbances

Alert modes have used sound, often quite loud, as the medium of choice since time immemorial, for letting people, often the public in general, know clearly and unambiguously of some phenomenon deemed worthy of their attention. Examples would include the chiming of Church Bells, and of its corresponding Muezzin by Mosques, as calls to prayer and/or religious services. 'Tempus fugit' has been punctuated by public and private clocks likewise for centuries, some of which have acted as major tourist attractions –consider Big Ben in London. 'Grandfather clocks' with loud chimes have often acted as centrepieces in grand houses open to the tourist public, and in museums too. All the foregoing alerts can be considered quite valuable to the elderly –the sound is often pleasing, if not mellifluous, and the reason for the alert may evoke pleasant associations.

Wake-up calls, called 'reveilles' in many military contexts, often deploy quite loud music (e.g. the bugle) to alert sleeping militia of the need to wake up and return to work. According to the demographics of militaries, not too many elderly should now be disturbed by 'reveilles'! Alarms have much in common with Alerts, but are worth distinguishing. Alarms are to alert people, and often the public in general of something unusual and potentially or actually dangerous. Fire bells, and nowadays their electronic equivalent, have been used for centuries. Virtually all emergency vehicles are equipped with alarm signals, both visual and aural –sirens are part of the backdrop noise of a big city, especially near major hospitals, where emergency

vehicles are seldom not in use. During wars air raid sirens become essential alarm signals to alert people to take cover. Most tourists would be happy to be alerted to an alarming situation, in the hope of avoiding danger or risk to themselves. This might be more applicable to vulnerable groups which are still relatively autonomous –such as elderly tourists. A small minority of tourists might still be attracted to the spectacle of disaster or catastrophe, which the alarm system may signal –e.g. vehicle occupants slowing down or stopping to gape at a major vehicle accident; or in rarer circumstances tourists travelling specifically to disaster zones. One would expect the number of elderly tourists to be so attracted would be relatively few!

Public events such as outdoor concerts, sports events, exhibitions and shows can often come with large decibel measures. Examples would historically include firework displays (still popular), and more recently air shows. Outdoor concerts of popular performers will often attract crowds in the tens of thousands. One could normally expect that the larger the number of people congregated, the higher the level of sound. Sports events such as major international soccer games may serve to attract large groups, identifying themselves as team supporters, but whose ancillary aim may be to use the event as a vehicle to anonymously ‘let off steam’ – i.e. act in rowdy behaviours not normally tolerated –perhaps especially when fans are not ‘home fans’ e.g. are international tourists in the foreign host city (Milan, Barcelona, Madrid etc. as targets for U.K. ‘soccer hooligans’).

Mass demonstrations can be quiet, orderly and exude calm. More often they are accompanied with noise and rowdy behaviour, and may attract ‘counter-demonstrations’, which can be expected to augment the sound level heard by the proximate public.

Public events may be orchestrated by Government for political purposes e.g. speeches of political leaders –Hitler, Stalin, Castro; and the noisy show of public executions (a common spectacle in pre-20th century England; and still used an instrument of public policy of intimidation in such countries as N. Korea –‘pour encourager les autres’. All spectacles of such ilk can be expected to be accompanied by loud decibel levels, as part of the ‘fanfare’!

Military/Political/Civil disturbances such as demonstrations, coups, counter-coups, civil war, invasions etc. are invariably accompanied by high volume noise –measured in decibel levels that can be difficult to capture with low-cost equipment. Not just shootings and explosions but the activities of military engagement, such as tank invasion, all come with sounds which can induce auditory injury, if not long-term deafness. Again a caveat to tourists, even those seeking disaster contexts; and even more so to its elderly cohort.

Unintentional side effects (“collateral damage”) are not confined to military operations. Much of the loudest everyday urban noise can be attributed to the use of machinery and tools in and/or near to public spaces, which are intrinsically noisy to operate e.g. construction machinery such as mechanical shovels, pneumatic drills (used extensively for road repairs, which are ubiquitous in large urban centres), and even construction vehicles. Whilst the intention is construction/maintenance/repair of infrastructure, some private, much of it public, the activities come at costs which are easy and convenient to overlook – economists might be tempted to classify them as ‘externalities’ because they are not borne by the noise originator, who will derive benefit from the activity. High levels of noise are one important element of these side effects. The more they are highlighted, the less likely are they to be tolerated by the public at large, or ignored by the funders of the construction/repair projects –be they private or public sector.

Recommendations

Personal strategies to attenuate impact of noise pollution (for all ages)

- 1/ use of ear plugs
- 2/ use of earphones/headsets, attached to music medium (e.g. Ipod)
- 3/ use of earphones specifically equipped with 'white sound' insulation (sometimes referred to noise cancelling)
- 4, removing oneself from major source(s) of noise pollution

A caveat would seem appropriate here: none of the above might be as readily available to seniors, especially the 'old old' who may have not dealt successfully with new technology, than their younger counterparts, within and outside the context of tourism.

Public policy recommendations

Provide resources for monitoring noise pollution.

Fine the owners and/or confiscate the objects of major perpetrators of noise pollution, e.g. excessively loud motor-bikes, buses, trucks and construction vehicles.

Provide and publish annual reviews of success rate in reducing decibel levels in key spots in each administration.

Conclusions

As has been noted in the journal article quoted, very little has been written about the effect of noise on the elderly segment of the population (almost none of the 73 articles reviewed in the article). In the context of tourism this would appear to be quite a novel area of concern and potential research.

It therefore behooves the tourism research community to consider more extensive research in the area, especially as one can only expect the proportion of tourists who are both elderly and have noise-related issues, to continue to rise, as the world population as a whole ages.

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Trans – boundary Tourism and Keys Success for Sustainable Tourism Operation on R3A: Thailand – Lao PDR – the Southern Republic of China Responding ASEAN Community

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There are many interesting trends of tourism occurring in the global travel industry today, and one of the most notable is the growing of trans-boundary tourism especially in context of ASEAN countries. Thailand in particular, has faced with the dramatically growth of tourist numbers across the border area of R3A (Thailand, Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Southern Republic of China) in addition to immerging negative impacts to the destinations and their local communities. To maximize benefits from the situation, this study aims to investigate the potential and readiness of trans-boundary tourism system and types of tourism that promoting tourism linkage with-in the travelling route of R3A. Four case studies were investigated including Chiang Khong district in Thailand, Luang Namtha in Laos PDR, Xishuangbanna and Kunming in the Southern Republic of China.

Tourism system is perceived differently according to the authors' school of thought. Tourism system comprises of 7 A's including: attraction, activity, accommodation, amenity, accessibility, ancillary services and administration. To achieve sustainable tourism, aspects of environmental and socio-cultural conservation, economic generation, educational experiences, people participation, community empowerment and stakeholders' collaboration are focal concerns in tourism operation. However, due to the conflict of interests of the two neighboring countries, it is still debating on how to achieve sustainability in practice. Thus, to achieve the objectives of the study, qualitative and quantitative approaches were employed for data collection. These include: site survey, participatory observation, in-depth interview and focus group discussion among tourism stakeholders in addition to questionnaire survey on tourists' demand on tourism operation. Content analysis and descriptive analysis were employed to explain data.

The study revealed that trans-boundary tourism on R3a can be classified based on the tourism resources as ecotourism, agro tourism, heritage tourism, food tourism, ethnic tourism, Buddhism tourism and experiential tourism. Moreover, keys success for facilitating sustainable trans-boundary tourism operation on R3A responding ASEAN community includes 1) upgrading accommodation, tourist activity, amenity, accessibility, ancillary service and human

resource in accordance with tourists' demand and destination context; 2) promoting crossed cultural communication among tourism stakeholders; 3) cross cultural visitor management and; 4) collaboration with the respective national interests of the three neighboring countries to promote the mutual benefits amongst them, facilitate consensus tourism development policy and planning, enhance capacity building of human resources and, promote co-marketing on trans-boundary tourism on R3A.

Keywords: *Trans-boundary tourism, tourism on R3A*

Introduction

According to ADB, the concept of the 'Economic Corridors' was initiated as a strategy to spur economic development in the GMS as well as ASEAN community. As the 'Economic Corridors' aims at attracting and sustaining interest in both infrastructure project development and direct investments in business opportunities, it plays an important role in economic cooperation in the region.

The Northern Economic Corridor of the Greater Mekong Subregion (R3a), running 1,861 kilometres from Chiang Rai's Chiang Khong district in Thailand to the city of Kunming in Yunnan province in southwestern China via Laos, aims to ease travel for tourists wanting to explore foreign cultures and commerce traders seeking new opportunities in neighbouring countries. Along R3a, they offer exceptional diversity and richness of tourist destinations and attractions. Moreover, regional development of connectivity and tourist infrastructure created rapid growth of the subregion's tourism industry and its markets. For example, the growth of Chinese tourist numbers on R3a is recently significant. However, the tourism growth does not only contribute to local economic benefits but threatens the industry's sustainability by overburdening host communities, infrastructures, environment, cross-cultural communication and visitor management issues in addition to negative impacts on socio-culture and environment in destinations along the R3a. These dynamics have created a dire need for development and management of trans-boundary tourism that ensure sustainable and equitable regional growth while enhancing benefit sharing amongst tourism stakeholders. Thus, this study aims to investigate the potential and readiness of trans-boundary tourism system and types of tourism that promoting tourism linkage with-in the travelling route of R3A.

Literature Review

To achieve the objectives of this study, concepts of tourism system and sustainable tourism is explored. According to Dimitrios Buhalis (2000) [1], destinations are amalgams of tourism products, offering an integrated experience to consumers. Traditionally, destinations are regarded as well-defined geographical areas, such as a country, an island or a town. However, it is increasingly recognised that a destination can also a perceptual concept, which can be interpreted subjectively by consumers, depending on their travel itinerary, cultural background, purpose of visit, educational level and past experience. Most destinations comprise a core of the following components, which can be characterized as the six As framework. These include; 1) attractions (natural, man-made, artificial, purpose built, heritage, special events), 2) accessibility (entire transportation system comprising of routes, terminals and vehicles), 3) amenities (accommodation and catering facilities, retailing, other tourist services), 4) available packages (pre-arranged packages by intermediaries and principals), 5) activities (all activities available at the destination and what consumers will do during their visit) and, 6) ancillary services (services used by tourists such as banks, telecommunications, post, newsagents, hospitals, etc). In addition, Sitikarn (2008) [2] purposes a model of

sustainable Small Medium Tourism Enterprise (SMTEs) that emphasizes on various aspects of human resource development, finance, operation of tourism products and services, marketing and tourists 'demand. The model referred to six components of tourism system including attraction, activity, accommodation, accessibility, amenity, and ancillary services. Thus, a destination can be regarded as a combination of all products, services, tourist experiences as well as manage demand and supply in order to maximize benefits for all stakeholders.

In aspects of sustainable tourism, sustainable and competitive tourism are not achievable without a consumer response. More should be done to raise awareness. However, messages should be positive and consumer focused, putting across the benefits to them of forms of tourism that are socially and environmentally responsible (CENTRAL EUROPE.) (n.d.). [3]. Moreover, UNWTO and UNEP (2005 cited in UNWTO, 2013) [4] The UNWTO has defined sustainable tourism as "tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities" A fundamental characteristic of the tourism sector is its ability to link the economic, social, cultural and environmental aspects of sustainability and to act as a driving force for their mutual enhancement. This is because tourism as an economic activity is highly dependent on the presence of intact environments, rich cultures and welcoming host communities. Similarly, Swarbrooke (1999) [5] points out three dimensions of sustainable tourism, including 1) the environment, both natural and building, 2) the economic life of communities and companies, and social aspects of tourism, in term of its impact on host cultures and tourists, and the way in which those employed in tourism are treated.

UNWTO and UNEP identified 12 Aims for sustainable tourism as follows.

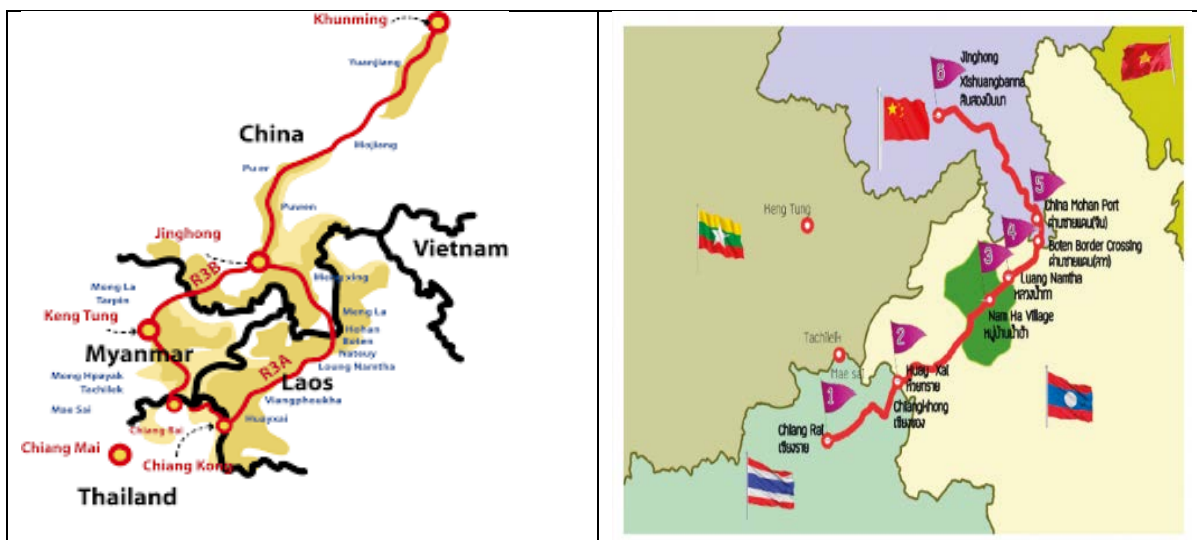
1. Economic Viability: To ensure the viability and competitiveness of tourism destinations and enterprises, so that they are able to continue to prosper and deliver benefits in the long term.
2. Local Prosperity: To maximize the contribution of tourism to the prosperity of the host destination, including the proportion of visitor spending that is retained locally.
3. Employment Quality: To strengthen the number and quality of local jobs created and supported by tourism, including the level of pay, conditions of service and availability to all without discrimination by gender, race, disability or in other ways.
4. Social Equity: To seek a widespread distribution of economic and social benefits from tourism throughout the recipient community, including improving opportunities, income and services available to the poor.
5. Visitor Fulfilment: To provide a safe, satisfying and fulfilling experience for visitors, available to all without discrimination by gender, race, and disability or in other ways.
6. Local Control: To engage and empower local communities in planning and decision making about the management and future development of tourism in their area, in consultation with other stakeholders.
7. Community Wellbeing: To maintain and strengthen the quality of life in local communities, including social structures and access to resources, amenities and life support systems, avoiding any form of social degradation or exploitation.
8. Cultural Richness: To respect and enhance the historic heritage, authentic culture, traditions and distinctiveness of host communities.
9. Physical Integrity: To maintain and enhance the quality of landscapes, both urban and rural, and avoid the physical and visual degradation of the environment

- 10. Biological Diversity: To support the conservation of natural areas, habitats and wildlife, and minimize damage to them.
- 11. Resource Efficiency: To minimize the use of scarce and non-renewable resources in the development and operation of tourism facilities and services.
- 12. Environment Purity: To minimize the pollution of air, water and land and the generation of waste by tourism enterprises and visitors.

Methodology

Six case studies on R3a were investigated including Chiang Khong and Chiang Saen districts in Thailand, Huayxai and Luang Namtha in Laos PDR, Xishuangbanna and Kunming in the Southern Republic of China as shown in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1 Map of Case Studies on R3a



Mixed research methods of qualitative research and quantitative research were employed for data gathering both primary data and secondary data. These include in-depth interview, focus group discussion, participatory rural appraisal (PRA) in addition to observation technique. The purposive sampling technique were employed to the key informants who are tourism stakeholders in all sectors in the case study destinations. In addition, questionnaire survey was employed to explore tourist’s satisfaction on trans-boundary tourism system on R3a route. The accidental sampling technique was employed to 400 Thai and international tourists visiting the case study destinations. Moreover, field/street surveys on R3a was also employed to gain actual facts and experiences that enable the triangulation of data analysis of trans-boundary tourism system and identify appropriated types of tourism that can be promoted as tourism linkage with-in the travelling route of R3A. Further, an evaluation form of the potential and readiness of trans-boundary tourism system were directed to local tourism stakeholders in the destination. The purposive sampling technique was employed to all key informants. Thematic analysis was employed for qualitative data whereas SPSS, descriptive analysis and content analysis were employed for quantitative data. Linkert scale of 1 to 5 or

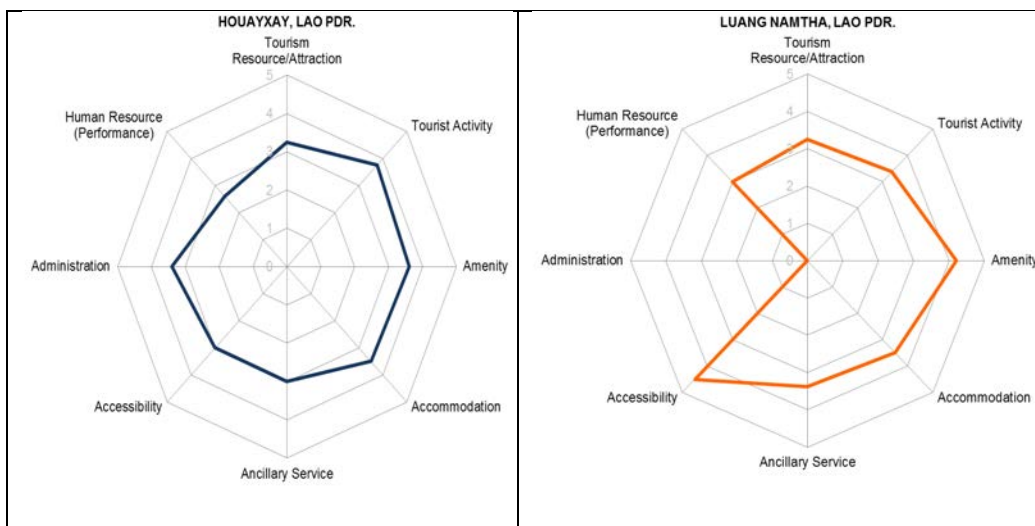
the lowest to the highest level of the potential and readiness of trans-boundary tourism system was employed to explain data.

Findings

The potential and readiness of trans-boundary tourism system

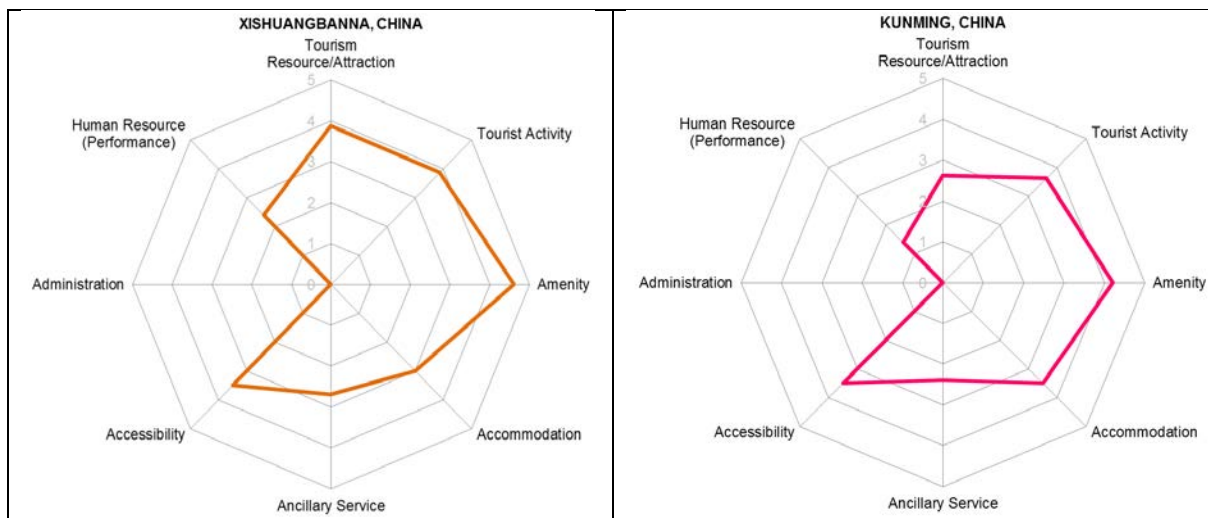
The study revealed that in Laos PDR, the two destinations have potential and readiness of tourism system in different levels. In Huayxai, tourism activity has high potential and ready to serve tourist due to variety of attractions both in natural environments and socio-culture of the ethnic groups whereas human resource performance is the lowest level. In Luang Namtha, The accessibility and amenity aspects is in high level whereas administration issues is the lowest level of potential and readiness. This is because Luang Namtha is situated in the mainland and does not have any cross-border checking points and services. In general, potential and readiness of transboundary tourism system in both Huayxai and Luang Namtha are in the same moderate level in aspects of accommodation, ancillary services and attraction as shown in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2 *The potential and readiness of trans-boundary tourism system in Laos PDR*



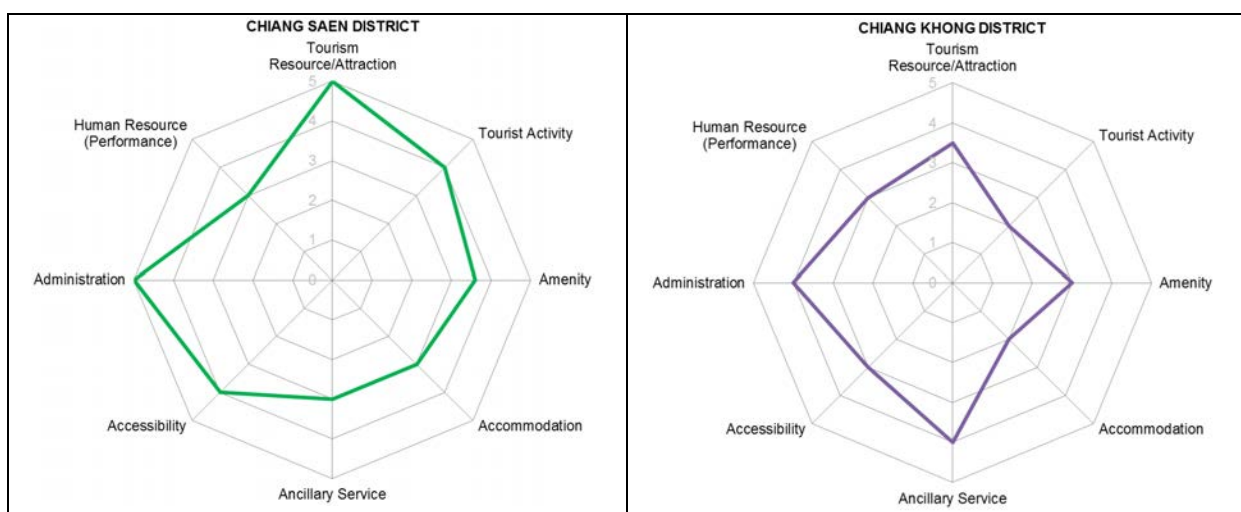
In the republic of China, the study revealed that accessibility and amenity in Xishuangbanna and Kunming are in high level of potential and readiness whereas administration issue is in the lowest level. This is because Xishuangbanna and Kunming are situated in the mainland and do not have any cross-border checking points and services. In Xishuangbanna, the potential and readiness of attraction and activity is in high level, accessibility is in moderate level whereas accommodation and human resource performance is in low level as shown in Figure 3 below.

Figure 3 The potential and readiness of trans-boundary tourism system in The Republic of China



In Thailand, the study revealed that Chiang Saen and Chiang Khong have potential and readiness of tourism system in different levels but share aspect of human resource performance which is in moderate level. In Chiang Saen, potential and readiness of attraction and administration is in the highest level whereas activity, amenity and accessibility are in high level. In Chiang Khong, the potential and readiness of administration and ancillary services are in high level, attraction and amenity are in moderate level whereas activity and accommodation are in low level as shown in Figure 4 below.

Figure 4 The potential and readiness of trans-boundary tourism system in Thailand



In comparison, most destinations share the same level of potential and readiness in aspect of accommodation, whereas human resource performance in Thailand is in the highest level.

Chiang Saen has the most potential and readiness in aspects of attraction, activity and administration whereas Chiang Khong has high potential and readiness in ancillary services aspect. Luang Namtha has high potential and readiness in accessibility aspect whereas Xishuangbanna has high potential and readiness in amenity aspects.

Types of tourism that promoting tourism linkage with-in the travelling route of R3A Based on the diversity of tourism resources in the case study destinations, the study revealed that 7 types of tourism including ecotourism, agro tourism, heritage tourism, food tourism, ethnic tourism, Buddhism tourism and experiential tourism are identified as tourism linkage on R3A and ASEAN community as shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1 Tourism Resources in R3a, categorized by destinations

Type of Tourism	Tourism Resources					
	Huay xai	Luang Nam tha	Xishuan g banna	Kunmi ng	Chiang Saen	Chiang khong
Ecotourism/Natural/Adventure Tourism	√	√	√	√	√	√
Community Based Tourism:	-	-	-	-	√	√
Agro Tourism	√	√	√	√	√	√
Cultural Heritage Tourism	√	√	√	√	√	√
Food Tourism	√	√	√	√	√	√
Buddhism Tourism	√	√	√	√	√	√
Experiential Tourism	√	√	√	√	√	√

Conclusion and Discussion

This study was intended to investigate the context of trans-boundary tourism in aspects of potential and readiness of tourism system and explored tourism resources and identified keys issues for an achievement of sustainable trans-boundary tourism in relation to ASEAN community. The issues tackled in this study may not be new in other destinations or other countries but it is so in terms of R3a.

The study found that potentiality and readiness of tourism system in the most destinations on R3a shall be enhanced raking from the most to the least issues as human resource performance, accommodation, ancillary services and tourist activity. Moreover, the study revealed the lack of policy and regulation enforcement on efficient trans-boundary tourism facilitation in accessibility aspects especially the single visa and customs issues. In addition, researches in tourism development shall be strengthening on how to maximize the benefits from the success of trans-boundary tourism in the R3a and related destinations. In responding to economic corridors which aim to spur economic development and cooperation in the region, Trans-boundary tourism development along the corridors shall be highly recognized as one of opportunities that bring sustainable development and poverty reduction in the region. To promote Trans-boundary tourism, it is important that the policy must be formulated based on the current situations, responding tourists’demand and address stakeholder’s participation and collaboration and empowerment issues. It is also essential to

improve rural and urban infrastructure, upgrade human resources in terms of tourism management and its operation in addition to hospitality and services.

Moreover, the government of each country shall cooperate and promote Trans-boundary tourism in the region through networking as a means to reduce poverty and mitigate environment degradation in the region. Zoning strategy and carrying capacity of host destinations must be highly considered in order to avoid any negative impacts on the destinations.

In ASEAN aspects, it is believed that the success of the Trans-boundary tourism will bring sustainable development and poverty reduction in the region particularly for the Least Developing Countries (LDC). In addition, promoting better means of regional communication and transportation to expand investment into different areas to enhance effective linkages of the trans-boundary tourism as a single tourist destination. Thus, collaboration on trans-boundary tourism in the region can be formulated in the form of networking. Co-marketing under the theme of 'Ten Countries-One Destination' is essential. As the destinations are different in every aspect, 'theme' of the region shall be identified to attract tourists as well as the traveling routes that join the destinations of the ten countries where tourists can enjoy tourist activities in each country. To create growth of the region's tourism industry, visitor's numbers must be increased for foreign exchange earning and revenue for the countries. Therefore, sustainability of Trans-boundary tourism will be achieved or not depending on its management and operation in the region.

In management aspect, keys success for facilitating sustainable trans-boundary tourism operation on R3A responding ASEAN community includes:

1. Upgrading accommodation, tourist activity, amenity, accessibility and, ancillary service in accordance with tourists' demand and destination context;
2. Enhancing capacity building of human resources especially in aspects of hospitality and services. Human resource development is the priority of the development process, it may take ages to become a success. Therefore, supporting from other key stakeholders is essential.
3. Promoting crossed cultural communication and understanding among tourism stakeholders is essential for resources conservation and economic development. However, currently most of tourism stakeholders, especially the local community do not have the knowledge, understanding and skills on tourism and its operation. Therefore, the knowledge on sustainable tourism operation, hospitality and services enhancement among the local tourism is critical.
4. Cross cultural visitor management and;
5. Collaboration with the respective national interests of the ten neighboring countries to promote the mutual benefits amongst them, facilitate consensus tourism development policy and planning, enhance capacity building of human resources and, promote co-marketing on trans-boundary tourism on ASEAN tourism.

Moreover, to achieve sustainable Trans-boundary tourism, formulation of both a long-term and short term development frameworks for Trans-boundary tourism is vital. The development framework shall emphasis on policy and strategy, planning, institutional strengthening, legislation and regulation, product development and diversification, marketing and promotion, tourism infrastructure and superstructure, economic impact of tourism and tourism investment, human resource development, and socio-cultural and environmental impacts of tourism as well as quality standards of tourism services. The plan shall prioritizes actions for each sector and includes an Action Plan defining roles and responsibilities of

various stakeholders, timelines, indicative budgets, monitoring guidelines, and, success criteria. In addition, tourism development master plans shall be formulated at both a national and local level under thematic of ecotourism tourism, agro tourism, cultural- heritage tourism, food tourism, Buddhism tourism and experiential tourism in order to ensure the linkage of tourism products and their involved tourism stakeholders' collaboration in the ASEAN community.

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Challenges and Issues for Transboundary Tourism Development on R3A and R3B Routes

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The Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS) program has established the North-South Economic Corridor (NSEC), the road between Bangkok and Kunming, China, which includes the Laos route (R3A) and the Myanmar route (R3B), since 1998. Tourism development has driven economic growth in transition countries. This paper aims to study current situation on transboundary tourism development including tourist flow, and destination management. It identified and analysed challenges and issues facing transboundary tourism development on R3A and R3B routes. Qualitative approach was employed to gather data including site survey, participatory observation and in-depth interview with transboundary tourism stakeholders. Many of the identified challenges can be attributed to the interplay among policy and administrative factors such as inequality of policy and lack of readiness of law enforcement. To promote tourist flow from transboundary tourism both R3A and R3B routes, managerial approaches are discussed.

Keywords: *challenge and issues, Transboundary tourism development, R3A & R3B routes*

Introduction

Tourism has been a major force in the economic and social globalization that has evolved in conjunction with regional tourism and trade alliances. Despite traditions of institutionalized barriers, today many countries start to realize the value of cross-border regional cooperation, especially in areas of economic development, trade, human mobility, and political stability. Cross-border economic and political groupings, such as the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS) have appeared with increasing regularity throughout the world. While none of these has tourism as its primary focus, tourism has come to the forefront of socioeconomic negotiations in many of these collaborations.

Greater Mekong Sub-Region Economic Cooperation: GMS-EC has been developed to strengthen the economic and social linkages between the 6 partners and to promote the entire area as an open investment region for multinational corporations decreasing the barrier effects of country borders, and increasing flows of capital, labor, and goods across common boundaries. Recently, the program has established the North-South Economic Corridor (NSEC), the road between Bangkok (Thailand) and Kunming (China), The routes are passing

4 countries including route 3a (R3a) from Kunming (China) passing Luang Namtha and Bo Kaew (Laos) through Chiang Khong, Chiang Rai to Bangkok (Thailand); and route 3b (R3b) from Kunming (China) passing Mengla and Tachilek (Myanmar) through Mae Sai, Chiang Rai to Bangkok (Thailand). Development of these routes have been driven economic growth especially in tourism development within transition countries.

Nevertheless, the relationship between national borders and tourism development is complex. Transboundary tourism is influenced by the border barriers such as regulations for the movement of people and goods, conservation, promotion, infrastructure and transportation, which affected on tourism flows and the development of tourism infrastructures in a border region (Timothy 1999, 2001). Therefore, this article aims to examine the current situation of transboundary tourism development in R3a and R3a roads, and identify key issues and challenges faced by key stakeholders in the further development of transboundary tourism.

Literature Review

Transboundary tourism refers the activities of persons traveling across international borderland to stay in places outside their usual environment for a reasonable period. Timothy (2009) stated that transboundary tourism has strong relationship to political boundaries such as regulations for the movement of people and goods, conservation, promotion, infrastructure, transportation, and collaboration in tourism development among neighboring countries which directly influences tourism flows, development and distribution of tourism infrastructures in a border region.

In support of the economic corridors, a cross-border transport agreement (CBTA) is introduced as one of the major policy frameworks of GMS-ECP (Ishida, 2009). The CBTA is an agreement to facilitate the cross-border movement of vehicles. It has been signed by 6 countries of GMS-ECP and is in the process of ratification. It is composed of the main agreement, 17 annexes and 3 protocols. The essence of CBTA is mainly composed of two components which are single-window inspection (SWI) and single-stop inspection (SSI). The SWI aims to unify the windows for customs, immigration and quarantine (CIQ) into a single window while the SSI aims to unify the redundant procedures into a single step.

In addition, the Quadrangle Economic Zone (QEZ) is development of 4 regions with the cooperation of 4 neighboring countries in concerning of history, ethnicity and culture, international trade and transportation. In fact, the Golden Triangle is an area bordering Thailand, Myanmar, and Laos including a part of northern Thailand, northwestern Laos, and eastern Myanmar. The Yunnan province of China lies to the north of the Golden Triangle. Together with the Yunnan province, the Golden Triangle area has recently become known as the Golden Quadrangle. In 1990, Chiang Rai Chamber of Commerce, Thailand revealed the concept of Quadrangle Economic zone in the cooperation among 4 countries: Thailand, Laos, Myanmar, and Yunnan province (China) to bring growth and stability to the region by enhancing service and logistics. It aims not only promotion of trade and investment, but also promotes the formation of border economic zones and tourism by improving basic transportation infrastructure such as roads, railways, and waterways.

Likewise, ASEAN connectivity 2025 has been established to achieve the economic, political-security and socio-cultural pillars towards realizing the vision of an integrated ASEAN Community through improved physical, institutional and people-to-people linkages. Therefore, the term connectivity refers to the physical, institutional and people-to-people linkages that comprise the foundational support and facilitative means to a more resilient and well-

connected ASEAN. The key elements of ASEAN Connectivity include: 1) **Physical connectivity**: Transport, Information and Communications Technology (ICT), Energy 2) **Institutional connectivity**: Trade liberalization and facilitation, Investment and services liberalization and facilitation, Mutual recognition agreements/arrangements, Regional transport agreements, Cross-border procedures, Capacity building programs 3) **People-to-people connectivity**: Education and Culture, Tourism. This integration influences a lot of trade and tourism development by improving connectivity.

Furthermore, Lumsdon and Page (2004), suggested the conceptual framework of analysis on travel and transportation into 3 dimensions that are availability, accessibility, and information. Later, tourism logistics notion has been raised in according to Khaosa-ad (2012), considering service framework for the tourists are involved with the 3 flows: physical flow, information flow, and financial flow. Physical flow refers to the convenience of tourist and belonging transportation; information flow refers to necessary information for tourist including directional sign post, code of conduct, and warning sign of dangers; financial flow refers to facilitation of payment for tourism product and service through various channels.

To analyze key and challenges in transboundary tourism development of R3b and R3b, the concept of connectivity in relation to political boundary issues are reviewed and discussed.

Methodology

Research for this case study was conducted primarily on border area of 4 countries on R3A and R3B road passing through Thailand, Laos, Myanmar, and China. As shown in figure 1, R3a is passing through Mohan immigration check point (Yunnan, China), Boten and Huayxai immigration checkpoints on Laos border, to Chiangkong immigration checkpoint (Thailand); while, R3b is passing through Dalou immigration checkpoint (Yunnan, China), Mengla and Tachilek immigration checkpoints (Myanmar) to Mai Sai immigration checkpoint (Thailand).

Quantitative research was employed for data gathering both primary data and secondary data including site survey, participatory observation, small group discussion, and in-depth interview. The purposive sampling technique was employed to select the key informants which were from transboundary tourism stakeholders including tour operators, tourists, local community, destination managers, travel media, immigration officers, custom officers, tourist police, ministry of tourism and sport officers, and chamber of commerce officers.

Semi-structured interview and small group discussion guide were developed to explore current situation on transboundary tourism development in aspect of connectivity as well as key issues and challenges. Moreover, site survey and participatory observation guidelines on R3B and R3B routes were also adopted to gain actual circumstance and experience that enable the triangulation of data analysis of transboundary tourism development. Finally, content analysis from field research were collected and cross-checked with secondary data.

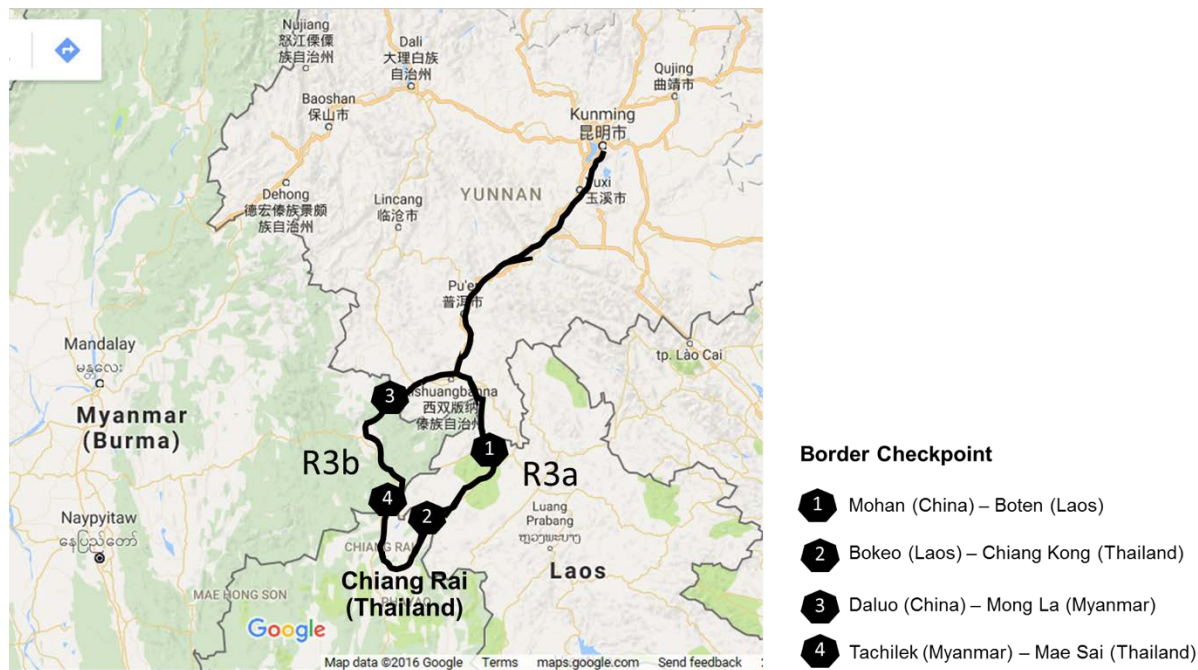


Figure 1 Map of R3a/R3b routes and border checkpoints

Findings

As mentioned earlier, R3a and R3b routes have been developed as a part of the North-South Economic Corridor (NSC) since 1998. The NSC connects Bangkok (Thailand) and Kunming (China). It separates into two routes (the Laos Route and the Myanmar Route) at Mengyang (China), which join up again at Chiang Rai (Thailand). The findings are explained separately into R3a and R3b routes.

The R3a route

Road connection on R3a route

The Kunming-Bangkok international expressway on R3a is approximately 1900 km long. It stretches south from Kunming, Yuxi, Puer (Simao), Xishuangbanna (Yunnan Province, China) via Mohan-Boten border to Luang Namtha and Houayxay (Laos), and then cross Bokeo-Chiang Khong border to Chiang Rai (Thailand), and then finally, Bangkok.

The road part in Yunnan is 688 km on National Road No. 213 with distance between Kunming and Yuxi is 86 km as 6-lane express road, while the following roads have been completed as 4-lane roads; 112 km between Yuxi - Yuanjiang, 147 km between Yuanjiang – Mohei, 71 km between Mohei and Puer, the 97 km between Puer and Jinghong, Xishuangbanna and the 185 km between Jinghong (the intersection between R3a and R3b) and Mohan (border to Laos).

The road in Laos part runs through Luang Namtha and Bokeo Province. It is 228 km starting from Huay Xai (bordering to Thailand) and Boten (bordering to Yunnan, China.) Luang Namtha province borders with Xishuangbanna, China and the Boten-Mohan border is located 57 km up north. The province has roads reaching to Vientiane from Nateuy by route No. 1 and No. 13. In addition, it is also connected to Dien Bien Phu and Hanoi in Vietnam by route No. 1 and No. 4. Laos has a national policy to develop the country as transit base in the preparation and institutionalization of logistics.

The road in Thailand part runs through Chiang Rai to of Chiang Kong bordering to Laos. There is 110 km between Chiang Rai and Chiang Kong on route No. 1020 as 4-lane and some part with 2-lane paved road condition. Thailand has been developing the road No. 1152 into 4-lane connecting from Chiang Rai to Chiang Kong which is a shortcut to meet No. 1020, approximately shorter 10.5 km. Moreover, it is possibly to reach Chiang Kong through Chiang Saen from Road No. 1 via Road No. 1016 (110 km), which is already expanded into 4-lane road.

Table 1 Segments of Route R3a: Activity, Road, Distance, and Time

Route R3a	Activity	National route	Condition	Distance (km)	Time (hours)
Thailand (940 km)					
Bangkok – Chiang Rai	Transport	1	Divided highway	830	10
Chiang Rai – Chiang Khong	Transport	1020	4-lane and 2-lane road	110	2
Chiang Khong – Huay Xai	Border crossing	R3	Immigration Checkpoint/ 4th Thai–Lao Friendship Bridge	Less than 1	0.5
Laos (228 km)					
Huay Xai – Luang Namtha	Transport	R3	2-lane road	169	4
Luang Namtha – Boten	Transport	13	2-lane road	57	1
Boten-Mohan	Border crossing	R3	4-lane road Immigration Checkpoint (Land border Laos/China)	2	0.5
Yunnan, China (688 km)					
Mohan – Mengla	Transport	213	Expressway 4-lane road	35	1
Mengla - Jinghong	Transport	213	Expressway 4-lane road	150	3
Jinghong – Puer	Transport	213	Expressway 4-lane road	97	2
Puer - Mohei	Transport	213	Expressway 4-lane road	71	1
Mohei - Yuanjiang	Transport	213	Expressway 4-lane road	147	3
Yuanjiang - Yuxi	Transport	213	Expressway 4-lane road	112	2
Yuxi - Kunming	Transport	213	Expressway 6-lane road	86	1
Total				1,907	31

Border Crossing on R3a route

Thailand – Laos Border (Chiang Kong – Huay Xai)

Chiang Kong immigration check point is an international checkpoint through which foreigner from third countries can pass, and the operative working are from 8 am to 6 pm. Huaim Xai immigration checkpoint in open from 8 am to 4 pm.

Citizens of Laos and Thai are permitted to stay up to 30 days under the Bilateral Agreement with Thailand if entering via international airport or through a land border checkpoints. Consequently, there are 2 options for Thai nationals visit Laos by issuing a one-time border pass or passport without visa requirement. The border pass is only usable in Bokeo for 3 days 2 nights. If Thai nationals wish to visit other provinces, they must use a passport. The passport can be used without visa requirement, which allows to stay in Laos for 30 days. Similarly, there are two kinds of borders passes for Laos nationals, one-time border pass and multiple-use border pass. Although the one-time border pass is in principle usable for only one time over a period of 3 days, it can be extended to 7 days, and further under negotiation if the holder visitors a hospital in Chiang Rai. The charge for extensions is 100 baht per day. Although the one-time border pass can be issued for all Laos nationals, but it is usable only in Chiang Rai.

In addition, according to the Interior Ministerial Announcements, passport holders from 19 countries and territories including China may apply for visas at the immigration checkpoints in Thailand for the purpose of tourism for the period of not exceeding 15 days. Thus, Chinese tourists, can cross Thailand border by issuing visa on arrival at Chiang Kong international checkpoint. The application fee is 1,000 Baht. Starting from 27 September 2016, Thailand, by the order of Ministry of Interior No. 30 B.E. 2559 (2016) dated 1 July B.E. 2559 (2016), has increased Visa on Arrival fee from 1,000 to 2,000 THB.

Concerning land transportation, foreign cars can travel in Thailand for 30 days with fee of 500 Baht for permission card per vehicle and takes only 1 hour for issue driving license to drive in Thailand. There is recently law enforcement to control foreign car usage in Thai border. Drivers are required to make requests to drive in Thailand through Thai tourism operators at least 10 days prior to their trips and have their vehicles checked by authorities. Only vehicles with a total of nine seats and pickup trucks with a maximum weight of 3,500kg will be allowed to travel in Thailand. Moreover, vehicles will be allowed to travel only in those provinces through which they enter and they will be allowed on Thai roads for 30 days in each trip. The total permitted period cannot exceed 60 days in one year. Likewise, Laos concluded a land transportation agreement with China in 1994 and Laos allow Chinese and Thai trucks to enter Laos.

Laos – China Border (Boten – Mohan)

The Mohan-Boten border crossing between China and Laos on R3a route was first established in 1993 for international border gate allowing foreigner of third countries to pass. Boten border checkpoint opens 7.00 am – 4.00 pm for person from third countries while it is also open from 6.00 am to 7.00 pm for Laos and Chinese nationals. Mohan border checkpoint is open from 8 am to 5 pm while it is also open from 6.30 am to 8.30 pm for Laos and Chinese nationals.

Laos nationals can obtain a border pass if they simply have identity cards. Laos national may enter Xishuangbanna on a border pass usually for 10 days, but travel is limited to Xishuangbanna only. They can obtain a 6-month and one-year pass in case of the

merchants and people studying in China. Handling charges for making the border pass are 35,000 Kip per pass and the same charge is necessary in the case of extensions. On the other hand, Chinese people can enter the four northern provinces of Luang Namtha, Bokeo, Udon Xai and Pong Sali for 10 days. Travel to locations beyond the four provinces requires a passport. The border pass for people from Yunnan province is a small black and white notebook. Border pass is issued for people who are not residents of Yunnan province, which is similar to passport. Lao cars can drive in Xshuangbanna only, on the other hand, Chinese cars can drive to any province in Laos.

In addition, Thai tourists can obtain visa on arrival at Mohan international checkpoint to travel in China. The application fee is 200 Yuan and takes approximately 30 minutes. Thai cars can drive thorough Mohan gate to travel in Yunnan Province, but it costly and time-consuming. To drive Thai cars in China, it needs to pay 50,000 Yuan for car warranty at the checkpoint and extra for a compulsory guide to accompany all the way long. Drivers are required to make requests to drive in Xishuabanna 15 days prior traveling, 30 days to Kunming, and 90 days to other provinces in China.

Tourist flow

Since the 4th Friendship Bridge that link Laos and Thailand across the Mekong River, it facilitates land transport along R3a routes. It has been established in 2013 traveling to Kunming is around 1030 km using the R3a highway. This also helps to embark on transboundary tourism development and promote of a strong tourism flow between Thailand and China via the R3a. According to Thai Immigration Bureau (2015), number of international tourist arrivals and outgoing through Chiang Kong border checkpoint from 2011 to 2015 has been increased 56.22% and 41.67% respectively. Given that number of international tourist arrivals and outgoing between 2012 and 2013, after opening the new friendship bridge, tourist flow increased 49.27% inbound and 31.93% outbound. Most of tourists are significantly from China driving through borderlands, with high volume on April, October and December.

The R3b route

The R3b route runs from Kumming via Jing Hong crossing Daluo-Mong La, the border of China and Myanmar, passing Kyaingtong, to Tachilek-Mae Sai, the border of Myanmar and Thailand to Chiang Rai and finally, Bangkok (Thailand). It is 483 km from Jinghong (China), through Mong La and Tachilek (Myanmar), reaching Mae Sai, Chiang Rai (Thailand). From China's part of R3b, there is 110 km between Jinghong and Daluo. The road in Myanmar starts from Mong La-Daluo border to Kyaing Tong is 90 km, while between Kyaing Tong and Tachilek is 163 km along R3b on the national road No.4. Mong La-Daluo border crossing is 3-4 km northeast from the center of Mong La. The roads in Myanmar part are 2-lane and paved. The road in Thailand part, there is 60 km between Chiang Rai and Mae Sai, on route No.1 with 4-lane divided highway.

Table 2 Segments of Route R3a: Activity, Road, Distance, and Time

Route	Activity	National route	Condition	Distance (km)	Time (hours)
Thailand (890 km)					
Bangkok – Chiang Rai	Transport	1	4-lane highway	830	10
Chiang Rai – Mae Sai	Transport	1	4-lane highway	60	1
Mae Sai – Tachilek	Border crossing	1	2-lane	Less than 1	0.5
Myanmar (253 km)					
Tachilek – Kyaingtong	Transport	4	2-lane	163	10
Kyaingtong - Mongla	Transport	3	2-lane	90	2
Mongla – Daluo*	Border crossing	3	2-lane	Less than 1	*Only for local people
Yunnan, China (623)					
Daluo – Jinghong	Transport	214	4-lane	110	2
Jinghong – Kunming	Transport	213	4 and 6-lane	513	8
Total				1,768	34.5

Border Crossing on R3b route

China – Myanmar Border (Daluo-Mong La)

Daluo is one Zhen of Menhai province of Xishuangbanna while Mong La is in Shan state of Myanmar. Mong La is the East Shan State Special 4th District, an autonomous district of 4956 km². It was established after the truce agreement between the East Shan State Army and Myanmar military regime in 1989. Since then the large number of Chinese have migrated and created Chinatowns. In the North, there are many Tai Lu while the south has many people of Chinese ethnicity, who compose a Chinese world within Myanmar.

Mong La gate is open from 7.00 am – 10.00 pm while Daluo gate is open from 8.00 am to 6 pm. Chinese nationals may pass through Mong La gate to Tachilek. People living in Xishuangbanna can enter Myanmar by border pass while can be issued at a cost of 10 Yuan and it is necessary to pay about 4 Yuan on the Myanmar side. The border pass is reportedly available for up to 7 days depending on negotiation. Ordinary Chinese cars can enter Myanmar. However, China closed its check point connecting Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture and Mong La checkpoint in 2006. Third countries are not allowed to cross this border, and it is open only for local citizen.

Furthermore, there are 6 checkpoints along the road between Tachilek and Mong La. This checking is very cumbersome, although it is reportedly necessary for security reasons. Even though the handling charge at each checkpoint is free, it is necessary to pay 180 Yuan

per person and 40 yuan per car at the checkpoint to Mong La district. This is because Mong La is the “4th Special District” effectively under the control of the East Shan State Army.

Thailand – Myanmar Border (Mae Sai -Tachilek)

The Mae Sai -Tachilek border is formed by the Mae Sai River over which the 1st Friendship bridge between Thailand and Myanmar. The length of the bridge between Mae Sai and Tachilek is about 100 m. The Mae Sai -Tachilek border is international immigration checkpoint where third countries are allowed to cross border. On the Thai side, the Thai immigration office and custom houses are beside the bridge, but recently moved to Mae Sai District office. On the Tachilek side, the existing customs house and the new customs house are connected by Bogyoke Aung San Road, which leads to national route No. 4 reaching Kyaing Tong and Mong La. Working hour at Mae Sai immigration office are usually 8.30 am – 4.30 pm. The gate at Tachilek is usually from 8.00 am – 4.00 pm, while it opens from 6.00 am – 6.00 pm for people bearing border passes.

Even though Tachilek residents who bear identification cards can be issued with border passes to enter Thailand without charge, travel is allowed only within 5 km of Mae Sai District in Chiang Rai. The entry period is usually one day to up to 6 days, but the case if attending hospitals, it is possible to extend the pass up to 30 days. Other Myanmar nationals who are not residents of Tachilek may enter Mae Sai by using temporary border pass with 500 Kyat and pay 10 Baht on the Thai side.

Similarly, Thai people can enter to Myanmar with 3 options. 1) Thai residents can use a temporary border pass for 7 days to enter Tachilek with traveling restricted to 5 km. The handling charge for issuance of the border pass is 30 Baht and it is also necessary to pay an entrance tax of 10 Baht at Tachilek. 2) They can also apply for a border pass for 7 days to enter Kyaingtung and Mengla, but only apply through Myanmar tour operator. The handling charge for issuance of the border pass is 10 Baht, it is also necessary to pay an entrance tax of 550 Baht at Tachilek as well as 1000 Baht for tourist guide to accompany. To enter Myanmar with these 2 options, Thai tourists must re-enter to Thailand only at Mae Sai -Tachilek border. Although, Citizens of Myanmar and Thai are permitted to stay for up to 14 days under the Bilateral Agreement with Thailand if entering via international airports only. 3) Thus, to cross land border, they need apply for tourist visa which can stay for 28 days with 810 fee. In addition, ordinary cars and tourist buses from Thailand can enter Myanmar through Tachilek. Their passage is usually allowed to only within 5 km within Tachilek, but in special cases cars may be permitted to travel to Mong La under an agreement between Thailand and Myanmar.

Tourist flow

Since China closed its check point connecting Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture and Muang La checkpoint (Myanmar) in 2006, the popularity and tourist flow passing through this route has been in decline. Tourist flow on R3b refers to only tourist traveling cross borderland of Thailand and Myanmar. According to Thai Immigration Bureau (2015), number of international tourist arrivals and outgoing through Mae Sai border checkpoint from 2011 to 2015 has been increased 8.03% inbound and 11.30% outbound.

Issues and challenges on transboundary tourism

A key issue facing transboundary tourism operations and development is the need to clarify agreement among 4 countries along the R3a and R3b routes. Key issues and challenges are identified as followed.

1. Border-crossing arrangements for tourist and vehicle

The tourist flows have been constrained with visa and border-crossing. Although GMS countries aim to facilitate single-visa and simplified border-crossing arrangements for international and regional tourists on CBTA, it still in shadow and inactive. It seems to be only easy for Chinese to cross border to Thailand, Laos, and Myanmar, on the other hand, the others seem to be harder to enter China. This shows inequality of immigration and custom policy especially for the foreign vehicle traveling cross borders. For example, Thai cars need to pay than 50,000 Yuan and take more than 1 – 3 months to enter China whereas Chinese tourists can drive through Thailand border by maximum 1 week and cost 500 Baht in total.

Moreover, tour operator cannot use bus through Thai-Laos border to facilitate tourists. The tourists need to change and take shuttle bus between Chiang Kong and Huay Xai border crossing the friendship bridge which cost 25 Baht. It is considered as inconvenience. Comparing to Laos and China border, most of the time, Laos tour operator will facilitate the tourist to China without changing the bus. Since the issue is related to cross-border agreement, it should be pursued in close conjunction with other working groups such as transport and trade facilitation to enable convenience to tourists when crossing borders.

2. Unconnected on R3b route

The R3b route has physical connected among China, Myanmar, and Thailand; however, it has been separated between China and Myanmar due to their national policy. Since China closed its check point connecting Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture and Muang La checkpoint (Myanmar) in 2006, the popularity and tourist flow passing through this route has been in decline. Even though R3b is shorter than R3a in term of road connectivity but tourists are not allowed to cross Mong La – Daluo border. In order to make the R3b route more usable and essentially convenient for transboundary tourism, the precise requirement is to promote the Daluo gate to a first-rank border gate so that nationals of third countries such as Thailand can pass through. There world also be a high possibility of transportation and logistics enable on this route.

3. Lack of readiness in law enforcement.

Due to the establishment of 4th Friendship Bridge that link Laos and Thailand across the Mekong River in 2013, it facilitates convenient land transport to Chiang Rai. Chiang Rai has received high number of tourists crossing border from Chiang Kong checkpoint, which are only tourists but also vehicles.

The issues occur from massive foreign cars crossing to Thailand border with easy vehicle entry regulations. The Thailand custom allows foreign cars to drive in Thailand border for 30 days without driving control measures. Due to different driving lane, foreign cars are causing great concern among locals. It was reported on that several accidents took place involving cars that had Chinese license plates, probably because the drivers were not familiar with local traffic rules. Once problems occur, Thailand government has established more strict control measures which may not be a solution for the long term.

Conclusion

This study explored the current situation on transboundary tourism development on R3a and R3b routes. There are several collaborations in the area such as GMS program, ASEAN connectivity and Quadrangle Economic Zone. Those collaborations enable both trade and tourism especially by facilitation on transportation and border crossing arrangement. The current situation seems to be convenient in term of land connection through R3a and R3b routes that allows tourist flow. However, a key issue and challenge facing transboundary

tourism development is concerning with border crossing policy and agreement among those 4 countries. Therefore, those issues must be further reviewed to enable seamless transboundary tourism.

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Heritage Tourism: Opportunity for Trans – boundary Tourism Promotion on R3B

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Connectivity is the key success for present business operations and development in all industries, especially the tourism industry. There are two road transportation routes that people can access from Thailand to China, which are Laos route (R3A) and the Myanmar route (R3B). These two routes provide connectivity benefits in terms of economics development into the two countries in the region. The history and cultures of country members encourage trans-boundary tourism development. Heritage tourism is a combination of preserving the cultural heritage and pass forwarding to the future generation via tourism activities. In addition, the heritage tourism plays of vital important role to a community development within this region.

This study aims to investigate the opportunity of the heritage tourism on the R3B route. In a partial of the historical background, the North of Thailand and Shan state of Myanmar have cultural heritage and ethnic closeness. Then qualitative and quantitative approaches were used to achieve the objectives in this study. This study also investigates stakeholders' promotion of heritage tourism along the R3B route. The study highlighted in using participatory observation and in-depth interview with tourism stakeholders such as public sector, private sector, and local people along the R3B route. The data is then interpreted within the context of cultural and social context by using thematic coding and the hermeneutic. The narrative approach is also used to write the report. 400 questionnaires were used in the second phase to study the tourist satisfaction. The implications for the future are to prepare local people's readiness towards the tourism system and to propose tourism policies to both Thailand and Myanmar to be able to facilitate tourists to travel through the trans-boundary tourism in the R3B route.

Keywords: *Trans-boundary tourism, tourism on R3B, Heritage tourism*

Introduction

The Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS) countries includes Cambodia, Yunnan Province and Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China, Lao

People’s Democratic Republic, Myanmar, Thailand, and Viet Nam with the assistance of the Asian Development Bank (ADB) entered into a program of sub-regional economic cooperation designed to enhance economic relations between and amongst the countries. The program had its greatest influence to the development of infrastructure within the region. The North-South Economic Corridor (NSEC) has been developed since 1988 as part of the GMS program. ASEAN positioned NSEC routes as the gateway to Yunnan Province and Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region of the People’s Republic of China. The R3 route was established as the priority project for the connectivity. The R3 route is separated into two routes; R3A, the route via Lao People’s Democratic Republic and R3B, the route via Myanmar from Chaing Rai, Thailand. The Plan for R3B was established at the fourth GMS Regional Cooperation Conference in 1994. The countries along the route have historical, cultural and ethnic closeness such as Thailand and Myanmar. Thailand and Myanmar has strong relationship in terms of political, cultural and economic aspects. The boundary of Shan state in Myanmar and Northern part of Thailand are home of ethnic group such as Lisu, Korean, Shan people. The majority ethnic group of Shan state are people who closely to the “KhonMuang” or indigenous of northern Thailand. The similarity of these indigenous of northern Thailand people reflects on the language, gastronomic, costume and culture of both countries.

In the wake of the development of NSEC, however, tourism has been used as a tool for economic distribution within the region. The region, especially Myanmar, started to show signs of change. For many years tourism has been one of the driving forces to develop the economics of this region. The rapid growth of domestic and intra-regional tourism in GMS countries has drawn the attention to Trans-boundary tourism (table 1).

Table 1 Top five country/regional sources of visitors to ASEAN

Country of origin	2012		Country of origin	2013		Country of origin	2014	
	Number of tourists	Share to total		Number of tourists	Share to total		Number of tourists	Share to total
	thousand	percent		thousands	percent		thousands	percent
ASEAN	39,845.5	44.7	ASEAN	46,154.4	45.2	ASEAN	49,223.0	46.8
China	9,283.2	10.4	China	12,651.2	12.4	China	13,059.5	12.4
European Union 28	8,079.1	9.1	European Union 28	8,694.8	8.5	European Union 28	9,275.2	8.8
Japan	4,275.3	4.8	Republic of Korea	4,873.5	4.8	Republic of Korea	5,018.4	4.8
Australia	4,059.6	4.5	Japan	4,724.3	4.6	Japan	4,634.2	4.4

Source ASEAN Tourism Statistic Database 2015

Up until the early 2010, Myanmar was inaccessible due to the internal conflicts with local ethnics and minorities within the country. Whilst Myanmar open up to the foreign investment, an international tourism is driving force to increase the economic integration of the country. This paper is then focuses on the vital of heritage tourism for Trans-boundary tourism promotion on R3B route. Therefore, this study is to answer the research question: what are the potential and readiness of heritage tourism on R3B, especially in Myanmar?

Literature review

The term 'heritage tourism' and 'cultural tourism' are interrelated, interchangeable and can accommodate each other in a constantly dynamic situation. Heritage can defined as something that is transferred from one generation to another (Aplin 2007, Trotter, 2001, ICOMOS 2002, Timothy and Boyd, 2003). Heritage is linked to identity and to the core value system. Heritage is not just a culture or tradition from the past but it is also the symbol of historical values. Heritage is one of resource for tourism industry and is one of the emerging issues for heritage manager to consider. Tourists tend to search for new meaning, dignity and authenticity. Hence, heritage planning is essential for achieving successful its conservation and management. However, countries that lacks technical, financial and management capacity, risk losing control of the development of the heritage management need to understand the importance and have general perception of heritage interpretation. Heritage is something that transferred from one generation to another. It is not just a culture or tradition from the past but it is also the symbol of historical values. Heritage can divided into two categories; natural heritage such as scenic landscapes, deserts, coasts, forests and geological features and cultural heritage such as indigenous sites, tradition and culture. Heritage tourism offers the opportunity to understand the past in a present. It is making of meaning to the individual tourist and educates them. Understanding the characteristics of tourists visiting the heritage attraction could indicate the perception of a place as part of personal heritage that associated with the visitation patterns. As a result, the tourists that view a place as bound up with their own heritage are likely to behave significantly differently from others. Understanding this is useful for the study of tourists' behavior and for the management of sites and visitation. The readiness is the beginning of heritage tourism on R3B route in this study.

This paper examines a place with significant heritage assets that potentially demonstrate a dramatic change and increase in Myanmar tourist destination in the near future. Historically, many communities and places in Myanmar are immensely difficult to visit due to political situation and lack of adequacy in transportation systems.

Larkham (1995 cited in Bruce, 2013) identifies three main aspects of heritage in the context of planning and conservation, which involved 1) preservation involved the maintenance in mostly unchanged form of sites of major historical significance 2) conservation takes in the restoration undertaken to bring old buildings and sites into suitable modern figure and 3) exploitation recognize the value of heritage sites and encompasses the development of existing sites. However, Miller (1989) argues that heritage tourism can be multi-purpose, which includes heritage as an attraction to tourist, a community identity for the residents, formal and informal education for youth and adults, and economic regeneration for downtown redevelopment and attraction of new enterprise. The debate about the effects of tourism on cultures and cultural heritage has swing back and forth between beneficial and the negative.

Methodology

In this paper, the mixed method was adopted, both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Prior the community decides to develop their hometown as the tourism destination, it is important for stakeholders to access the level of readiness of the communities for the tourism industry. The community tourism resources are considered the first assessment and the benefits of tourism to the community are the following step. In this study, a case study on R3B route was used to investigate stakeholders' promotion of heritage tourism along the R3B route. They were Mae Sai province in Thailand, Tachileik, Kyaing Tong, Taunggyi, and Inle Lake in Myanmar. A qualitative approach is adopted in the first phase to help researcher understand stakeholders and the social and cultural contexts within they live (Mingmalairaks et.al 2016). In addition, other aspects such as investigating the awareness and perception of the stakeholders about opportunity for Trans-boundary tourism on R3B route were assessed by using an interpretive approach. The study highlighted on using participatory observation and in-depth interview with tourism stakeholders such as public sector, private sector, and local people along the R3B route. Group interviews were to take in the form of focus group with multiple tourism stakeholders sharing their knowledge and experience on tourism in the case study destination. Interview question was created using literature, conceptual framework and secondary data as a guideline. Interviews were conducted in Thai and English with 50 people. Myanmar people in Tachileik and Kyaing Tong had a clear understanding of all questions in Thai because the similarity of the language. In Taunggyi and Inle Lake, questions were first translated into Thai and English and later back-translated into Myanmar language by the translator from Myanmar Ministry of Hotels and Tourism representative who are experts in both languages to avoid any ambiguity in interpretation. All interviews were digitally recorded with the permission of the respondents and the interviewed were also taken notes. The face to face interview method was used because it allowed the researcher to explored in-depth perception, ideas and contributions to obtain information from the interviewees. Moreover, tourists are one of the important stakeholders in tourism industry.

In this study, tourist's satisfaction on trans-boundary tourism on R3B route was assessed by using quantitative approach. In the second phase, the questionnaire was developed and measured the respondents to rate the level of the potential and readiness of trans-boundary tourism system. A five-point scale was used. The convenience sampling was used to ask 400 Thai and international tourists visiting the study area. Observation field survey on the study area was also the predominant data collection strategies in order to give the research an insight into the information and identify potential type of tourism activities that can be promote on R3B route, especially in Myanmar. The evaluation form of the potential and readiness of trans-boundary tourism also employed to local stakeholders of each case study.



Source http://www.crsez.com/en/economic_zone



Source <http://asiapacific.anu.edu.au/mapsonline/base-maps/shan-state>

Findings

As a result of the globalisation, the connectivity between people from different countries, different languages and culture are easier. The study revealed that Myanmar have potential and readiness of trans-boundary tourism system. The tourism activity has highest potential to serve the tourism industry ($\bar{x} = 4.20$). Myanmar has its own cultural and natural significance which is distinct from ASEAN countries. Because of underdevelopment, and recently relative isolation, Myanmar natural resources are still complete. Ethnic diversity also attracts tourists looking to explore unspoiled and experience authentic culture. As Myanmar tourism is not yet fully developed but the friendliness which is the nature of Myanmar people attract tourist to the country. The human resource performance is in the high level. However, accessibility and amenity are weakness of tourism development in Myanmar ($\bar{x} = 2.89$ and $\bar{x} = 2.82$, respectively). Most of the hotels, even at large hotels are unable to provide electricity 24 hours and the internet signal is difficult to connect. The local people are friendly, but also somewhat shy and cannot communicate in English or Thai.

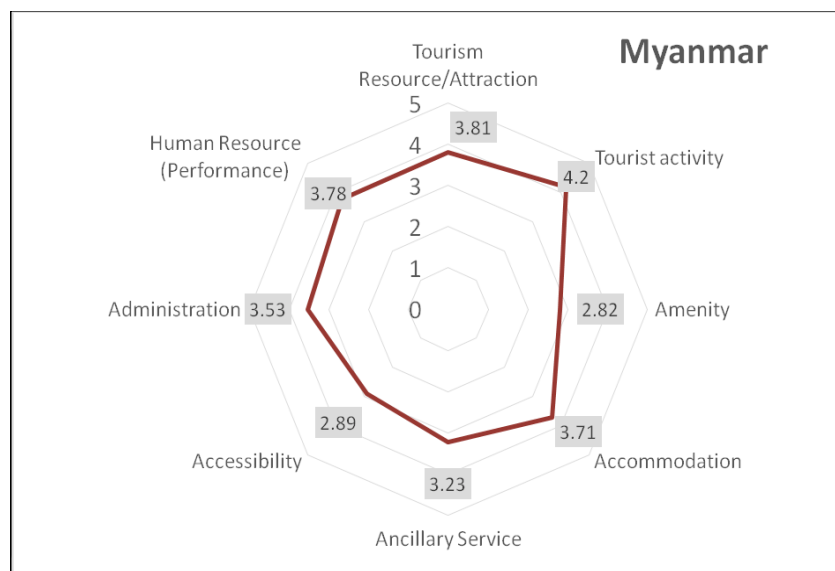


Figure 1 The potential and readiness of trans-boundary tourism system in Myanmar.

In Thailand, Mae Sai district has an immense potential and readiness of trans-boundary tourism. Mae Sai, as a border town between Thailand and Myanmar, is a center of border trade town. Tourists typically travel to Mae sai in order to enter to Myanmar from Tachileik city. The cross-border checking point and service or an administration is convenience to the tourist. Accommodation, Human resource performance, tourism resources, accessibility, ancillary service and amenity are in high level. Mae sai is also the hub of trading and commercial between Thailand and Myanmar. However, the perception of tourism activity is poor comparing with other items as shown in figure 2. Shopping cheap products is the main tourist activity that drags tourists to Mae Sai, especially Thai tourists. As oppose to Tachileik city,

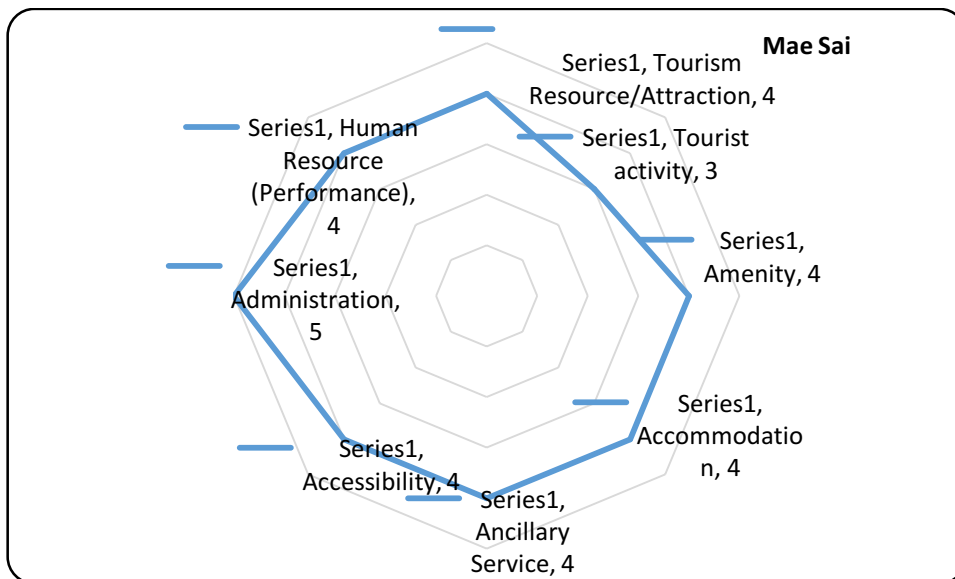


Figure 2 The potential and readiness of trans-boundary tourism system in Mae Sai.

As oppose to Tachileik city, Kyaing Tong, Taunggi and Inle lake, Inle lake which is already developed as tourist area has high level of potential and readiness in aspect of Administration Accommodation, Ancillary service, Accessibility and Human Resource performance. Kyaing Tong has high level of potential and readiness in aspect of Human Resource performance and Accommodation. This was due to the similarity of language between Thai and Shan state. Most people in Kyaing Tong can communicate with Thai tourists. Taunggyi has high level of potential and readiness in aspect of tourist activity. They have local wine yard, Christ church, temples visiting, gold court and trekking as tourist activities for both local and international tourists. Unlike others cities, Tachileik serve as commercial and border town more than tourist destination. Tachileik has high level of potential and readiness in aspect of Administration and Ancillary service as shown in figure 3.

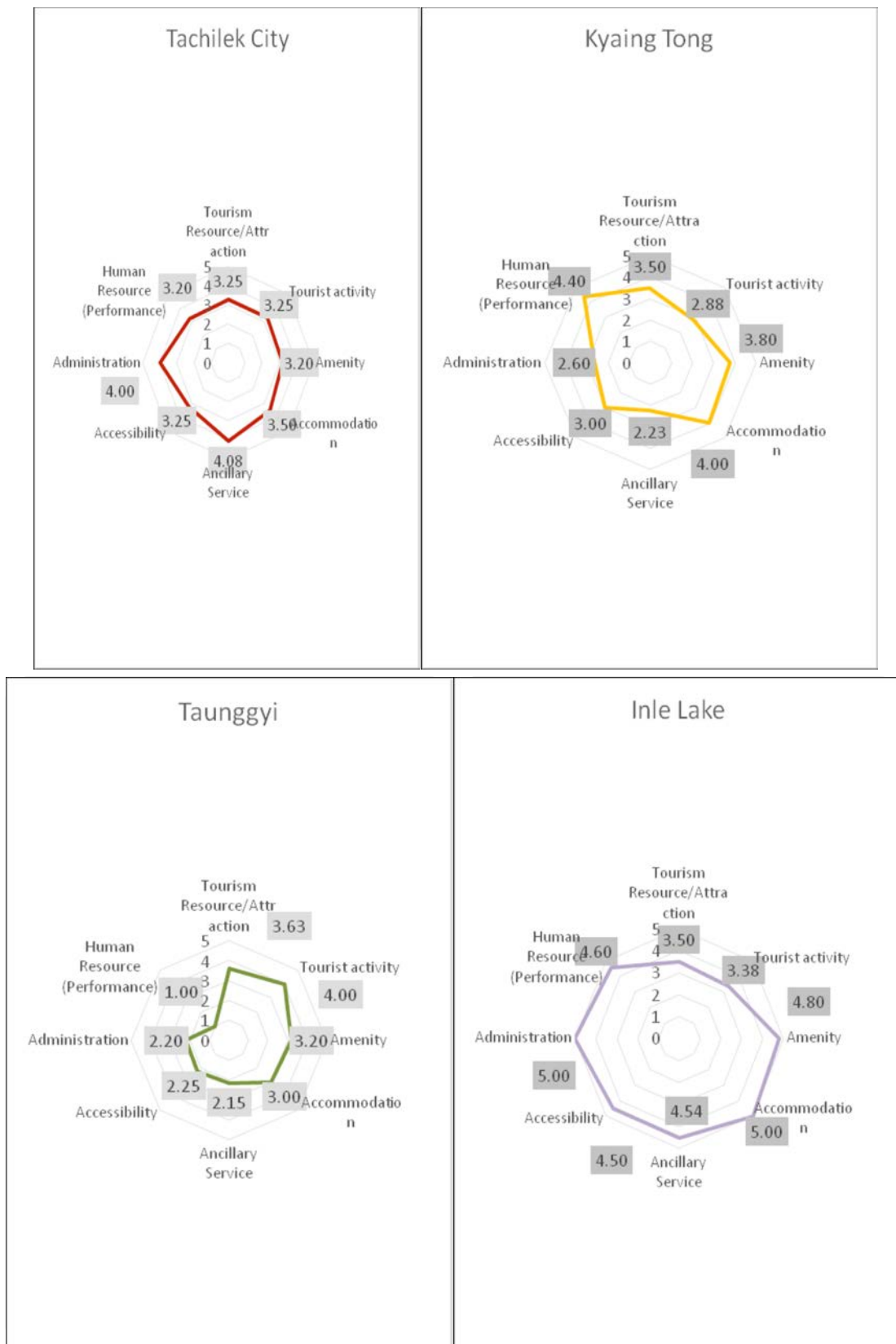


Figure 3 The potential and readiness of trans-boundary tourism system in Tachileik city, Kyaing Tong, Taunggyi and Inlelake.

Myanmar has a distinctive of tourism resources, the study highlights 8 types of tourism that promoting trans-boundary tourism on R3B route. These activities are ecotourism, Community-based tourism, agro tourism, Cultural heritage tourism, Food tourism, Ethnic tourism, Buddhism tourism and experiential tourism as shown in table 2.

Type of Tourism activity	Tourism Destination				
	Mae Sai	experiential tourism	Kyaing Tong	Taunggi	Inle lake
Ecotourism	/	/	/	/	/
Community-based tourism	-	-	-	-	-
Agro tourism	/	/	/	/	/
Heritage tourism	/	/	/	/	/
Food tourism	/	/	/	/	/
Ethnic tourism	/	/	/	/	/
Buddhism tourism	/	/	/	/	/
Experiential tourism	/	/	/	/	/

Community-based tourism typically identify as type of tourism that seeks to involve local people and community. Tourism activities are developed and operated by the local community. It aims to be socially sustainable. However, the study shown that in all destinations in Myanmar are not account as community based tourism. All of destination manages by government or public sector. They were considered that they lack of level of involvement at the local level.

Conclusion and Discussion

Countries in the Southeast Asia region seeks to promote tourism and increase regional collaboration. Tourism stakeholders relies the important of Regional Corporation. The context of trans-boundary tourism is the answer to develop tourism and strengthening Regional Corporation with tourism industry. Heritage attractions of each country are uniqueness and they represent irreplaceable resources for the tourism industry in each country. Therefore, conservation is immensely important component of their management in each country. Heritage sites need to have their own unique attributes emphasized, especially in Myanmar and Thailand and the interpretation and presentation of the attraction must be such as to accommodate the needs of the visitors that visit to the sites or attractions.

The results revealed the importance of the quality of experience on perceived value on heritage tourism and satisfaction that the tourists have on heritage tourism. However, even though there were the direct and indirect effects of the quality of experience on heritage tourism that impact on behavioral intentions by perceived value on heritage tourism and satisfaction. The paper sought to answer the result that there was an experience quality impacts on perceived value of tourist on heritage tourism and satisfaction by behavioral intentions. The result could impact on management provided by both government and local

communities at the local attractions.

Trans-boundary tourism strengthens the competitiveness in the market and creates the tourism network. The study found that destinations on R3B route have potential of tourism system to support trans-boundary tourism. However, the study also showed that Kyiang Tong, even though not only rich in natural resources but also has a wealth of cultural, heritage and religious traditions was still rated as they lack of tourist activity. The diversity and heterogeneity of Myanmar heritage product can generates many benefits and pleasures tourists and economic benefits for local. According to De Kadt (1979), the relationship between the tourist and local people can be divided into three categories: 1) the tourists purchase goods or services from the host 2) they also share goods and services such as the transportation and destination areas 3) their meeting face to face leads to the exchanging of information and ideas. The Myanmar government should actively encourage heritage tourism, increased investment in the construction of the infrastructure and ancillary service. Providing education to local people was also important to improve the human resource performance. Control of heritage resources, therefore, is a significant issue that must be addressed by government, private sector and particular local communities. Similarly, Myanmar government promoted community-based tourism that managed by local people. With marketing issue in heritage sites, marketing could help to increase an interest in heritage. However, the impact of commercialization can take placed enormous pressure on heritage sites and on heritage management. Finally, one of the most significant issues regarding heritage is preservation. The forces of modernization and globalization threaten heritage significance of places and this makes preservation more difficult.

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