

Recognition by participation?

Social justice and Equality in Community-based Ecotourism among the Hmong in Sa Pa, Viet Nam

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Abstract

This qualitative study was conducted in Viet Nam to see how members of the Hmong ethnic minority group, and women in particular, navigate as participants of Community-based Ecotourism (CBET) in Sa Pa district, Lào Cai province. The study draws on Fraser's recognition theory to investigate whether Hmong people are recognised or withdrawn from participation due to misrecognition. The study shows that misrecognition exist compared to the majority ethnic group, the Kinh, but that international tourism has nonetheless contributed to positive changes with regards to cultural preservation and participation in tourism activities. Gender roles have changed in favour of women's empowerment. Yet Hmong people continue to have a low social status in a hierarchical and multi-ethnic society. Vulnerability regards to e.g., education level, early marriage traditions, remoteness, economic instability, livelihood, location, access and standard of living. Redistribution has improved by linkages and by assistance from authorities, INGOs and social enterprises. Poverty has declined but is still high. The future for CBET is reliant on environmental protection and cultural preservation for long-term viability and sustainability.

Keywords: *Fraser, recognition theory, community-based ecotourism, social justice, equality.*

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1. INTRODUCTION

Modernisation and marketization theories on socio-economic development in low and middle-income countries (Nguyen, Rahtz and Shultz, 2013, p. 28), has integrated tourism in the development nexus. With globalisation processes, international tourism has expanded to remote areas where local people are meant to participate and gain benefits from tourism (Mowforth, Charlton and Munt, 2008, p.59). Yet definitions like “poor” and “underdeveloped” are de-contextualised and de-humanised definitions, and the homogenous categorisation does not take into account geographical, cultural and social differences (Mowforth and Munt, 2006, p. 39). Within this development work, short time economic gains sacrifice natural resources without taking into account arguments from local communities (Pleumaron, 2012, p.102).

Ethnic tourism has been developed for intercultural and interpersonal relationships in the terrain of social change, but the agency it purports to give mask the substantial denial of agency elsewhere. In other words, the emergence of a cultural subject that is supposed to be able to act in the realm of lifestyle is prevented from doing so because of a narrowing of the political contestation of how societies are organised (Butcher, 2008, p. 322). Inclusion of people in a wider institutional, political, social and economic context where development occurs is of importance. Power relations and imbalances are making the way for inequality, and how benefits are distributed the way they are (Wynberg and Hauk, 2014, p. 11).

In Viet Nam, Community-based Ecotourism (CBET) has reached the northwest mountainous region Lào Cai province, bordering to China, where a majority of the population belong to ethnic minority people. The Hmong ethnic minority group, the focus of this present case study, have a fairly low educational level compared to the majority ethnic group, Kinh, in Viet Nam. Hmong peoples’ low social status in society influences the lives of the Hmong people living in remote and poor regions. But, Hmong people in the region have rich cultural assets that can be used for tourism purposes.

CBET contribute to positive changes for local communities, and ethnic minority women are more integrated into tourism-activities, but until now Hmong ethnic minority groups’ social position has not been equally recognised compared to the majority ethnic group, Kinh, with regards to social justice and equality. Hmong people are even today ranked on the lowest levels in society. Obstacles to recognition are visible in lack of influence, self-reliance and

autonomy. Hmong ethnic minority women social position is further diminished due to uneven gender roles in a traditional society.

1.1 Statement of Purpose and Research Questions

Through a qualitative study in northwest Vietnam, the purpose of the study is to see how ethnic minorities, and Hmong women in particular, navigate as participants within CBET in Sa Pa district, Lào Cai province. The study will draw on social justice and equality theory, and include the Nancy Fraser's "Parity of participation" theoretical framework to see if ethnic minorities in Sa Pa district, Lào Cai province are included and recognised, or if groups of people are withdrawn from participation because they are not recognised. The study investigates recognition by participation between Hmong group and the majority group, Kinh, and within Hmong group from a gender perspective. It will also investigate whether misrecognition due to marginalisation and maldistributions of economic resources exist within CBET. The focus of the study is on the first two dimensions of Fraser's framework. Ecotourism is reliant on environmental protection and cultural preservation for long-term viability. The study addresses the following set of questions:

Research question:

Within Vietnamese and Hmong patriarchal and hierarchical societies how has Community-based Ecotourism (CBET) in Sa Pa district in Viet Nam, influenced positive and negative changes of Hmong group, and Hmong women's social position on recognition, and on equal redistribution between the ethnic majority group, Kinh and Hmong communities?

Sub-questions:

1. Who are not integrated in CBET in Sa Pa district? Are there groups of people in the Hmong community that are directly excluded from participating, and if so, who are they?
2. What can district authorities; social enterprises and INGOs do to award recognition?
3. Do ethnic minority people, in particular Hmong women, perceive themselves to be included as participants within CBET in Sa Pa district?

1.2 Research Value

Marginalised communities are meant to receive benefits from tourism directly by involvement in homestay and tour-guiding activities, and indirectly by supplying the tourism sector with locally produced food and tourist souvenirs (ASEAN, 2015, p. 12). International tourist arrivals are expected to increase to the region with 123 million in 2020, 152 million in 2025, and 187 million by 2030 (ASEAN, 2015, p. 4). Economic growth (Winter, Teo and Chang, 2009, p. 4-5), and mass-tourism (Butler, 1999, p.18) in Asia will have an impact on domestic tourism. International development organisations and local authorities have recently implemented a program to strengthen ethnic minority women's position in the northern mountainous region. During my fieldwork, I discovered that the subject of study, ethnic minority group and women's participation in CBET, had received a great deal of attention among authorities and international non-governmental organisations (INGOs), and I felt convinced that my thesis on social justice and equality in CBET was relevant to ethnic minority people's situation in Sa Pa district.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

The structure of the thesis is divided in six chapters: Chapter 1) Introduction, Chapter 2. Literature review, Chapter 3. Theoretical framework, Chapter 4. Methods, Chapter 5. Analysis, and Chapter 6. Conclusion. Appendices include: list of respondents, interview guides and photo documentation from observations.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 The development of a sustainable development agenda

This study aims to understand whether recognition of ethnic minority people social position in society can be improved by CBET. Previous tourism research has less focus on regional, cultural and geographic aspects in Asia (Winter, Teo and, Chang, 2009, p. 4-5). There are several studies on the impact of tourism planning, but few on ethnic minorities' perceptions on culture preservation (Yun and Zhang, 2017, p. 166). Findings are sparse on studies that include ethnic minorities participation in tourism using recognition theory. I could not find any academic literature that used Fraser's recognition theory on ethnic minorities participating in CBET. Thus, this study can contribute to fill this gap. Previous studies on Hmong people and other ethnic minorities in Viet Nam have addressed livelihood strategies

(e.g. Turner, 2012; Turner and Michaud, 2008), agency and resistance (e.g. Messier and Michaud, 2012), education, norms and empowerment (e.g. Jones, Presler-Marshall and Van Anh, 2016; Lavoie, 2011; Nguyen, Oosterhoff and White, 2011; Luong, 2015), and gender, ecotourism and development (Tran and Walter, 2013).

International governmental organisations, authorities and the tourism industry assume that the tourism sector can scale up gross domestic product, foreign investments, technology, and capital (Scheyvens and Momsen, 2008, p. 25). Hence, tourism is considered to improve living conditions for local people in developing countries. This assumption can be traced back to modernisation theory, which posited an evolutionary path for a traditional society to become modernised. Rostow's model has five categories starting with a traditional society and ending as a society that has reached maturity. Traditional societies are presumed to pass through sequential stages until reaching development. The theory is not merely a model of economic growth, but also a theory of modern history (Todaro and Smith, 2015, p. 120). Telfer (2003) discovered how tourism industry followed four of the development paradigms since the end of the Second World War on modernisation, dependency, economic neo-liberalism, and alternative development (Telfer, 2003, p. 157). Building capacity through mass tourism has been questioned of its efficiency, and there were limitations to growth for tourism destinations. Richard Butler's model "Tourism Area Life Cycle" (TALC) (Telfer, 2003, p. 158) explains how the limits of sustainability at a specific destination can be exceeded. There is a relationship between the amounts of development, attractiveness, and impacts on the natural environment of destinations and host communities. The negative impact of exceeding the carrying capacity of a tourism destination can cause a decrease in visitation, and investment (Butler, 2009, p. 248).

Dependency theory presumes that the uneven economic activities in the developed world lead to an increase in economic problems for the developing world. Uneven centre-periphery relationships become visible, and there is a rejection of that. Advanced countries economic activities improve the economical situation outside the core countries. Tourism is understood as a form of neo-colonialism, where local communities risk losing control over development because of the international capitalistic system, and unequal power relationship that leaves limited opportunities for community development because tourism has unequal power relationships (Telfer, 2003, p. 159). With the influx of neo-liberalism tourism changed patterns and capital flow as part of globalisation and open market regimes in the 1980s. The importance of nation-states diminished for a greater interdependence in a global society

dominated by regional markets (Telfer, 2003, p. 160). Globalisation opened up for new connections across borders. Information sharing is a result of technological advancements, and the tourism industry developed alternative products, and new tools for marketing to reconnect with tourist segments (Hjalager, 2007, p. 451). New markets emerged and tourists searched for variations that could not be found in the traditional forms of tourism (Hjalager, 2007, p. 449).

The World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) managed to integrate a sustainable mind-set within the tourism-industry. Alternative tourism is part of the sustainable development agenda of the 1980s. Sustainable tourism development guidelines and management practices were produced to guarantee long-term sustainability (Mowforth, Charlton and Munt, 2008, p. 109). Alternative tourism is meant to improve local involvement as a participatory approach. The paradigm includes sustainable development, empowerment, self-reliance, and social justice. Alternative tourism development promotes small-scale, local ownership, community participation, environmental protection and cultural sustainability (Telfer, 2003, p. 161).

The Sustainable development approach ties economic, socio-cultural and environmental problems and solutions together to achieve progress and economic growth. Chaired by Gro Harlem Brundtland, the World Commission on Environment and Development produced the commission report “Our Common Future” in 1987 (Mowforth, Charlton and Munt, 2008, p. 108). The World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO), a leading multinational organisation under United Nations (UN), promote Sustainable tourism (ST) 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”* (UNWTO, 2019). UNWTO is committed to the UN Sustainable development goals (SDGs) in particular: nr. 8. Inclusive and sustainable growth, nr. 12. Sustainable consumption and production, and nr. 14. Sustainable use of oceans and maritime resources (UNWTO, 2015).

Ecotourism is part of the sustainable development ideology and discourse grounded in preservation and protection of natural habitats, and a quest for community-friendly development. During the 1980s until the 1990s, Ecotourism became more prominent (Honey, 1999, p. 7-9). Ecotourism can be translated as an interrelationship between tourism, local populations, and protected biodiversity and resources (Ross, and Wall, 1999, p. 126). Preferable Ecotourism gives empowerment and financial benefits to local communities and

positive experiences to hosts and guests. Furthermore, Ecotourism should be small-scaled with minimum impact and contribute with funds for nature conservation, included is also sensitiveness to host countries environmental, social and political climate (Honey, 1999, p. 7), (Mowforth, Charlton and Munt, 2008, p. 110). The International Ecotourism Society (TIES) founded in 1990 defines Ecotourism as: *"responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment, sustains the well-being of the local people, and involves interpretation and education"* (TIES, 2019).

Pro-poor tourism (PTT) belongs to the alternative forms of tourism, and is meant to enhance participation and achieve poverty reduction (Chok, Macbeth, and Warren, 2007, p. 147) together with social justice and mutual respect (Blackstock, 2005, p. 40). Thus, should PTT recognise local people's needs on issues as, e.g., gender, social orders, land and property rights, social institutions, and public service (Ellis, 1998, p. 4). Community-based tourism (CBT) has been construed for meeting needs and enhancing the quality of life (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008, p. 348) and give complementary incomes for local people (Phu et al, 2011, p. 65). However, the concept of Sustainable Tourism includes competing interests and decisions on environmental, cultural, economic, political, and social issues that make agreements on priorities difficult (Hunter, 1997, p. 857).

Critical voices argue that alternative tourism discourses hides social justice problems caused by the global capitalist market and globalisation processes and that the business sector cannot protect natural resources and be incorporated into humanitarian work. Pleumaron (2002) sees little evidence of tourism development that actually includes social justice, economic equity, cultural integrity and ecological sustainability in South-East Asia (Pleumaron, 2002, p. 156). Mainstream tourism development policies and economic growth regimes are interlinked (Sin, Oakes, and Mostafanezhad, 2015, p.122), and sustainability becomes a competitive advantage within the tourism business. Hence, genuine concern of the physical and sociocultural effects is missing because of the primary concern of profit maximisation (Ioannides, 2003, p. 50). International tourism is incorporating poor regions as playgrounds for tourists with unimaginable consumption patterns and wealth compared to local people (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2010, p. 195). Socio-economic reforms in Asia during the 1980s have rapid industrialisation as a primary goal (Dominelli and Ku, 2017, p. 6), and neo-liberal economic reforms are causing appropriation of commons and loss of regulatory power (Jamal and Hales, 2016, p. 176).

2.2 Social justice and equality in Viet Nam

Viet Nam status is a middle-income country (ADB, 2019). In Viet Nam the open-door policy introduced in 1986, *doi moi* includes industrialisation, modernisation, and economic growth regimes. Market friendly policies influence all levels of society, income has increased, but there is not equality on redistribution in society, inequalities are high between gender, social- and ethnic groups (Wynberg and Hauk, 2014, p. 2). Since the 1990s has market integration and decline in the appeal of socialist ideology resulted in tensions (Rodan and Hughes, 2014, p. 31). On a scale of recognition in society, ethnic minority groups in Viet Nam are below the majority group. Kinh people possess societal culture, services in the mother tongue, economic and political institutions, and historical claims over territory (Harris, 2001, p. 21).

In developing countries Ecotourism is used for women's empowerment (Scheyvens, 2000), and nature-based tourism has been implemented for strengthening capacities of local people (Suntikul, Butler and Airey, 2010, p. 206-207), but in Viet Nam long-term ecological sustainability has not yet been prioritised (McNall, Dang and Sobieszczyk, 2016, p. 149); (Suntikul, Butler and Airey, 2010, p. 214). In Sa Pa district Ecotourism has contributed to opportunities for ethnic minority people, but there are also negative impacts as over-dependency, increased inflation, land speculation, modification of traditional culture, conflicts within the community and aggressive selling methods (Le, Weaver and Lawton, 2016, p. 175). Ethnic minority people in Sa Pa involved in CBET find that a combination of tradition and modernity is fruitful (Le, Weaver and Lawton, 2016, p. 177). The tourism industry in Viet Nam challenge equality between groups in society, urban elites, and foreigners get high-positions leaving behind less opportunity for local people in low-salary jobs (McNall, Dang and Sobieszczyk (2016, p. 146).

Just as in Viet Nam, ethnic minority culture has been integrated into tourism in the neighbouring countries (Li, Turner, Cui, 2016, p. 48). Yun and Zhang (2017) studied ethnic minority peoples' perception of tourism impact on heritage, customs, culture, and festivals (Yun and Zhang, 2017, p. 171). Studies showed that perceived tourism influence ethnic minorities perception of tourism (Yun and Zhang, 2017, p. 173). Li, Turner, and Cui (2016) found out from their research how negative consequences as the relocation of resources, the transformation of the landscape, socio-cultural destruction, conflicts, and disruption of social networks diminish positive attitudes on tourism development (Li, Turner and Cui, 2016, p. 45-46). Research in Cambodia showed that introduction to local norms and protocols for

proper behaviour can improve chances for interaction between hosts and guests (Reimer and Walter, 2013, p. 129). The authentic meaning of culture and tradition can change in the intersection of tourism, but recognition by others can also enhance the pride among locals. Alternative tourism can change mentalities that can improve a greater environmental consciousness and protection of natural resources (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008, p. 347-348). But if the distribution of incomes is not shared can inequality create formations of local elites (Li, Turner and Cui, 2016, p. 50-51). Communities that are core tourist zones can develop influence over peripheral communities due to authorities support of infrastructure, or establishment of regulations and policies to attract tourism in selected areas (Li, Turner and Cui, 2016, p. 53). Communities can replicate success stories from each other, but there is a risk if funding and support in one region create escalating inequalities and conflicts, and dependency. Studies on CBET in Giao Xuan southeast from Ha Noi showed inequality gaps when wealthier families earned more income compared to poorer families contributing to class differences. Barriers were especially high for poor women, and it was the wealthier households that could take financial risks and were enabled to take up loans for renovations. Social class affected equity in society (Tran and Walter, 2014, p. 123-124). Gender equality improved CBET women's position in the family, but patriarchy and hierarchical system made it difficult for women to gain control over income even if women contributed to support the family economically (Tran and Walter, 2014, p. 125-126).

2.3 Poverty in the northern regions of Viet Nam

The Vietnamese government categories the northern regions as disadvantaged, and the region receive preferential policies because of low accessibility on healthcare, education, and information according to Thinh, (n.d., p. 5). People in the northern regions face poverty and hardship in combination with levels of low education. Ethnic minority groups are isolated geographically and experience discrimination based on ethnicity. Macroeconomic growth has not succeeded in alleviating poverty, subsistence farmers are exposed to agricultural market fluctuations, unpredictable weather conditions, and vulnerable people are likely to fall back into poverty (UNWTO, 2017, p. 132). Despite improvements to reduce poverty from politico-economical reforms are there significant, and growing inequalities in the Vietnamese society. Inequality gaps exist between rural and urban areas, among ethnic groups.

Viet Nam is committed following Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). The previous UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), on poverty reduction, education, gender equality, infant mortality, and health, was followed, but less on environmental sustainability and global

partnership. Viet Nam has been successful in reducing poverty from 63,73 % in 2002 to 12,45 % in 2012 on 2USD/per capita per day much due to the politico-economic reforms. There are noticeable differences between ethnic groups and a higher percentage of poverty among ethnic minorities with 15 %. Regions hardest hit by poverty are; the northwest, the northeast and the central highlands. The Human Development Report estimated that 6,4 % was multi-dimensionally poor, and 8,7 % near multidimensional poverty in Viet Nam (UNDP, 2016, p. 6-7). Poverty has decreased to 5,8 % in 2016 in Viet Nam but is still high in the northern midlands and mountainous areas with 13,8 % (GSO, 2019b).

Differences can be seen on access to public services as electricity, water and education (UNDP, 2016, p. 7), Hmong together with Khmer has the worst housing status of the ethnic minorities (UNFPA, 2011, p. 43), and Hmong has the lowest socio-economic conditions of all groups (UNFPA, 2011, p. 45). Ethnic minorities living conditions are deprived. Statistics on average dwelling area per capita (by house type and by province) show differences between regions and the country as a whole. In the northern midlands and mountain areas were 20,2 % living in simple permanent houses in 2016, compared to 13,8 % for the country as a whole (GSO, 2019b). Many ethnic minorities living in the northern regions are deprived households according to international measurements, the Global Multidimensional Poverty Index measure households as disadvantaged when households cook with wood or coal, poor sanitation facilities, no access to improved or safe drinking water, no electricity, housing constructed by natural materials or rudimentary materials, and if assets are missing like a refrigerator, animal cart, telephone, vehicles, etc. (UNDP, 2019).

In Lào Cai province 138 communes are classified as extremely poor, and the poor regions receive large amounts of investments to enhance connectivity, the remote areas in Lào Cai province have poor access during raining seasons, and road constructions helps to release the burden for local people on transportation. Local transport is reliant on year-around-all weather access and connectivity to markets, jobs, schools, and health. Markets can be reached by motorbike for selling or buying agricultural products. Infrastructure is part of the economic development and poverty reduction programs (Lào Cai PPC, 2011, p. 2-3).

2.4 Case study in Sa Pa district, Lào Cai province, Viet Nam

The population of Viet Nam was 93 million people in 2017 (GSO, 2019a), and whilst Kinh is the majority ethnic group, approx. 14,8 % belong to ethnic minority groups. In the northwest 400,000 people belong to the 53 ethnic minority groups (Turner, 2012, p. 408). In Lào Cai province 33 ethnic minority groups live on different altitudes. In the midlands, there are predominantly Kinh, the majority group, and Tay, Thai and Giay ethnic minority groups. On higher altitude, there are mainly Hmong, Dao, Nung, Phu La, and other smaller ethnic minority groups. The largest groups are: Kinh ca. 33%, Hmong 20%, Tay 13,7%, and Dao 12,5%. Different altitudes use different land-use-systems, and it is possible to see one or two ethnic minority groups living together in Lào Cai province within the same village or commune (Lào Cai PPC, 2011, p. 4).

The landscape in the northern regions is characterised by mountains, hills, and valleys with terraced rice paddy fields, forest, waterfalls and rivers. The highest mountaintop is Fansipan or Phan Xi Pang. Fansipan rises 3,143 metres above sea level, and the mountain complex is famous for trekking tourism from the resort town, Sa Pa in Lào Cai province. The district town Sa Pa is situated on a peak 1,500 metres above sea level (Vietnam Embassy, 2019).

2.5 The Hmong people

2.5.1 Social organisation and livelihood strategies

The Hmong ethnic minority group migrated in the mid-19th century from Southern China to neighbour countries in Viet Nam, Laos, Thailand, and Myanmar, and in the 1970s Hmong was allocated from refugee camps to Western countries. Despite these turbulences, the Hmong have preserved their cultural identity (Nguyen, Oosterhoff and White, 2011, p. 201). Hmong have five under-groups: White, Green, Blue, Flower, and Black Hmong with their characteristics (Cooper, 1998 quoted Lavoie, 2011, p. 155). In Lào Cai province lives approximately 1,1 million Hmong (Turner, 2012, p. 408). The residential unit consists of around 30-40 household families (Tinh, n.d., p. 4). In Hmong patriarchal and hierarchical society men have more rights and responsibilities than women, and the head of the village play a significant role and members follow the chiefs advices (Luong, 2015, p. 136). Due to harsh living conditions and daily struggle at the farm, Hmong children are fostered to be autonomous. Responsibilities of the children are directed towards the family and the clan (Luong, 2015, p. 138).

In Lào Cai province were Hmong people until recently subsistence agriculturalists with low to moderate involvement in the market, market integration through agricultural expansion and intensification, wage work and tourist industry changed the predominantly agriculture-based economy in the province in the 1990s (Turner, 2012, p. 410). Rural tourism is a way to earn economic benefits by converting a separate building to accommodation units or to rent extra guest rooms in the house (Inskeep, 1991, p. 251). In 1993 the government abolished permits required for foreign tourists in Viet Nam outside urban centres and tourism increased to Sa Pa (Turner, 2012, p. 410). Hmong women identified opportunities to sell traditional handicraft made of natural hemp to tourists and embroidered textiles are bought and resold as redesigned products. Hmong women create social networks of trust and linkages to improve access to the tourism market (Turner, 2012, p. 411), and they are willing to walk the extra mile to sell handicraft as they accompany trekking tourists. Local Hmong women combine selling handicraft to tourists with work as trekking guides, if they are not working freelance they are employed at hotels or tourism agencies with adaptive work arrangements that make it easy for tour guides to return to farming activities and local festivals (Turner, 2012, p. 414-415). Local Hmong tour guides pay for their accommodation in Sa Pa town and from revenue remittances can be sent to the families. Hmong women diversify livelihoods and find trade networks (Turner, 2012, p. 408). Social context and social institutions determine rural livelihood diversification and seasonality determines livelihood strategies (Ellis, 1998, p. 11), villages have developed local markets for shopping (PATA, 2019) and with improved infrastructure are access better and small enterprises can expand (Lào Cai PPC, 2011, p. i).

2.5.2 Social position and vulnerability

Hmong status is related to history, the settlement on high and isolated locations (Luong, 2015, p. 135) is caused by later arrival compared to other ethnic minority groups that had already settled in the area (Luong, 2015, p. 139). Demographic and socio-economic reforms after *doi moi* in 1986 converted land from collective landownership. Tribal land was declared as state property available for redistribution, and Hmong were resettled (D'haeze et al, 2005, p. 61). National Land Law in 1993 deregulated land-ownership and Kinh obtained control over land from cash payments. Hmong families experienced greater pressure on land by higher birth rates and from immigration when Kinh people were allocated (Ngo, 2015, p. 282). Locations can cause further harm to vulnerable people if they are settled in locations that give them limited options and opportunities (Mohai and Saha, 2015, p. 2). Reforms changed belief systems, groups of Hmong left traditional ancestor worship for Christianity (Ngo, 2015, p.

283). Collectivisation, and political- and economic reforms changed trading activities in the region (Turner, 2012, p. 410) Prohibition of opium arrived in a context of socio-economic transformations when subsistence farming changed to the subsidised economy within a socialist market economy (UN, 2003, p. 71). Consumption levels had increased and authorities launched campaigns to the eradication of the domestic supply of opium (UN, 2003, p. 50-51).

UNFPA (2011) presents statistics on the economically active population in Viet Nam. Hmong has the highest percentage of the economically active population with 93,2% and Kinh group has the lowest prevalence of the economically active population with 75,3%. The figures do not include housewives and people engaged in studies. Comparisons between gender show that Vietnamese men have a higher percentage of economic activity, but in Hmong group, it is the Hmong women that have the highest rate of economic activity (UNFPA, 2011, p. 35), Hmong group has a young population, more than 35% are below 15 years old (UNFPA, 2011, p. 47).

There are approximately 100 spoken languages in Vietnam, and Kinh is the officially recognised language. The Hmong language originates from the Sino-Tibetan language family, and the five Hmong groups speak mutually intelligible dialects (Cooper, 1998 quoted Lavoie, 2011, p. 155). Hmong speak basic Vietnamese, and their status subordination causes problems for future jobs and education (Lavoie, 2011, p. 156). Education level and literacy level is low for Hmong compared to other ethnic groups. Figures show about 10 % differences between Hmong boys and girls on attendance in school (UNFPA, 2011, p. 27). The education level of Hmong women is still a problem for Hmong women, 20 % of the women in Lào Cai province are illiterate, and school enrolment is low because of work at home and at the farm. Ethnic minority women are often illiterate over 30 years of age (Lào Cai PPC, 2011, p. 3). Hmong women have the highest fertility rate among ethnic groups (UNFPA, 2011, p. 21), and women enter marriage on different levels of consent. Arranged marriages are common among couples over 30 years old, but love marriages are increasing among younger couples. Teenagers leave school early since it is customary for Hmong to marry at a young age (Nguyen, Oosterhoff, White, 2011, p. 206), (UNFPA, 2011, p. 49). Marriages in Viet Nam are allowed at the age of 18 for women and 20 for men, but ethnic minority groups marry at a younger age. Hmong marriage is often related to the practise of “wife snatching”, the practice can be understood as part of prearranged marriage consented by

the girls or just a way to catch a girl (Nguyen, Oosterhoff, White, 2011, p. 202). Human trafficking is a serious problem in the northern highlands. Sexual and labour exploitation occurs frequently, vulnerable Vietnamese women try to escape poverty but end up in human trafficking, ethnic minority women are married to Chinese, Taiwanese and Korean men (Lào Cai PPC, 2011, p. 7). The problem is combated in UN (UN, 2003, p. 53).

Social status and academic results give access to schools, and Hmong are at the bottom of the hierarchy having problems with social mobility and representation in the government (Lavoie, 2011, p. 156). On political representation, ethnic minorities in Viet Nam hold a higher representation in the national assembly compared to participation in provincial bodies. Grassroots levels are higher than provincial levels, but it does not reflect the composition of the ethnic group in the community. Literacy is a decisive factor in political representation, and these disadvantages groups with lower literacy, for example, ethnic minority groups (ILO, 2004, p. 4). Viet Nam has one single political party, the Communist Party (CPV). The constitution designates the National assembly as the highest organ of the state (UNDP, 2016, p. 6). The Committee for Ethnic Minority Affairs (CEM) was created in 1994 for coordinating and monitoring ethnic minority development issues, the organisation at ministry level is not presented on local levels (Lào Cai PPC, 2011, p. 13-14).

In the national historiography, ethnic minorities risk becoming a people without history when national history archives only recollect Kinh's heroic achievements (Turner, 2012, p. 410). The example below shows how Hmong people are invisible in historical recollections.

“In 1991, Nguyen Thien Hung, an army man returned to the district town and decided to conquer Fansipan. Only on the 13th attempt did Hung, with a H'Mong boy as his guide, conquer the high peak by following the foot steps of the mountain goats.”

Vietnam National Administration of Tourism (2019).

The Hmong boy that made an equally heroic effort is anonymous in the text. The Kinh historically view ethnic minorities with untrustworthiness since they had ignored state borders and conducted trade over the borders (Messier and Michaud, 2012, p. 345). Stereotypes persist on geographically remote areas and cultures different and exotic from Kinh. Hmong culture and customs are on display in the tourism industry, meeting places of young Hmong are promoted as “love markets”. The lovers' meeting-place has become tourist attractions,

including “exotic behaviour” of Hmong (Nguyen, Oosterhoff, White, 2011, p. 202). Low education, disadvantaged social lifestyle, and unemployment reduce the degree of self-esteem, but Hmong maintain cultural and language heritage to resist new cultural practices (Luong, 2015, p. 135).

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theory used for the case study is Nancy Fraser’s (2007) theoretical understanding of justice as social order in the “Parity of Participation” framework. In the discussion on the independent principle of recognition in Fraser’s theoretical framework has the rival theory of Axel Honneth (2004) on recognition as identity been included together with Charles Taylor (1994), and Alison Weir (2013) to discuss arguments for and against connecting recognitions to justice and identity. The research problem lies within the “parity of participation” framework, hence, will the weight remain in Fraser’s theoretical framework.

3.1 Parity of participation

The principle of international law gives states exclusive sovereignty over their territory and state steering of national economies. Yet, globalisation has caused a flow of social processes over territorial borders, showing clearly that decisions have impacts not only inside the territories where decisions were made but also outside the territorial states of the decision-makers (Fraser, 2007a, p. 17-19). Globalisation, therefore, changes our conception of justice within territorial borders, away from what Fraser has identified as the “Keynesian-Westphalian frame of justice” associated with the sovereign nation-state. Fraser proposes a three-dimensional “parity of participation” framework to examine conditions that cause injustice in the form of global poverty and social exclusion. Within the framework are: *the first dimension*, the economic structures contributing to institutionalising exploitation, deprivation and gross disparities, conditions that prevent people from participating as full members in society, *the second dimension*, the institutional patterns of cultural value that systematically depreciate categories of people and by doing so the qualities associated with them. Patterns that deny some people to become full partners in social interaction because of their qualities and status, and *the third dimension*, the political constitution of society, and how a just political constitution must be in accordance to roughly equal voice to all social actors. All of the three dimensions have to be met and none of the dimensions alone would be sufficient to reach participatory parity on distributive justice, recognition and democratic

representation (Fraser, 2010, p. 365).

Fraser coined “Parity of participation” in 1995. From her perspective, cultural imperialism and violence are oppressions rooted in the culture. Marginalisation, powerlessness and exploitation are oppressions rooted in the political economy. Hence, there is a need for affirmation of cultural difference to remedy oppression together with a political-economical restructuring (Fraser, 1995, p. 176). “Parity” has a qualitative condition describing the condition of being a peer, of being on a par with others (Fraser, 2007c, p.28). The principle “parity” requires at least two conditions: *firstly*, “the distribution of material resources must be such as to ensure participants’ independence and voice”, and *secondly*, it requires that “institutionalized patterns of cultural value express equal respect for participants and ensure equal opportunity for achieving social esteem” (Fraser, 2007b, p. 27). Fraser defines on “parity of participation” that: “...*the principle of equal moral worth, justice requires social arrangements that permit all to participate as peers in social life. Overcoming injustice means dismantling institutionalized obstacles that prevents some people from participating on a par with others, as partners in social interaction*” (Fraser, 2005, p. 73).

Fraser (2007c) defines the three interrelated dimensions: a) *redistribution*, the economic structures and class differentials in society, b) *recognition*, the status order and the culturally defined hierarchies of status, (Fraser, 2007c, p. 28), and c) *representation*, the defining issue of the political (Fraser, 2007a, p. 21). For equity, interaction must precede in all major practices and arenas and not only in political reasoning (Fraser, 2007b, p. 332-334). Political decisions rules or boundaries restrict representation. “Ordinary-political misrepresentation” is the denial of the possibility of participating as peers in social interaction, and not only in political arenas (Fraser, 2007a, p. 21).

3.2 Recognition and redistribution

International movements are debating on politics that fail to protect recognition on humanity and cultural distinctiveness. But, for those oppressed are claims of recognition also related to the question that is entwined by the question about redistribution. Recognition and redistribution are related to issues on for example environmental security, recourse management, and landownership. Fraser (2000) calls it a problem of displacement when sole struggles for recognition disturb and reduce critique over an exacerbating economic inequality. In this climate of recognition demands are there a non-existent demand for rights on redistribution in a time of expanding capitalism, and economic globalisation (Fraser, 2000,

p. 108). If social change is to occur there is a need to understand institutional conditions, properties, and processes that foster exclusion (Allison, 2000, p.5) where status insubordination as misrecognition exists, and individuals comparatively can be valued unworthy of esteem (Waterton and Smith, 2010, p. 11). Recognition and redistribution in combination can contribute to solutions on displacement and depersonalisation. Fraser proposes a rethinking of the concept recognition (Fraser, 2000, p. 109). Injustices over cultural claims as recognition are overlapping economic inequality, and a struggle over recognition can assist the redistribution of power and wealth among populations (Fraser, 2000, p.109).

Fraser (2007a) defines *misframing* as the exclusion of members and non-members when people become non-persons with respect to justice (Fraser, 2007a, p. 22). One of the major injustices in the present-day world is the “exclusion of the poor”. “Social exclusion” has several meanings and connotations, it can be understood as: poverty, inequality, disrespect, disintegration, and denial of recognition. Injustice should not be reduced to a single dimension, such as e.g., economic deprivation, or cultural disrespect, because “social exclusion” arises from the intersection of distinct genres of social justice, which operates on several scales that cannot be reduced by others. Social arrangements that institutionalise obstacles to participatory parity are unjust since anyone excluded in social interaction is denied the opportunity to participate as peers. Socially excluded actors are below the subordinated or marginalised on the scale of justice since the latter can participate with others in social interaction (Fraser, 2010, p. 364-365). Social exclusion includes a crucial question that is: parity of participation *among whom?* *Who* is entitled to participate in social actions on a par *with whom*, and in *which* social actions? Responsibility to injustices trespass an internal scale of justice and problems are to be found in trans-border injustices (Fraser, 2010, p. 366-367). The theory of justice must consider whether economic structures can be decoupled of cultural values, or if they impede parity of participation in social life (Fraser, 1998, p. 5).

3.3 Identity and recognition

This chapter serves to discuss the concept recognition from different views understood as power, justice, and self-creation. Individuals as subjects need to be formed by the virtue of recognising, and being recognised by another subject as both equal and separate from each other. Essential for the development of a sense of self is by receiving recognition by others or being denied recognition. The latter is by using Fraser’s (2000) terminology to be

“misrecognised”. Being misrecognised is not only an injury to one’s identity, but it is also a distortion of one’s relation to one’s self (Fraser, 2000, p. 109). Injustice cannot be reduced to a single dimension, because “social exclusion” arises from the intersection of distinct genres of social justice, which operates on several scales that cannot be reduced by others (Fraser, 2010, p. 364). Even if there is a value of self-representation as the resistance of a stigmatised image or culture, is this form of recognition problematic over redistribution, since locating the problem as a demeaning representation it will simultaneously distort the problem of inequality (Fraser, 2000, p. 110). We need to look at the “why” of inequality with attention to both distribution and recognition. Lack of recognition and respect, lower the grade of participation and membership in the greater community, including the political and institutional order (Schlosberg, 2004, p. 519).

According to Taylor (1994) is identity vulnerable to the recognition that is given or withheld by significant others on the intimate level. Denied recognition due to an inferior, or demeaning image can oppress and distort the image until the image becomes internalised (Taylor, 1994, p. 36). Taylor’s (1994) conception of originality in identity is divided into two levels: the individual among others, and the culture-bearing individuals among others (Taylor, 1994, p. 31). When we ask ourselves, or the group that we belong to: “...to whom and to what am I importantly connected?” (Weir, 2013, p. 5), will the answer open up for related questions about history, connections, stories, and desire. In what way do “we” differ from various others, both as oneself and as belonging to a group? Do important relationships shackle our freedom? The answer is the nature of those connections (Weir, 2013, p. 5). Recognition through identity in a hierarchical society is the identity by virtue that has never been negotiated, instead is identity taken for granted based on social categories. In modern societies are hierarchical structures less significant, and positions in societies less inwardly derived. Identity as recognition can be achieved and exchanged in dialogue with others. Individuals define themselves as a way to self-fulfilment to find a position in life (Taylor, 1994, p. 33-34). The question is: “who am I?” For human beings there is a certain way of being human that is “my way”, and: “*If I am not, I miss the point of my life*” (Taylor, 1994, p. 30). When we ask our self “who am I?” is the reply a quest for finding authenticity, individuals develop an authentic relationship to oneself, to ones own particularity and uniqueness (Weir, 2013, p. 25). If identity is dependent on a society and socially derived, then will social positions be produced according to activities and roles, and in a changeable modern society can previous roles be exchanged (Taylor, 1994, p. 31), if we do not

selectively understand identity as something that exists within a certain category (Weir, 2013, p. 15-16).

From a feminist perspective is identity widely understood as right for equality and justice, and identity can be understood as something that frames women as a category of people. Women have to protect their rights and claim rights to be treated fair and equal. Categorising women based on gender can also define and constrain women to develop and shape their identities. Identities do not only tie social beings together, as individuals or as collectives, they will also make us intelligible to each other, and ourselves. There is a differentiation of identities as categories, and as connections to and identification with each other, or to ideals and defining communities (Weir, 2013, p. 2-3). Weir (2013) proposes that it is impossible to develop self-knowledge, and freedom, through identifications with defining communities and reflection on and affirmation on my commitments with these communities, together with an analysis of relations of power and practical self-creation through identification with resistant identities. From her perception is identity and freedom relying on terms of critical reflections of defining communities, and transformation or renegotiation of identities (Weir, 2013, p. 15-16).

Axel Honneth (2004) defined recognition as a human need necessary for identity formation and self-esteem, and recognition is bound to inter-subjective relationships in which one party acknowledge the positive value of the other part (Thompson, 2009, p. 57); (Honneth, 2004, p. 356). Love and compassion in relationships shape relationships needed for the principle of equality to become a priority, and in cooperative relationships, it must be achieved by the principle of merit (Honneth, 2004, p. 360). Fraser's recognition was for him only as a combination of economic and cultural justice to guarantee "participatory equality", something that already had been accepted in liberal societies (Honneth, 2004, p. 353). Contrary to Honneth and Taylor, Fraser acknowledges that institutional conditions cause misrecognition (Lauer, 2012. p. 25). She opposes the idea of connecting recognition to "identity" and connects instead recognition to the idea of status equality (Thompson, 2009, p. 57). Fraser's recognition theory has been selected for the study because recognition as identity and claims for recognition risks hiding an exacerbating economic inequality in a globalised age. I argue that different recognition interpretations risk hiding recognition from a social justice perspective connected to redistribution because problematizing recognition as injustices over cultural claims or as identity might serve powerful actors interests in a global capitalistic system that are depending on different levels of socio-economic inequality.

4. METHODS

Nancy Fraser's "parity of participation" theoretical framework improves an understanding of "why" matters for recognition in social order, and how discourses and hierarchical structures affect individuals and communities differently in society. Inequality occurs at the level of redistribution when unfair distribution causes maldistribution. Since recognition is connected to justice born out of culture, society, and institution, individuals or groups of people's abilities to participate as peers in society are strangled if subjugation exists. Misrecognition restricts the level of representation compared to societies' more powerful groups.

Misrecognition causes hindrance of an individual's possibilities to participate as equals in political, community and family spheres. Participation as representation is visible in the decision-making processes through politics and platforms of actions and behaviours.

Below follows explanations of how Fraser's three dimensions can be comprehended in the analysis.

The main focus is on dimension recognition and redistribution. The study includes two perspectives: comparisons between Hmong ethnic minority group and Kinh ethnic majority group, and from a gender perspective within Hmong society. Redistribution of material and financial resources are interconnected with recognition by participation in the market economy income gaps are increasing and social exclusion from participation is due to misrecognition. Problems that cause maldistribution are low access, high altitudes, remoteness, lack of financial resources, and low education level limit participation, and other factors are gender, age, health, and handicap. Necessary for a sustainable development approach is the protection of livelihoods and empowerment of local people. Fraser's framework was used to construct interview guides and to analyse collected data. The interview questions in the Appendices are extracts from interview guides. Interview questions differ depending on knowledge, profession, and level of participation in CBET.

4.1 Study design

Qualitative research was selected based on the research questions and to my help, I used multiple methods including: semi-structured interviews, in-depth interviews and focus group interviews. The multiple methods approach was included in the study to give more trustworthiness to the results. The semi-structured interview method obtains descriptions of life in order to interpret the meaning of the described phenomena (Brinkmann and Kvale,

2015, p. 5). The purpose of the interview study involves clarifying the “why” by developing a conceptual and theoretical understanding of the phenomena to be investigated (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015, p. 133). The qualitative research method allows us to understand the world from the participants’ point of view. Participants are encouraged to describe their own experiences and articulate their actions. Relevant for the study is to understand how discourses, power relations, and ideologies affect people’s lives. In the interview situation were interviewees “authored authors” (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015, p. 3).

4.2 Sample

I was based in Ha Noi the capital of Viet Nam from February 2019 to April 2019. I conducted two field studies in Sa Pa district, the first in February and the second in April 2019. I stayed approximately 3 weeks in Sa Pa district for the interviews. Interviews and observations in Sa Pa district were conducted during trekking tours and stays at homestays. The ethnic minority villages south from Sa Pa town were: Ta Van (Giay and Red Dao, and Black Hmong), Su Pan (Black Hmong), Giang Ta Chai (Red Dao), Y Linh Ho, Lao Chai (Black Hmong and Red Dao). Ethnic minority villages north from Sa Pa town were: Ma Tra (Hmong), and Ta Phin (Hmong and Red Dao). I collected data from experts and stakeholders in Ha Noi. The interview guide was flexible to meet the need of the varied selection of respondents, and data was collected from various methods including semi-structured interviews, recordings, and participant observations (Mikkelsen, 2005, p. 169). Recordings were made during in-depth and semi-structured interviews, and I recollected from memory interviews from trekking tours, observations and shorter interviews. From longer trekking tours I used narratives and open questions without recording. I transcribed findings when memory was fresh. Photographs made me remember details and situations more clearly. Secondary sources came from academic literature that was peer reviewed for validity in the start. Interpreters were used during two interviews with experts on CBET and Hmong people. List of interviewees and photo documentation from observations is attached in the Appendices.

4.3 Data analysis

Interview guides were predefined but were adjusted to suit experts and participants depending on the interviewees competence. I made changes when I needed to gather more data for the study. I used in-depth interviews, semi-structured interviews, focus group, short interviews and observations. I used a mobile phone as technical device for recording during semi-structured and long-interviews, but not under trekking tours and short interviews. I transcribed

data directly or a few days after the interviews. I did not have any problems to interview Hmong women during my stay in Sa Pa district because Hmong women involved in tourism speak English well from interactions with international tourists. I needed support from interpreters in those occasions where interviewees did not have knowledge in English. I used interpreters during one interview in Ha Noi, and during a Skype interview. Direct interpretation during the interview situation went very well, but it was more difficult during the Skype interview since my interpreter in Ho Chi Minh City could not hear clearly, so I could not complete the interview the way I had hoped to do. I got information sent by e-mail afterwards instead to complete the research questions.

4.4 Reflexivity

When conducting research is previous experience influential, and profession of the researcher can influence the final result even in scientific research, together with the selections of questions that are being asked, theoretical framework, methods for analysis, and the selection of respondents. The critical development perspective was relevant for studying social justice and equality in CBET, and Fraser's theoretical framework includes three interrelated dimensions that could be used to comprehend the Hmong, and Hmong women's social position in the Vietnamese society. I have previously worked with tour production to Asia for more than thirteen years and during that time I had been working as a tour leader, including Viet Nam. I had conducted a field study in Ha Giang province during three weeks two years earlier and then stayed at the private home with a Red Dao family near Hoang Su Phi. The field study in Sa Pa district was the end of two years of Asian studies at Lund University in Sweden. Previous knowledge was valuable for me to understand tourism development, Vietnamese society and ethnic minorities lifestyle and traditions.

I was aware of that hierarchical structures could influence the interviews (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015, p. 171), and about the power asymmetry during interviews with local ethnic minority participants (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015, p. 37-38). Fieldwork in Global South is entrenched in globalisation, development, and colonialism. Ethical considerations to avoid exploitative research needs to be a natural part of the whole research process. Unequal power relations raise the question of knowledge production and choice of methodology (Sultana, 2007, p. 375). In the study are individuals and communities not free from social structures and power hierarchies (Mowforth, Charlton and Munt, 2008, p. 75). In the specific case study involving tourism, I think that international tourism risk to cause dissonance if interactions

stay within exchanges of money without further connectivity between hosts and guests. As a researcher of tourism, we need to go behind the façade that tourism creates. This is also true for tourists traveling to destinations with ethnic minority groups or for volunteers working with ethnic minority people. To learn from each other we need not only to understand living conditions of people, but matters of real concern and then researchers, tourists, development workers, and volunteers need to find openness and connectivity with local people that is necessary for the learning process otherwise can stigmas and misunderstanding continue to flourish despite good intentions.

4.5 Validity

I used triangulation and cross-validation of different kinds of data material to improve quality. The selection of data was meant to grasp participants' views and experiences in their own words (Mikkelsen, 2005, p. 155). Participant observation can deliver data beyond conscious understanding (McCracken, 1988, p. 28-29), and by including life stories as narratives I was able to get more unexpected results (Mikkelsen, 2005, p. 95). Narratives as short stories can refer to a specific situation or action to the narrator (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015, p. 181). Narratives can explain how participants interpret their position as hermeneutics. With different samples, I could compare if there existed interrelationships.

4.6 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations run through the whole interview process. In the beginning, research participants were given an informed consent that entailed the purpose of the investigation, the design, and any possible risks and benefits of the project. The informed consent gave the participants a chance to withdraw from the project since it is voluntary (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015, p. 93). Communicability among parts is not neutral since the interviewee will convey information that normally would not be revealed to a stranger (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015, p. 17). The researcher needs to take into account and respect the personal integrity of the participants before publishing knowledge. Social relationships are of relevance, and to create a safe environment for the interviewees (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015, p. 20). When interviewing I tried to find a balance between formality and informality (McCracken, 1988, p. 26). Awareness of the security factor includes ethical considerations of informants' privacy and integrity (Bryman, 2016, p. 140-141).

Several ethical research issues need to be considered for an interview study, and I followed Brinkmann and Kvale (2015, p. 85-86) seven ethical issues. The theoretical framework was chosen to the theme of the study to find solutions that could help to improve the human situation of the investigated. I presented the information sheet before the interviews, and the letter contained the purpose of the study, information of confidentiality and consequences. I made sure that they understood that they gave me their consent to publish the result in my Master thesis at the Lund University in Sweden. Participants were ensured anonymity and rights to withdraw at any time in study. I was loyal to interviewees' oral statements and transcriptions followed the recordings that were made. Illiterate participants got verbal information, and interpreters read the information letter and the informed consent for non-English speakers. Finally, a local researcher assured me that the theme of my study was not causing damage for participants, including myself as researcher if the information was understood as sensitive in an authoritarian state. I was aware of the reasons for taking part in the study could be coloured by the fact that participants were working as tour guides or street vendors.

4.7 Demarcations

The study was aimed to deductively test implications of actions of behaviours and structures that produce injustices. I had a multi-disciplinary theoretical approach based on critical realism. In that sense that the understanding of the world according to critical realism is not certain on the mechanisms that produce the empirical events, even if scientific method necessarily involves observing events. Because of the depth dimension of reality it cannot be reduced to observation of the empirical level since the knowledge we extract is always flawed, and its usefulness varies in different contexts (Danemark et al., 2010, p. 49). Critical realism standpoints are identifying answers that cannot be distracted pure from empirical data, and I agree with Weir (2013) on that identities is not only salient on the decisions and choices that we make because then we fail to understand who we really are. Furthermore that we are constituted through social context and regimes of power (Weir, 2013, p. 32) that needs to be included in the understanding of behaviour including identity.

4.8 Limitations

The master thesis is limited both in size and time, and this had to be considered. Primarily data was based on the collection of data from mainly purposely-selected respondents with authority, experts and stakeholders. Participating ethnic minority people were mainly chosen

based on availability when meeting people out in the field with one exception of a Black Hmong woman tour guide. Village chiefs and community authorities should have been included to understand how local authorities work to award Hmong people in CBET. Experts in the study had great knowledge of CBET and the Hmong ethnic minority group that was enough to convince me that the study had the considered amount of depth. Personally, I had previous knowledge of a village chief's work. I had lived together with a Red Dao ethnic minority village chief's family in Ha Giang province. I could have included tourism business actors and not only social enterprises, though I had already previous knowledge about travel production to Viet Nam from my years in the tourism business. The selection of participants could have been larger and more differentiated on gender and age because participants from ethnic minorities were mainly Black Hmong women aged 25-35 years old.

5. ANALYSIS: "Recognition by participation?"

For parity participation, the first condition requires material resources are distributed to ensure participants equal voice and independence, and the second condition ensures that institutional patterns of cultural value express equal respect for participants (Fraser, 2007b, p. 27). The analysis chapter starts with a presentation of the development path of CBET in Sa Pa district followed by a discussion on authorities and stakeholders work to recognise and integrate Hmong in CBET.

5.1 Introduction: Development path of CBET in Sa Pa

In the mountainous areas, self-initiated tourism activities among local people began and were followed by tourism development during the years from the 1980s until the 2000s (UNWTO/Griffith University, 2017, p. 132). In the late 1990s, Ecotourism was better organised by the government according to "Dr. O", a former director at the district authority level in Lào Cai province and expert on Hmong group in Viet Nam. Tourism arrivals have increased to around 4 million visitors per year to Lào Cai province, and around 1 million international tourists in 2018 according to his figures. Hmong people were integrated in steps, first by women selling handicraft to tourists and men carrying luggage to the top of Phan Xi Pang (Fansipan). The cable car was finalised in 2016 (Vietnam National Administration of Tourism, 2019), and in the years after jobs declined since tourists used the cable car instead of local tourism services. Local people were involved in tourism by selling handicraft and guiding treks in the villages. Ecotourism and Community-based tourism (CBT) developed

side-by-side, and the two forms of tourism are now interlinked. Peak seasons for tourism arrivals are summertime for domestic tourism and wintertime for international tourism from October to January/February. Ecotourism has had a great impact on local families lives.

“Dr. O”: “For example the structures of the family, the structure of the villages, and because the Hmong used to live up in the top of the mountains, and it changed the resources of the Hmong and culturally they changed because they speak English better than the other minorities.”

5.2 “Recognition by participation ”

Authorities in Viet Nam are aware of ethnic minorities precarious and vulnerable living conditions in Lào Cai province and efforts have been made to improve recognition of Hmong, but social injustices persist when Hmong people continue to support themselves as subsistence or semi-subsistence farmers with few possibilities to increase income level compared to other ethnic groups living in more developed regions. The higher locations are a momentous cause that limits the opportunities for Hmong people to reach markets, public service and education compared to ethnic groups living in other regions. Hmong people’s representation in society is limited by low education level and high illiteracy among Hmong, especially Hmong women.

5.2.1 Institutions work on improving recognition by participation in CBET

Authorities assist Hmong people to be integrated in CBET by implementing new laws to protect ethnic minority culture and empowerment. “Dr. O” explained how authorities and NGOs had achieved to enhance recognition of Hmong people in Sa Pa district.

“Dr. O”: “There were institutions involved for passing documents and new laws to support the Hmong to develop opportunities for them in tourism, for example, the embroideries tradition and silver engraving were recovered and well supported. Then the government support them and give them very good opportunities to open their own companies tourism companies. The government sends NGOs volunteers to the villages to give English education to children and families in Hmong hill tribes or villages.”

“They learned foreign languages through their selling, and then NGOs came and supported them in terms of building and reviving craftsmanship of the Hmong people and the other ethnic minority groups. They learned how to integrate their knowledge in Ecotourism.”

Another contribution was arranging English examination tests for young ethnic minority people and NGOs assisted authorities. Students that pass the English test can work as local tour guides in Sa Pa district or other locations. According to “Dr. O” the tour guide licence not professional because Hmong students and other ethnic minority students’ education level are too low only primary education. Hmong students will not receive the national and official tourism guide licence. Inequality on education and wealth has an impact on access to high schools and universities in Viet Nam. Students in core regions and students with better grades supported by their families have better opportunities for higher education and well-paid jobs and by that, they move upwards in society.

5.2.2 Social enterprises work on improving recognition by participation in CBET

“Dr. O” emphasised the value of social enterprises that were locally managed to improve representation of Hmong people by giving over the control to local people. “Mr. I” is a manager of a social enterprise in Viet Nam. He works as a consultant on implementation of CBET models in rural areas with ethnic minority people including Sa Pa district. The company gets revenue from consultant work to NGOs. The company is committed to invest 51% of the profit to activities that directly support impoverished communities according to regulations from the Vietnamese Government. Social enterprises provide services for enhancing sale and marketing to impoverished communities that are not supported by CBET developments. Social enterprises maintain control after implementation to secure high standard and equitable distribution of tourism profits (UNWTO and Griffith University, 2017, p. 136-138). Participation is improved by including more community members otherwise is there a risk that only the well-off community members are involved in tourism activities whilst the rest of the community are left behind. Tourism services are developed in connection to homestays for example rental of motorbikes, local food, trekking tours and local handicraft (UNWTO and Griffith University, 2017, p. 133-134).

One of my interviewees is the manager of a local social enterprise in Sa Pa town. “Ms. C” belongs to Hmong. Her company integrates ethnic minority people in Ecotourism activities. The manager told me that it is challenging for farmers to borrow money from a bank or from a neighbour to develop tourism services. Attempts to include local people in CBET fail when local people are dependent on outside assistance. “Ms. C” believed that local people had to become more independent, “young people were clever enough to copy from others” to start with tourism businesses according to her.

“*Ms. C*”: “We need to give the local people education about how to build sustainable tourism. Many NGOs fail because they do not have any model. You have to show them you cannot ask them to be perfect they do not understand, you need to show them.”

Participatory rural appraisal (PRA) is used to analyse local peoples priorities (Chambers, 1994, p. 1450) and identify vulnerability to serve the right group of people (Chambers, 1994, p. 1445), but critique on participatory approaches claim conditioned by perceptions of project deliverables, short-term benefits closely related to program priorities (Mosse (2004, p. 23).

“*Ms. C*”: “It is kind of big money there, and sometimes local people are relying on the government and relying on the project and expect that the government will give the money to the community right to the local people, but some family they do not want to work kind of lazy person.”

“When you leave the community cannot lead by themselves and how can you say it has a social impact? How do you say it is a good result, cannot. Because normally I see now is that they do not give the local people empowerment themselves, power is important.”

The manager explained how her company was different from other local companies.

“*Ms. C*”: “For me, it is like more global, but for them, it is more like community, family, relatives, their sister, brother, cousin, friend you know, and I understand that because I come from that community and that is how to be successful.”

Local people are dependent on external institutions (Le, Weaver and Lawton, 2016, p. 162). One of my interviewees is a founder of a social enterprise in Southeast Asia, “*Mr. J*”. He works as a consultant in Viet Nam. His ambition is to include local community knowledge and local wisdom in CBET. The community empowerment model that he had developed include traditional lifestyle, Eco-friendly living, learning centres and methods for capacity building and education, together with policies on protecting pro-community and culture environment.

5.2.3 INGOs work on improving recognition by participation in CBET

“*Mr. N*” is involved in development issues in ethnic minority villages. He is a program manager for an INGO with representative office in Ha Noi. The program manager explained to me how his company worked to empower ethnic minorities by setting up CBET.

“Mr. N”: “We want to do something that can support the poor, so we try to do different things based on their natural resources and their culture, so I think CBET is good it can raise the other services. Agriculture and tourism can come together and by that, we can bring together more opportunities to raise their income and at the same time we can provide economic empowerment, women economic empowerment and integrate environment and livelihood to keep the culture keep the environment but at the same time can increase income for the people.”

The organisation used education programs to improve knowledge of tourism services and encouraged local representation. The INGO included local people’s knowledge in the decision-making processes. “Mr. N” talked about the importance of master plans and I asked him how local people were involved in the decision-making process to enhance representation.

Interviewer: But, do they (local people) have a voice to resist (the master plans)?

“Mr. N”: “Yes, we organise community monitoring groups. We provide information about the master plan and so on so that they can follow it if something happens. They will have the mechanism to make sure that their voice can be heard from the policy high level. We set up some CBET associations and then maybe the voice may be bigger. We ensure that the poor can participate because we see that situation that some investors can come and they invest all money and then take the market from the local people that is why we organise something.”

Low representation can be improved with help from social accountability tools used by international non-governmental organisations (INGOs), and INGOs can be the “missing link” between communities and local authorities to reach an inclusive and sustainable development (AOP, 2019).

5.2.4 Public views on improving recognition by participation in CBET

“Mr. A” and his wife rent a homestay from a Black Hmong family in the south district of Sa Pa. The couple has rented the house for 1,5 years. Mr. A” thought that CBET had contributed to enhance participation of Hmong people.

“Mr. A”: “I connect with the women living near here so any time we have guests who want to go trek, we call them for the “motor” (motorcycle taxi). We prefer local people. I think the benefit of the tourism is very huge in here besides there are some problems. I mean before tourism comes the local people here were very poor, they just are mainly working in the field or they raised animals and they

did not have anything else to do, so that means that their income was very low not enough for them to have food every day, so they could not save money cannot make bigger house just live in small area.”

“But, now because of tourism so the women can be guides for tourists and also the men can become like motor-taxi drivers or taxi drivers so they can carry the guests from here to Sa Pa and from Sa Pa to here, and also they can work in hotels or restaurants just do something like housekeeper or receptionist in hotels. That means they can make more money because as you see in the rice fields, the rice field areas, they have one season per year, so they can have enough rice for a year but not for selling, so I think in general tourism is good.”

The homestay host believed that CBET had contributed to improve Hmong people’s social position in society.

“*Mr. A*”: “Yeah, I think so it is for sure because of tourism was not here so I think there will be no foreigners, no Kinh people come from other areas. I mean when we have contact with them so we just discover that they have a lot of good things, so it will change their position in society and also between each other just like us. I mean more people will know them and they have more opportunities to just to study higher or just to get to some foreign position in the government.”

Taylor (1004) and Honneth (2004) argue that activities and roles influences social position and status (Taylor, 1994, p. 31); (Honneth, 2004, p. 355). International tourist arrivals have changed Kinh preferences according to “*Mr. N*”. High-educated Kinh people from the cities, volunteers and children travel to the villages to experience traditional culture, but an overwhelming proportion of “*Ms. C*” customers in Sa Pa district were Europeans, 99%. Interchanges between local Hmong people and Kinh tourists are still low in Sa Pa district.

“*Mr. A*”: “Vietnamese people, as a Vietnamese person, I mean when we are on holiday or travel we just like to relax or entertain. Most Vietnamese people want to stay by luxurious hotels or eat dinner maybe 4-5 stars restaurants, so that is why in here the homestay they are very simpler so in here most of the tourists are foreigners.”

All interviewees agreed that Kinh prefers holidays in the cities at comfortable hotels near restaurants and entertainment. “The Kinh tourist” I met at a homestay preferred holidays in the countryside. When I asked him if Asian tourists saw modernisation as a form of tourist

attraction I noticed by his response that he agreed that modernity was a tourist attraction for Kinh.

5.3 RECOGNITION: Recognition by participation of Hmong women in CBET

From a feminist perspective is identity widely understood as rights for equality and justice, and identity can be understood as something that frames women within a category of people (Weir, 2013, p. 2).

5.3.1 Hmong women's perception of recognition by participation in CBET

In Sa Pa district, Hmong people are involved in homestays, trekking tours, and selling embroideries. In a Giay-Red Dao village I interviewed three Black Hmong women street sellers. Hmong families in the area had limited options to start with homestays and herbal baths compared to ethnic groups living in lower altitudes, street selling and tour guiding were the only options left for the Hmong. The women told me that it was hard work selling handicraft to tourists and one of the women said with an expressive look in her eyes: *“All tourists are not so nice, tourists can be both nice and not so nice”*. One of the women complained that *“we have lost our view”* because of tourism development.

In a Black Hmong village in the south district from Sa Pa town, I met a Black Hmong street seller and tour guide, “Ms. U”. She had previously worked in the city but preferred village life. I asked her how Hmong families could afford to build homestays. She explained to me that Hmong families earned money from tourism or sale. The revenue local people earned from work outside the villages were used for homestays. Building materials for the homestays were collected from the land. “Ms. U” lived together with her father in a house that was in a very poor condition even compared to the standard of the traditional houses. I realised that her family had limited options to develop a homestay or become wealthier. During our 3 hours trekking tour, two Black Hmong girls accompanied us. Hmong girls start as street sellers in early age.

“Ms. D” is employed by Hmong women owners of a local social enterprise in Sa Pa town. I asked her about the local tour guide licence and she told me that it was possible to work as a tour guide without the licence, but it might be more insecure and harder work. In the future, she hoped to afford a homestay because it would be harder to be a tour guide when she was getting older. During trekking tours that lasted for 2-3 days, she slept in the homestays. “Ms.

D” preferred living in the city to village life. She told me how she had learned English from street selling and interaction with international tourists and her family had been poor before Ecotourism arrival.

I made observations of four Black Hmong homestays and one Red Dao homestay. The Hmong and Red Dao traditional houses share the same characteristic with open fireplaces on the ground and storage for rice in the attics. Traditional houses are different from the homestays. The latter are more “luxurious” and spacious. Homestays have facilities, e.g., showers and “electric blankets” for tourists’ comfort. Hmong and Red Dao people traditionally prepare food over open fire on the ground in the kitchen, but in the homestays and modern houses food is prepared on cooking plates. In the homestays tourists often sleep upstairs in the attics in dorms or private rooms separated from the homestay family.

In the north district I asked a Red Dao homestay hostess about her experiences of tourists and she told me that she appreciated to receive guests, but it was hard work to find customers. They were dependent on outside support. Their neighbours could not afford to start with a homestay because the neighbour family was “poor” said “Ms. D”. The woman in the neighbour family tried to sell handicraft but she could not communicate in English. For villagers social status and wealth influences abilities to get access to tourism. Access to the tourism market is also very much dependent on infrastructure for example, the Black Hmong village had electricity and water came from the ground, but not all families had electricity in the mountainous. Connectivity to public services and access to infrastructure influences Hmong families’ abilities to participate in CBET, low access to public services and the tourist market restricts integration in CBET compared to ethnic groups that are living in tourism zones or in urban areas.

5.3.2 New gender roles within Hmong families after CBET arrival

Productive and paid labour has been assigned in favour to men, while for women it is the reproductive and unpaid labour. On recognition from a gender perspective, “masculine” traits are generally favoured and “feminine” traits are devaluated (Fraser, 1998, p. 2). Hmong clan societies are built on patriarchal and hierarchical systems (Luong, 2015, p. 136). After CBET arrival Hmong women’s social status in Sa Pa district has improved from being inferior according to “Dr. O”. “Mr. N” thought that gender equality had nearly been reached even if domestic problems existed.

Interviewer: “How do you think tourism development has changed the life of the local people of Lào Cai province?”

“Dr. O”: “When tourism came into the villages, the women and the children are the ones that make more money than men so they have better roles in the family.”

Interviewer: “But they do different tasks, or?”

“Mr. N”: “Yes, for example in some area, maybe some household women would be the head and in some household the men, but I think that it could be that they share the role between them.”

When women work outside men stay behind, said “Ms. U”, it was the opposite if men worked outside, and couples found somebody to take care of the home and the children if both of them worked outside. The husbands of the three Black Hmong women street sellers took care of the farm, housework, and children. “Ms. D” was afraid that the woman had to return to the village after marriage, her family had tried to convince her to get married but she preferred her single life in the city. After CBET arrival, Hmong women have become more aware of social position, reflective vantage point improves women’s abilities to see gendered roles (Kabeer, 2011, p. 503-504), and subordinated groups improve understanding of social position (Kabeer (2011, p. 523-524); (Tran and Walter, 2014, p. 125). Weir (2013) argues that identity and freedom is relying on terms of critical reflections of defining communities (Weir, 2013, p. 15-16). In Hmong traditional families gender roles caused domestic problems, not all couples succeeded to stay out of conflicts. Domestic conflicts occurred if men stayed behind and women worked outside, Hmong men drank more alcohol said “Ms. U”. “Mr. A” agreed that new roles created conflicts. Gender roles had changed after CBET arrival.

“Mr. A”: “Most of the women go outside so that means that they will be the people that make money in here, and the men they often stay at home doing farm work or they are just like collecting woods from the forest to make the house and also they can take care of their kids.”

“Mr. A” rent a house from a Black Hmong couple. In the family it was the woman who worked outside as tour guide. Her new role as breadwinner caused domestic problems.

“Mr. A”: “So, sometimes I heard them arguing about, I mean the wife she complain that her husband always stay at home and besides sometimes he has nothing to do, because of the rice season end or when there is nothing to do, then maybe he just stay at home or he just go to another house and keep drinking alcohol or rice wine, and after that he will go home and just sleep and so she just complain about it.”

“But in here the way of treating, I mean the way of treating between men and women in here is quite gentle for the man they treat the woman very gentle. Sometimes they can argue have arguments, but I mean since I live here I have never seen a scene where a man slaps or beat a woman before. Actually, I mean their nature, they are *very* friendly, they are I mean easy going.”

“Dr. O” thought that conflicts within Hmong families could be solved.

Interviewer: “So it does not create conflicts in families?”

“*Dr. O*”: “So for the few first time the thing is that when a man loses his power they are alcoholic, it’s a very bad time for him because he drinks more, but for others, they have to adjust themselves and nowadays it is well adjusted you know.”

Ethnic minorities drinking habits is a way of bonding and for celebrations, but exaggerated drinking of alcohol caused problems when Hmong men drank during times of “hardship”.

“*Mr. A*”: “Vietnamese people so we drink a lot. We drink a lot I mean rice wine or alcohol, but in here they drink more so especially when they have special events just like a wedding party or funeral or just like festival, they drink a lot they can keep drinking day by day in a year, three-four days continuously, so until everybody gets drunk and afterward they keep drinking again.”

Fraser (2007c) argues that misrecognition as status subordination excludes women in social interaction compared to men (Fraser, 2007c, p. 30-31). In Sa Pa district, ethnic minority men are also working within tourism. I interviewed two young men working as homestay staff and studying English in the evenings. They belonged to Flower Hmong and Tay ethnic minority groups. The “Tay man” had worked at the homestay for four years and “the Flower Hmong man” dreamt of becoming a tour guide in his hometown in Ha Giang province after his education. I asked “*Ms. C*” about Hmong men’s new role after CBET.

“*Ms. C*”: “I think that men are more like handymen building the house and building things. I think also men are very good if you involve them together, for example, our tour guides many of them are men they are also very good at tour guide.”

“If the men and the women have better education they will have better income and they will help their children have a better education as well and keep their culture. The men are a little bit down, but our men you know.”

International tourism has connected Hmong women with the outside world giving them opportunities to reflect over their social position. Women are breadwinners and unmarried women earn money for living expenses and for remittance. Wives negotiate traditional gender roles and husbands take care of children and domestic work. New roles do not make Hmong women more vulnerable since relations between couples are built on mutual trust and respect of the other part, but changes in gender roles risk causing Hmong men lack of self-esteem and higher alcohol consumption when tensions escalate within families. All my interviewees agreed that Hmong women are more active in CBET.

5.4 RECOGNITION: Institutional patterns of cultural value

The second dimension of Fraser's "parity of participation" framework explains the institutional patterns of cultural value that systematically depreciate categories of people and the qualities associated with them (Fraser, 2010, p. 365). Fraser's (1998) expression "no redistribution without recognition" describes the awareness of how redistributive policies have misrecognition effects. Because welfare reforms cannot succeed unless it is accompanied with cultural change aimed at reevaluating practices and associations that follows these practices because patterns of cultural value skew the meaning of economic reforms (Fraser, 1998, p. 9). In development work this is equally important, development programs (or foreign aid) must be accompanied with an awareness of patterns of cultural value. This chapter discuss the preservation of Hmong traditional culture and commodification of ethnic culture in CBET, followed by a discussion on traditional cultural values impact of Hmong status in Sa Pa district.

5.4.1 Reviving of Hmong cultural traditions and commodification of ethnic culture

The Hmong treasure and preserves traditional cultural traditions. In Sa Pa district is ethnic minority culture revived for commercial reasons and local people are advised to protect traditional villages since the authentic milieu is resourceful for tourism. Stakeholders and INGOs encourage local ownership to preserve traditional ethnic minority culture and customs. "Mr. N" was concerned about the sustainability of traditional culture.

"Mr. N": "To keep their village as big recourses. Because you know they can earn and benefit from keeping their village the same. Because they need to understand that this is the resource for long-term use. Ecotourism can provide more opportunities for minority people. They can participate and benefit increase their income and they can access information."

Tourism involves numerous actors with different motifs (Ioannides, 2003, p. 50) and commercialisation of culture can disrupt traditional social management structures and relationships (Li, Turner and Cui, 2016, p. 58-59). In Sa Pa district Hmong women produce locally made handicraft something that is rare at tourism locations where souvenirs often are fabricated. “Dr. O” explained how Hmong women wear traditional costumes as a sales strategy.

Interviewer: “It made them more proud of their culture, or made people more interested in their culture?”

Dr. O: “He (“Dr. O”) said that he gives an example. He was talking to a Hmong lady and she was wearing casual clothes when the customers arrived she had to quickly change outfit so that she looks like a Hmong and acts like a Hmong so she can sell more.”

“Acting as a Hmong” is a sales pitch but it can also be a deliberate choice to dress in ways that suit interests and needs. The traditional costume gave the Hmong woman a chance to be an independent saleswoman. Dressing differently can be to state a difference, find an identity, create distance, or it can be traced back to an evolutionary idea of traditional societies becoming modernised. Turner and Michaud (2008) argue that Hmong people keep distance to modernity and the market economy by maintaining a solid culturally embedded economy (Turner and Michaud, 2008. p. 182), but Hmong people involved in CBET are integrated in the global economy and experience globalisation.

Mr. A: “The local people now they have already changed a lot. They do not wear the traditional costumes they just wear them to some special event or some festival. For about 15 or 20 years ago they wore costumes every day and it changed.”

“Now they have mobile phones they have a TV they have a lot of things and they change the way of building the house. Before they just use woods to build the house but now they use more things: bricks, cement, or some other things. Everything will change also for the way of thinking it will change in 10-15 years.”

“When the tourist comes it will open their minds. I mean when they talk as for me I feel open-minded when I am working here just meeting with new guests every day and I can learn so many new things, so I think it will be the same for them the local people. For the foreigners and also for the people coming from the rural areas or the cities that will come here to do business I mean just like contact with each other it will change their mind. “

Globalisation and interaction make people more aware of social position. Tourism can contribute to reducing misinterpretations and it can help to improve an understanding of injustices in society. Culture is not static, and traditional culture can be deployed new things said “Ms. C”. She thought that minority culture could be used to “push back” forceful outside tourism developments that otherwise could make local people more vulnerable.

“*Ms. C*”: “We have a rich culture and you do not have your culture anymore so how can we share. Maybe you have more money right you can bring your money to us. We are richer and we share our culture and we learn from you and you learn from us and we are working together.”

The concept of recognition is understood by Taylor as equal dignity and as the distinctness of an individual or group. Recognition can be of others, or it can be used as countermovement and struggle for justice and social rights (Harris, 2001, p. 24). Recognition can be secluded from what brings about particularity because culture is not a matter of choice it can also be a struggle to create self-respect and survival. In that context is identity and membership achieved against a background of humiliation and rejection (Harris, 2001, p. 22). Demand for recognition made by marginalised is a human “need” (Martineau, Meer and Thompson, 2012, p. 1). Ethnic minority people can stay traditionally cultural strong, but Hmong group is weak compared to Kinh group. In Sa Pa district are professional dancers mimicking authentic culture and local dance- performers are excluded from participation.

“*Dr. O*”: “Some particular groups like in Cat Cat (ethnic minority village in Sa Pa district) for example they have their own well-educated trained dancers or performers they may not be Hmong because most of the Hmong are not well educated I mean high educated but then there are some other groups you know that are 100% Hmong groups of dancers and performers. “

Interviewer: “So there can be other groups of people that dress in Hmong clothes and acts as Hmong?”

“*Dr. O*”: “Yes, very much so and especially I mean most of them Kinh. So with the inequalities, most of the contracts signed and organised by the Kinh, and subcontractors are the minorities so they are not the one who “plays the game”.”

Ethnic culture has become a marketing strategy that is used by other ethnic groups. The colourful textiles and clothing are attractive for designs on clothing and house decorations. Traditional Hmong costumes are sold as tourist artefact and souvenirs, and fake costumes are sold in tourist shops. A Kinh tourist staying at the Black Hmong homestay gave his daughter a traditional costume with indigo coloured green embroideries and the dress looked authentic

and not fabricated. Commoditisation of ethnicity happens when ethnic minority culture and traditions become capital goods that can be exchanged in the market economy.

5.4.2 Socially entrenched patterns of cultural value in CBET

In a Giay homestay I had found an information sheet that read: “Say no thank you directly” to local street vendors advising guests not to say “maybe later” because local people would otherwise follow the tourists. The Giay homestay hosts connected with local tour guides when their customers wanted to go on trekking tours. “Ms. C” thought that local people’s bargaining with tourists damaged Hmong reputation. I asked “Mr. A” about his experiences of Hmong participating in CBET.

“Mr. A”: “They have some handicrafts and they would like to try to sell them. I think it is good if they sell them with a reasonable price, but sometimes they just sell them for a very high price so it is not good it is not good not fair for guests, so sometimes we try to tell them that if the guest are willing to buy you can sell, but if they are not so do not follow them and insist them to buy products. Because as you can see here sometime a lot of women and kids they just keep tracing guests trying to persuade them to buy a bracelet or scarves. They can follow them all the way any time anywhere it is very annoying”.

The homestay host “Mr. A” received negative feedbacks from customers.

“Mr. A”: “After when the guest left we receive a lot of feedback and there are reviews on bookings. They did not say it here but they just left a review and some of them are sad. They said that everything is good but sad also, they used some words like “bad neighbours”.”

The customs and values of other ethnic minority groups are used as a reference point to evaluate Hmong’s achievements and integration in CBET.

“Mr. A”: “Yes, there is a difference between achieving knowledge between Red Dao people and Black Hmong people or as you can see in the Ta Van village. I don’t want to be rude but I think that the ability of achieving knowledge of Giay people is higher than the Black Hmong or the Red Dao people. That is why you can see a lot of Giay people that make homestay I think there are over 100 homestays over there.”

“I think the main problem is because of education and the way of thinking or I mean the tradition, so the Giay people they know the benefit of knowledge, so that every parent they will let their children to go to school, but in here with the Black Hmong people their parents they don't want them to go to school. They just want them to make money I mean as early as possible or even they can just stay at home and work so it is a difficult to explain or it is difficult question because I have just been around here for three years. “

In the ethnic minority villages, the Kinh and the ethnic minority groups are market players and competitors in Ecotourism. In a Giay-Red Dao village popular among tourists there were two “Red Dao Spa”. I met one of the owners, a woman belonging to Red Dao. Red Dao people are famous for their use of medical herbs. In the courtyard, herbs were spread on the ground to dry. The owner told me that the herbs came from her parents' farm. The woman was married to a Giay man, and the family lived in a traditional house in connection with the Spa. The other “Red Dao Spa” was “touristic” with a café and massage studios. Kinh people had bought land to start with tourism business. (Appendices nr. 3).

5.4.3 Gender coded patterns of cultural value

Fraser (1998) writes that status equality is a necessary condition for parity. The theory of justice must consider whether economic structures can be decoupled of cultural values, or if they impede parity of participation (Fraser, 1998, p. 5). Fraser (1998) argues that income inequalities between genders in economics fail to challenge gender-meanings that code-low paying service activities as “women's work”. Wholly cultural efforts to revalue female-coded traits as interpersonal sensitivity and nurturance fail to see structural economic conditions that connect these traits with dependency and powerlessness. On gender differences, Fraser (1998) writes that there is a need of an awareness of gender-coded patterns of cultural value. There is a need for an approach that redresses cultural devaluation of the female-coded traits. Gender-injustices as recognition and redistribution are intertwined. Low-paying work activities are addressed as "women's work" without skills and intelligence within economics. The categorising is unfortunate for oppressed groups, and a revaluation of female-coded traits in culture, for example interpersonal sensitivity and nurturance do not address structural economic conditions that connect these traits with dependency and powerlessness (Fraser, 1998, p. 10).

Among Hmong has Ecotourism contributed to changes and from the start escalated problems.

“Dr. O” described how Hmong children dropped out from school to sell souvenirs to tourists and Hmong women occupied with street selling had little time to look after their families. Authorities have constructed boarding schools to improve connectivity for families living in remote locations. “Mr. A” thought that Hmong had not yet recognised the value of education.

“Mr. A”: “It will take time make them recognise the benefit of going to school. In here they like that way of enjoying the life, so they think that this is enough, they don’t want more things or they do not want new things, or maybe they want to preserve their culture, tradition”.

In Viet Nam, Hmong children do not learn their mother tongue, but their second language, Vietnamese. Communication between groups is dependent on knowledge of Vietnamese language in the multi-linguistic district. “Ms. D” thought it “was fine, we are in Vietnam” even if she preferred English before Vietnamese language. Mandatory Vietnamese improve chances to get access to education and jobs, but prospects to get higher-skilled jobs outside the villages are limited according to “Mr. N”. On school attendance in Lào Cai province statistics show differences between ethnic groups, and between boys and girls (Lào Cai PPC, 2011, p. 3). Low education level is a problem especially for Hmong girls, but “Mr. A” had not seen any differences on treatment, instead he thought that early marriage customs restricted young Hmong girls to continue with higher education. In Hmong societies it is customary to marry at young age (Nguyen, Oosterhoff and White, 2011, p. 206), (UNFPA, 2011, p. 49).

“Mr. A”: “Yeah, it’s a real problem so I mean when they drop out of school the consequences for the girls, they can get married very soon. In here you can see a lot of girls maybe 12 or 13 years they have partners I mean they have lovers so that means they can get married around 14 or 15. The law in here is the age of marriage of the women is 18 and for men 20 so they break the law.

Interviewer: But the authorities do not say anything even if there are child marriages? The authorities they do not interfere?

“Mr. A”: No, no, but with them they accept it.”

Within the Vietnamese constitution traditional customs must be legal, but in Sa Pa district authorities “bend rules” and accept Hmong customs for example “bride snatching” and early-age marriage said “Mr. A”. “Ms. D” knew about early marriage customs and she told me that Hmong people thought that 15-16 years old was “the best age”. There are no gender differences in age when Hmong couple gets married. The local guide knew about the custom of bride snatching very well, and so did “Ms. U” from the Black Hmong village. She told me

about the tradition of kidnapping at festivals and markets when a boy kidnaps a girl. The boy and the girl can decide to get married after their parents' approval, otherwise, the girl can disagree and there will not be a marriage. "Ms. U" did not find this custom good, but she was familiar with it. One of my interviewees had experienced it and it was an upsetting experience since her own family had agreed on the arrangement without her blessing.

5.5 REDISTRIBUTION

The first dimension of the "parity of participation" framework explains how economic structures contribute to institutionalising exploitation that prevents people from participating as full members in society (Fraser, 2010, p. 365). The distributive dimension redistribution corresponds with maldistribution as injustice when actors are deprived of the resources needed for full participation due to economic structures, labour markets, and property regimes. Economic subordination is rooted in structural features of the economic system (Fraser, 2000, p. 117). Fluctuations in the global tourism market contribute to economic instability. Vulnerable ethnic minority groups in Sa Pa district are dependent on tourism revenue.

5.5.1. Differences on access to financial resources and the tourism market

Turner and Michaud (2008) argue that kinship linkages are more important than citizenship for Hmong group, and identity is as much derived from their core identity belonging to their ethnic group than to the identity as Vietnamese (Turner and Michaud, 2008, p. 159). Hmong uses traditional community networks to integrate family members, relatives, and friends in tourism activities. I observed during my two field studies "Ms. D" relatives and friends involvement in CBET, for example homestay business, handicraft sale, tourist transport and tour guiding. She told me that she had "hundreds of cousins", and I believe that she meant that they all could connect with each other in Ecotourism. Ecotourism had contributed to improve living conditions for local people. "Local people are happy", said "Ms. D". Even if Ecotourism has contributed to reduce poverty are there problems due to Hmong social position and lack of self-esteem. "Ms. C" thought that Hmong lacked confidence and knowledge to start with business compared to Kinh. Local people were not autonomous from outside support.

"Ms. C": "Villagers they do not know how to do tourism. They are only dependent on the tour operator or the freelance tourist guide, so the tour guides they choose the homestays they want and

some tour guides they do not want another family, so it will be difficult for families to do their own business. But not everybody can do a homestay or not everybody can do tour guide, so I am thinking that we need to share the benefit.”

“Mr. A” and “Ms. D” thought that Hmong farmers had limited knowledge in foreign languages and new technology to attract international tourists to their homestays. Farmers involved in tourism are dependent on outside assistance from social enterprises and from relatives involved in Ecotourism. Redistribution of financial resources reflects social status and access to the market. Connections to the majority group favour participants in social competition. CBET risks to secure profit only to the well-off community members and outside investments result in uneven competition when powerful groups take over the land. Tourism developments create inequality, but authorities tried to close the gaps on redistribution.

“*Dr. O*”: “In order to reduce the inequality among the hill tribes, they build up workshop for them and build up the craftsmanship...” “They ask the other organisations to employ the Hmong in their organisations and they ask the local authorities to share the profit with the locals.”

“Mr. N” thought that INGOs had better control over redistribution in remote locations when guests came from travel agencies, but redistribution in locations near the Vietnamese market was harder to control. I asked the homestay host “Mr. A” if economic development had created inequalities in Sa Pa district, and he believed that inequalities could increase if communities had different abilities to attract support from authorities.

“*Mr. A*”: “The government in every society they cannot take care of everybody, so that is why we have the poor and the rich if everyone just live in like in a fair society so it is not a society anymore, so maybe for example in some village they can just call for money from the government so they will have more benefit than in other villages it will create a gap between villages and villages.”

There were different opinions about equality on redistribution. “Mr. N” representing an INGO believed that it was important to achieve equality on redistribution, but “Ms. C” the manager of a social enterprise was critical of NGOs way of redistribution in CBET.

“*Ms. C*”: “I mean if you arrange a tour it is different right ok but if you are NGO you are helping them it is better you have money that you can help 10 families, but how do you find 5 families first? Rather

than you are helping 10 families and they fall in the same time right, you select the one that can do Ecotourism.”

She believed that local people should “get out and ask for help”. For her it was not a problem if some people were “selfish after getting richer” since most of them want to help each other “so why not one person selfish”. Inequality was not a big problem for the local guide “Ms. D” either since everybody had become richer. “Dr. O” thought that inequality in redistribution was a matter of different access.

Interviewer: “Is it equal among Hmong and other minorities working with tourism? Are there any difficulties for some groups?”

“Dr. O”: “Yes, there are some inequalities but it is a different way to accessing to tourism, for example, the Hmong they are tour guides. They become tour guides and they got profit from tourism. The Red Dao they can become tour guides, they provide accommodation and sell herbal medicine to the tourist. They run the homestay business and they are selling food to the tourists it is a different way of accessing.”

In the ethnic minority villages local people owned their land and some families could afford to develop homestays. In other areas were outside investments more common. Land was bought and rented to develop homestays and tourism businesses.

Interviewer: Do they buy land from other minority groups or they have their own land?

“Mr. A”: I think both sometime they have the land and they make the house, but for the others maybe it is not good land to make a homestay so they have decided to rent another land to make the house.”

The Black Hmong tour guide, “Ms. U” did not believe that there were any differences between the Red Dao and the Black Hmong. “Mr. N” thought that Hmong and Red Dao were “left behind in the modernisation process” due to higher altitudes compared to the other ethnic groups. Different access depended not only on altitudes but also on closeness to the majority culture of the Kinh people, he said. He believed that “outside” ownership was more common in areas with “booming of tourism”, but households were free to decide if they would like to give over landownership to outsiders. Local people had the right to sell their land if they got a good price for it. This was a process that his organisation could not control because their work was based on the interest of the communities and it was up to local people to find solutions. The local tour guide “Ms. D” did not seem to have any objections about outsider investments,

she believed there were enough opportunities in CBET. “The more tourism the better” was her motto, but for “Ms. C” redistribution had to be protected from leakages to stay within communities and tourists should be responsible consumers.

“Ms. C”: “They take the credit from the community take the option from the community it is kind of Vietnamese people come there and they made the homestay and they pretend it is a homestay, but a lot of tourist they don’t do this kind of research and they come there and think they stay at a local homestay but it is not true so many tourists they do not think about this.”

“If you come through my village right and you want to take picture and sightseeing, and I have nothing from you, how? I don’t want you to pass by my house, and I don’t want you to pass by my village. I don’t want you to take pictures on my rice terrace of my parents or my grandparents what they are doing right, so that is not fare. That is kind of thing fare or not faire right, so right it is not faire right.”

Honneth’s inter-subjective relationship in which one party acknowledges the positive value of the other encompasses redistributive issues, but for Fraser is the conception of recognition understood as status equality a necessary condition (Thompson, 2009, p. 57). Fraser (2000) argues that recognition claims can distort questions about redistributive issues (Fraser, 2000, p. 107-108), the theory of justice is obliged to consider whether economic structures impede social justice and equality (Fraser, 1998, p. 5). Fraser’s injustice as recognition includes differences from: material inequality, power differentials amongst groups in society, and the systemic relations of dominance and subordination concerning nationality, ethnicity, gender and sexuality (Harris, 2001, p. 27), (Fraser, 2007c, p. 28). The results show that interviewees had different opinions about the value of equal redistribution of financial resources, but all interviewees agreed on that different access to the market matters for redistribution. Ethnic groups problems to get access to the market are caused by higher locations, distance to urban areas and tourism hubs, and connectivity to powerful groups.

5.6 REPRESENTATION

Fraser’s (2010) third dimension speaks about how a just political constitution must be in accordance to roughly equal voice to all social actors to reach participatory parity on distributive justice, recognition and democratic representation (Fraser, 2010, p. 365).

Representation is not only justice claims within political arenas, but in all fields of social

interaction. “Ordinary-political misrepresentation (Fraser, 2007a, p. 21) is an obstacle for vulnerable groups to participate as peers in political, community and family spheres.

Kinh majority group holds higher representativeness living in core regions and inequality gaps are increasing between ethnic groups. Fraser (2010) writes that socially excluded people are denied to participate as peers because of boundaries or rules on membership (Fraser, 2010, p. 367). The moral in liberal tradition is sameness and equality on equal treatment, but the constitutional approach based on similar treatment is overridden by a constituted discrimination that is neglecting citizens’ rights to be treated as equals. Rewarding local people assistance without implying that social injustices exist is a way of neglecting local people their rights to be participants on an equal level. “Ms. C” thought that local people risked to being excluded from representation.

“Ms. C”: “Tourism come to help not just can take away and look at local people as useless or people so poor, we are not poor. We are poor our property our clothes or food, but we are not poor. We are the same, maybe we do not education much only and maybe the environment still not have much education but we are not poor.”

Lister (2007) writes about the inclusion of expertise born of experience (Lister, 2007, p. 169). Development work should preferably include local knowledge, but institutional and hierarchical structures can obstruct local people from representation in development processes.

“Ms. C”: “Right now more people say: “What do you need? We will give you” but it is not what we want I think. If you learn me how to fish, I will still be standing if you go and come back 20 and 30 years after I still be there and I am still doing my work.”

Labelling people as “the global poor” is a way of abstraction from social relations, and a decontextualized way of looking at “the global poor” neglecting the reasons that generated poverty in the first place (Fraser, 2010, p. 369). On political representation, “Ms. C” felt that Hmong people did not have enough political power, but she believed that all political systems were equally good it was just a system that local people had no possibilities to change. Even if Hmong people had the same rights to vote it would take time before Hmong reached equality compared to Kinh in the Vietnamese society.

“Mr. A”: “They have the right, everyone have the right in Viet Nam to vote for what is good or what is bad. Actually in here they have more benefits than us who live in the city. Local people here got support a lot especially in here. The government they have some preference for the local people in here, so they are very highly considered in here their opinion the local opinion. Because in Viet Nam we have like 54 ethnic groups so the government they need to get every ethnic group live just like in harmony.”

“I hope there will be more students to study higher get to university or city college, or they will move to another place so they can participate in society where they can be just like they can be officers or they can take part in some important position in the government, so it will be very good for them, but it will take time I don’t know how many.”

To be consulted as an equal member in decisions indicate greater respect. Perceptions of women’s abilities can be reevaluated (Kabeer (2011, p. 523-524). Hmong women have created opportunities to work in Ecotourism and tourism activities have been influential on recognition and “voice”. Recognition by participation is visible in the decision-making processes through politics and platforms of actions and behaviours, and Hmong women’s social status has increased in Hmong community.

6 CONCLUSION

Market-driven reforms and socio-economic development has reached Sa Pa district in Lào Cai province. Hmong have been included in the global market economy bringing both positive and negative changes for local people. Households earn more, and natural resources surrounding ethnic minority villages are valuable sources for trekking tourism and homestay tourism. Despite improvements are Hmong families in Sa Pa district vulnerable. Hmong is vulnerable due to poverty, education level, remoteness, high altitudes, low level of infrastructure and low access to public services and the market. Hmong social position, level of integration in the economy and political representation are multiple problems caused by history, patterns of cultural values, economic structures and political institutions.

In Sa Pa district, redistribution is not equal between ethnic groups and within ethnic minority communities. Improving recognition by the participation of Hmong in CBET has contributed to improvements on redistribution. CBET has contributed to decrease poverty, but living conditions are still deprived. Hmong in Sa Pa district are living marginalised lives despite

rising income levels from CBET. Families that cannot afford to develop homestays or tourism services are more vulnerable than families that are integrated in Ecotourism or sale. Hmong families living in remoteness need assistance to secure opportunities to progress and to get access to the tourism market. Most of the Hmong families integrated with CBET are still reliant on outside assistance. Hmong low enrolment in higher education give local people few opportunities for high-skilled and well-paid jobs besides farming activities and Ecotourism activities in low-income jobs even if homestay business increases abilities to become more affluent compared to other villagers. Families have low education level and limited knowledge in new technology and foreign language to connect with the international tourism market on Internet.

Efforts from authorities have been made to award recognition and include Hmong in Ecotourism by implementing new laws to protect traditional ethnic minority culture, improving infrastructure, and reduce hindrances for local companies and organisations working within the field of Ecotourism in Sa Pa district. Hmong families' earnings come from, homestays, tour guiding, street selling, hotel, and restaurants work, construction work or transport. The implementation of the local "guide licence" improves security for local guides. INGOs and social enterprises teach the English language to Hmong with the assistance of volunteers. Hmong families are advised to implement CBET models and social enterprises select ethnic minority families based on abilities and interest to develop CBET. Vulnerable groups that have not been reached by authorities are assisted by INGOs and social enterprises. Social enterprises and INGOs educate local people in tourism activities. Representation of ethnic groups is improved by INGOs work to connect local people with authorities. Through these platforms are Hmong people able to express their needs. Findings show that Hmong traditions and customs have been revived by the implementation of CBET. Interaction with international guests both preserves and changes traditional culture. Traditional culture needs to be protected from commodification and outside ownership, unsustainable development risk transforming villages to "tourism zones" with decreasing local control. There are different level of activity depending on location to tourism hubs and attractive tourism destinations. Hmong families with network participate in Ecotourism activities more than Hmong families excluded from participation. There are different understandings about equality on redistribution among participants and stakeholders something that will risk reducing the efforts to adjust inequalities.

In Sa Pa district, Hmong women's social position is influenced by traditional lifestyle, early-marriage customs, and low level of enrolment in higher education. In a hierarchical and patriarchal society, integration and awarding recognition can increase the level of participation and representation. Tourism revenue provides opportunities to improve living conditions. Hmong women work more often than Hmong men in CBET in Sa Pa district, and traditional gender roles have changed. Hmong women working outside have become breadwinners and Hmong women are distancing themselves from boundaries in a traditional society that have been restricting them to work outside. The study shows that CBET improves the level of awareness among Hmong women of their social position in the own group and in society, Hmong women have not been subordinated after tourism activities even if they continue to be vulnerable. Hmong women improve self-esteem and education level increase especially in learning a foreign language (English) from interaction with international tourists. Hmong men are struggling to find a new role in the family when women work outside. But, Hmong women risk being double exposed in Hmong and Kinh patriarchal societies that values men position higher. Therefore, Hmong women's voice needs to be heard. In tourism industry, the high percentage of tourism activities in low salary jobs can hide income inequalities and lack of recognition. Economic activities can hide Hmong vulnerable position if families cannot afford to give girls a higher education or if Hmong women cannot afford to stay at home taking care of children. High level of economic activities is a result of Hmong people's deliberate choice to improve poor living conditions. Children's work in Ecotourism contributes with income, but Hmong street sellers find tourism work hard and tour guides worries about the future when they are getting older. Hmong people's lack for self-esteem, their vulnerability and limited resources due high altitudes and low access cause hindrances for Hmong people to interact with other groups as peers. There are differences between ethnic groups, and within communities.

The study shows that CBET has reduced vulnerability in Sa Pa district. Natural resources and traditional culture are valuable resources for Hmong to improve living conditions. Traditional networks protect families in an individualistic and capitalistic society. Linkages are built on partnership and community solidarity. Community members get support from authorities, INGOs and locally owned social enterprises. From tourism revenue, wealthier families can build homestays and earn more income. Tourists in the study were advised by social enterprises to secure longevity and sustainability by choosing local business since outside investments are especially prominent in tourist zones. In the future authorities must protect

the area from degradation, because CBET is reliant on the beauty of the landscape, environmental protection, economic stability, and tourism revenue. Local people in Sa Pa district risk falling back into poverty if visitations decrease. Overexploitation due to mass tourism and “destructive” tourism development can cause a decline in the tourist segment. Hmong in Sa Pa district are reliant on international Ecotourism.

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APPENDICES

1.

List of interviewees (Experts, stakeholders and participants)

1 “Dr. O”

Gender: Male

Ethnic belonging: Kinh

Profession: Previous district authority in Lào Cai province and expert on Hmong group

Interview method: Semi-structured interview (Vietnamese interpreter)

2 “Mr. I”

Gender: Male

Ethnic belonging: Kinh

Profession: Director of a social enterprise in Ho Chi Minh City

Interview method: Skype interview (Vietnamese interpreter)

3 “Ms. C”

Gender: Female

Ethnic belonging: Black Hmong

Profession: Manager of a social enterprise in Sa Pa town

Interview method: In-depth interview

4 “Mr. N”

Gender: Male

Ethnic belonging: Kinh

Profession: Project manager for an INGO in Ha Noi

Interview method: Semi-structured/In-depth interview

5 “Mr. J”

Gender: Male

Ethnic belonging: Kinh

Profession: Founder of a CBET social enterprise in Southeast Asia

Interview method: Open interview/Conversation

6 “Mr. A”

Gender: Male

Ethnic belonging: Kinh/ mixed belonging

Profession: Homestay host in south district in Sa Pa

Interview method: Semi-structured interview

7 “Mr. Kinh Tourist”

Gender: Male

Ethnic belonging: Kinh

Ethnic belonging: Homestay guest from Ha Noi

Interview method: Open interview

8 “Ms. D”

Gender: Female

Ethnic belonging: Black Hmong

Profession: Local tour guide employed at a social enterprise in Sa Pa town

Interview method: In-depth interviews

9 “Ms. U”

Gender: Female

Ethnic belonging: Black Hmong

Profession: Local tour guide (freelance) and street vendor from south district in Sa Pa

Interview method: In-depth interview

10-12 “Three Black Hmong women street sellers”

Gender: Female

Ethnic belonging: Black Hmong

Profession: 3 street vendors (1 local tour guide) from south district in Sa Pa

Interview method: Focus group interview

13 “Flower Hmong man”

Gender: Male

Ethnic belonging: Flower Hmong

Profession: Staff at a homestay south from Sa Pa town, hometown is Ha Giang

Interview method: Short interview

14 “Tay man”

Gender: Male

Ethnic belonging: Tay

Profession: Staff at homestay south from Sa Pa town

Interview method: Short interview

15 “Giay homestay host”

Gender: Male

Ethnic belonging: Giay

Profession: Homestay owner in south district in Sa Pa

Interview method: Short interview

16 “Red Dao Spa owner”

Gender: Female

Ethnic belonging: Red Dao

Profession: Red Dao Spa owner in south district in Sa Pa

Interview method: Short interview

17 “Red Dao homestay hostess”

Gender: Female

Ethnic belonging: Red Dao

Profession: Red Dao homestay/herbal bath owner in north district in Sa Pa

Interview method: Short interview

2.

Interview guides (Extract from interview guides)

ECOTOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN SA PA DISTRICT

1. Sa Pa district in Lào Cai province is a very popular tourist destination in Viet Nam. How many overnight tourists do you have approximately in Lào Cai province per month, or per year?
2. Is it mainly domestic, or international tourists travelling to Sa Pa district in Lào Cai today? Groups, or individuals?
3. When is the peak season in the region?
4. Do you have Ecotourism/CBET in Lào Cai province? *If so*, for how many years?
5. Who support the development of Ecotourism/CBET in Sa Pa district? Governmental agencies, NGOs, individuals or companies? How well has Ecotourism/CBET developed in Sa Pa district?
6. How do you think Ecotourism development has changed the life of the local people of Sa Pa district, Lào Cai province?
7. How do you think Ecotourism interferes with other work, for example the farming activities? Has Ecotourism created more opportunities for ethnic minorities to support them selves?
8. Are you working with Ecotourism/CBET in your organisation (INGO)?

Sub-question 1: Who are not integrated in CBET? Are there groups of people in the Hmong community that are directly excluded from participating, and if so, who are they?

1. In your opinion, how do you feel that Hmong are well integrated in Ecotourism/CBET? Can you be precise?
2. Have you seen any problems with integration for Hmong? *If so*, what are the main problems that you have experienced?
3. Have you met any problems with integrating Hmong people in Ecotourism/CBET compared to other ethnic minority people, or the majority people Kinh? It can be due to their position as a minority group in the Vietnamese society or among other ethnic minority groups?

4. Who are not integrated in Ecotourism/CBET? Are there groups of people in the Hmong community that are directly excluded from participating in Ecotourism/CBET, and *if so*, who are they?
5. You mentioned earlier that you had tried to integrate Hmong in the village? In what way? What do you see as the main obstacles for integration? (Follow-up question)
6. Do you believe that there are lacks of opportunities for the Hmong living in Sa Pa district to sustain their living? What are the options for them (Hmong) if they are not integrated in tourism?
7. What do you think are the main obstacles to achieve integration for the ethnic minority people into society? Can Ecotourism/CBET contribute to a better integration?
8. You mentioned earlier that education was a problem, because of their tradition and that the parents did not want their children to go to school, they wished their children to help them with their work. Is it correct? Can you elaborate, what are the main problems for children to be educated? (follow-up question)
9. How about education? How can ethnic minority people with low education and no knowledge in English be integrated in Ecotourism/CBET?
10. What about Hmong women, can they participate in Ecotourism/CBET equally as Hmong men? The vulnerable people in Hmong group, what about them?
11. Do Hmong women work more in tourism than Hmong men? Has this created conflicts in the families do you think? (follow-up question)
12. Who are the owners of the homestays in Sa Pa district? Are they mainly from outside the local community, or are the owners ethnic minority group, such as Hmong?

Sub-question 2: What can district authorities, social enterprises and INGOs do to award recognition?

1. How can local authorities (INGOs/social enterprises) help to award Hmong, as a vulnerable group, to participate in Ecotourism/CBET? How are you (district authority/INGO/social enterprise) working? Could you give me a brief explanation with examples?
2. In what way have local authorities (INGOs/social enterprises) created opportunities for the Hmong people, Hmong women to be integrated in Ecotourism/CBET projects?

3. Do you think that Ecotourism/CBET have contributed to a better understanding of ethnic minority peoples' social, economical and cultural position in the Vietnamese society?
4. Have Hmong, or other ethnic minority people, been heard about their opinions about Ecotourism development, and in what way have they been influential on the developments? (For example financial resources, budget allocation for houses, etc.)
5. Can you give some examples on how you feel that Ecotourism/CBET has achieved to improve Hmong peoples position in the Vietnamese society if they have been included in Ecotourism projects?
6. Do you think that Ecotourism/CBET have contributed to a better understanding of ethnic minority peoples social, economical and cultural position in the Vietnamese society?
7. Have Hmong, or other ethnic minority people, been heard about their opinions about Ecotourism development, in what way have they been influential on the developments?
8. Can you give some examples on how you feel that Ecotourism/CBET has achieved to enhance Hmong, or other ethnic minority peoples position in the Vietnamese society, or if they have been included in Ecotourism/CBET projects (decision-making and representation)?

Sub-question 3: Do ethnic minority people, in particular Hmong women, perceive themselves to be included as participants within CBET?

1. Do you believe that Ecotourism development has given Hmong group more opportunities to work within Ecotourism/CBET, *if so* can you give any examples? For example, are they working as local guides, or are they owners of homestays?
2. Do you believe that Ecotourism development in Lao Cai province has given Hmong women in Sa Pa more opportunities to work within Ecotourism/CBET, *if so*, can you give any examples? For example, are they working as local guides, or are they owners of homestays?
3. In Sa Pa district, who are involved in Ecotourism/CBET do you think? Do Hmong work within Ecotourism/CBET? Do both men and women work?
4. How are the Hmong people participating in Ecotourism/CBET? What kind of jobs do they have? What is your own occupation?

5. Are there Hmong people who are employed at travel agencies, or are they working (freelance) by themselves, for example working as local guides to trekking tourists?
6. Do you need a certificate to work as local tourist guides in the north of Viet Nam? Are there any problems to get a tourist guide-licence in that case for ethnic minorities, Hmong? Is it expensive?
7. What other opportunities are there for you as Hmong to be involved and earn money in the Ecotourism/CBET?
8. In what way have Ecotourism/CBET contributed to improve other businesses outside tourism (linkages), for example tea, or market products?
9. Has your position in society changed by your work in Ecotourism/CBET, for example in the form of higher education, improved skills in language, contact with foreigners etc.?
10. Is it possible to live on Ecotourism or has Ecotourism/CBET made Hmong people more vulnerable? How about your self?
11. Do you think your life has improved by Ecotourism/CBET?
12. Do you see Hmong people that are left behind and do not take part in Ecotourism/CBET?
13. Do you believe life was better before Ecotourism development? *If so*, in what way?
14. Do you believe that there is lack of opportunities for the Hmong to sustain their living? What are the options for them (Hmong) if they are not integrated in tourism? Subsistence farming?
15. How do you think the future will be for the Hmong people, will they stay in Sa Pa district, Lào Cai province, or find work elsewhere?
16. How do you think the future will be for the Hmong people, will they stay in the village, or find work elsewhere (outside)?

3.

**Photo documentation from observations:
Sa Pa district, Lào Cai province, Viet Nam
February and April 2019**



1. Terraced rice fields



2. Terraced rice fields



3. Remote Hmong farm house



4. Hmong boy looking after a water buffalo



5. Hmong girl selling handicraft
© Lisa Lohne



6. Hmong traditional farm



7. Shifting weather conditions



8. Hmong village road



9. Sa Pa town in February



10. Traditional house in the mountains



11. New Year festival in Ta Van village



12. New Year festival in Ta Van village

© Lisa Lohne



13. Black Hmong woman



14. Hmong trekking guide



15-16. Interview with a Black Hmong local tour guide

© Lisa Lohne



17. New Year festival in Ta Van village
Hmong traditional costumes



18. Hmong tour guide and Hmong street seller
Hmong homestay in the front



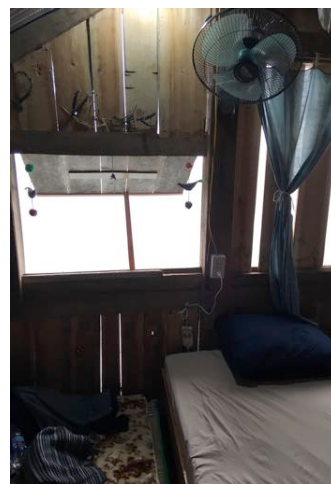
19. Handcraft tourist shop



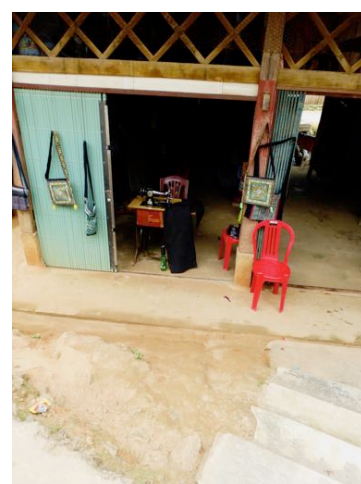
20. Hemp dyed in indigo colour



21. Red Dao herbal bath



22. Hmong homestay



23. Hmong handcraft shop



24. Red Dao homestay "private rooms"



25. Red Dao homestay kitchen



26. Traditional house exterior



27. Hmong traditional farm



28. Hmong homestay kitchen



29. Hmong homestay kitchen



30. Traditional house



31. Traditional house

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