

A RISING TIDE LIFTS ALL BOATS?
THE IMPACTS OF TOURISM ON LIVELIHOODS AND HUMAN RIGHTS
IN NGWE SAUNG, MYANMAR

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น้ำขึ้นขกเรือทุกลำให้ลอย?: ผลกระทบของการท่องเที่ยวต่อวิถีชีวิตและสิทธิมนุษยชนในเมืองเวซอง ประเทศพม่า

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วิทยานิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญาศิลปศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต

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ประเทศพม่า ซึ่งเป็นประเทศที่เพิ่งเปิดพรมแดนให้กับนักท่องเที่ยวอย่างเป็นทางการเมื่อปี 1996 นั้น ปัจจุบันได้กลายเป็นประเทศที่จับตามองในหมู่นักท่องเที่ยวในระดับนานาชาติ และยังเป็นประเทศที่เพิ่งมีการเปลี่ยนแปลงทางการเมืองและการยกเลิกการคว่ำบาตรของทั้งในสหรัฐอเมริกาและสหภาพยุโรป โดยรัฐบาลพม่าได้รับรองให้การพัฒนาการท่องเที่ยวเป็นหนึ่งความสำคัญทางเศรษฐกิจและได้ตระหนักถึงศักยภาพสูงสุดในการเติบโตในอนาคตอันใกล้

ประเทศพม่าเป็นกรณีศึกษาที่สำคัญในด้านการพัฒนาการท่องเที่ยวและสิทธิมนุษยชนเนื่องจากการปิดประเทศจากชาวต่างชาติตั้งแต่อดีต และบันทึกด้านสิทธิมนุษยชนที่ไม่มีประสิทธิภาพ รวมทั้ง นโยบายใหม่การเปิดประเทศเพื่อการท่องเที่ยว โดยการวิจัยนี้จะตรวจสอบผลกระทบของอุตสาหกรรมการท่องเที่ยวต่อคนท้องถิ่นของ เมืองหงสาวสอง, เมืองชายฝั่งทางตะวันตกของพม่า ซึ่งการวิจัยนี้ทำทฤษฎีภาวะทันสมัยซึ่งใช้ในการพิสูจน์ว่าได้ว่าการพัฒนาท่องเที่ยวที่ผลิตโดยคนรวยจะนำประโยชน์ไปสู่ของคนยากจนในแง่มุมของการเป็นอยู่ที่ดีขึ้น และที่สำคัญคือการรับรองสิทธิมนุษยชนทางสังคมและเศรษฐกิจ การวิจัยที่ใช้การออกแบบเชิงคุณภาพรวมทั้งการสัมภาษณ์บุคคล 100 คน การสัมภาษณ์ผู้เชี่ยวชาญจากผู้ที่อยู่ในอุตสาหกรรมการท่องเที่ยวและการสำรวจของชาวบ้านของ เมืองหงสาวสอง โดยจุดประสงค์สำคัญ การวิจัยนี้คือการทราบผลกระทบของการท่องเที่ยวต่อชีวิตประจำวันของชาวบ้านในท้องถิ่น รวมทั้ง การส่งเสริมต่อการทำมาหากินและสิทธิที่ได้มาจากพัฒนาของการท่องเที่ยว

การค้นพบที่สำคัญจากการศึกษานี้แสดงให้เห็นว่าหลังจากการตื่นตระหนกในระยะต้นของการยึดที่ดินประชาชนของชุมชน เมืองหงสาวสอง ทุกวัยทุกอาชีพ และทุกกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ นั้นได้ประสบผลในเชิงบวกเพิ่มขึ้นในการดำรงชีวิตอย่างยั่งยืนโดยการเพิ่มโอกาสงานและรายได้เพิ่มเติมที่แตกต่างกันไป ซึ่งการปรับปรุงการทำมาหากินมีผลกระทบโดยตรงต่อสิทธิมนุษยชนเพื่อการศึกษา, สุขภาพ, อนามัย, ไฟฟ้า, การชน, ส่งเสริมภาพของข้อมูลและโอกาสทางศาสนา โดยผลการวิจัยแสดงให้เห็นว่าการพัฒนาการท่องเที่ยวมีผลสำคัญในการลดระดับความยากจนอย่างรุนแรงให้อยู่ในระดับที่สูงกว่าระดับเพียงการยังชีพ ซึ่งเป็นผลพวงงานและรายได้ที่ได้รับจากการท่องเที่ยว ซึ่งประโยชน์ต่างๆ จากการท่องเที่ยว เกิดขึ้นได้โดยปัจจัยการผลิตจากอุตสาหกรรมการท่องเที่ยวเอง ไม่ใช่ความช่วยเหลือของรัฐบาล

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ASHLEY ELIZABETH PRITCHARD: A RISING TIDE LIFTS ALL
 BOATS? THE IMPACTS OF TOURISM ON LIVELIHOODS AND
 HUMAN RIGHTS IN NGWE SAUNG, MYANMAR. ADVISOR:
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 MICHAEL GEORGE HAYES, PH.D. 147 PP.

Myanmar, a country that only officially opened its borders to tourists in 1996, has a new level of visibility amongst international travelers with the recent political transformations and lifting of both U.S. and E.U. sanctions. The government of Myanmar has officially adopted tourism development as one of its economic priorities, recognizing it as one of its biggest potential growth areas in the near term future.

Myanmar represents an important case study in tourism development and human rights because of its historic isolation to foreigners, its poor track record on human rights, and the relatively new open door policy to tourism. This paper examines the impact of the tourism industry on the local people of Ngwe Saung, a coastal town in western Myanmar. This paper challenges the theory of modernization which attests that tourism developments produced by the rich will trickle-down to benefit the poor in aspects of improving livelihoods and more importantly, ensuring social and economic human rights. The research used a qualitative design, including 100 personal interviews, expert interviews from those in the tourism industry, and a small survey of villagers from Ngwe Saung. A key priority of this research is to determine how tourism impacts the daily life of a local villager and if livelihood and rights have been advanced by the development of tourism.

Key findings from this study indicate that after the initial shock of the land seizure individuals from the Ngwe Saung community of all ages, occupations and ethnic groups experienced a positive increase in sustainable livelihoods through increased job opportunity and additional income, but to varying degrees. Livelihood improvements directly impacted human rights to education, health, hygiene, electricity, transportation, freedom of information and religious opportunity. Results show that tourism development reduced poverty significantly, elevating participants from extreme poverty to a level above subsistence which was otherwise unattainable without the jobs and income that tourism generated. These benefits are mainly due to inputs from the tourism industry itself, and not government assistance.

Field of Study : International Development
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Student's Signature.....
 Advisor's Signature
 Co-advisor's Signature

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction to the Problem

The United Nations is predicting the arrival of the one billionth tourist later this year (Deen, 2012). According to the latest statistics released by the UN World Tourism Organization (WTO), tourist arrivals have increased from 674 million in 2000 to 939 million in 2010 and 980 million in 2011 alone (Deen, 2012). The World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) and WTO regularly make the statement that tourism is the world's largest industry and the world's largest employer and creator of jobs (Burns, 2008). In 2011, tourism contributed 9 percent of global GDP, estimated at a value of over US\$6 trillion and accounted for 255 million jobs. Over the next ten years this industry is expected to grow by an average of 4 percent annually, and it is anticipated that it will account for 328 million jobs or 1 in every 10 jobs on the planet (WTTC, 2012).

Tourism, as a topic for analysis, is both enigmatic and ironic. Enigmatic in as much that it is difficult to define and ironic in that it sets out to make theoretical sense of people having fun (Burns, 2008, p. 64). Tourism encompasses many different aspects, perhaps best described by Dean MacCannell (1992, p.1);

“Tourism is a primary ground for the production of new cultural forms on a global base. In the name of tourism, capital and modernized peoples have been deployed to the most remote regions of the world, farther than any army was ever sent. Institutions have been established to support this deployment, not just hotels, restaurants and transport systems, but restorations of ancient shrines, development of local handcrafts for sale to tourists, and rituals performed for tourists. In short, tourism is not just an aggregate of merely commercial activities; it is also an ideological framing of history, nature, and tradition; a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs.”

With this understanding of tourism as both an industry and an ideological catalyst for change, tourism is utilized today as a development strategy for governments.

*“Burma will be here for many years, so tell your friends to visit us later.
Visiting us now is tantamount to condoning the regime”*

Times have changed greatly since Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Aung San Suu Kyi made the above statement in 1999, asking foreigners to boycott tourism in Myanmar

(Info Burmanie, March 2011). In March 2012 hundreds of political prisoners were released from Myanmar's jails and with the April 2012 elections, the National League for Democracy (NLD), secured 43 out of 664 parliamentary seats (Kate, 2012), bringing hope for a more democratic form of governance. The call to boycott tourism within the country, launched nearly fifteen years ago by the National League for Democracy (NLD), has been lifted along with many economic sanctions placed on the country from both the United States and the European Union.

Myanmar is relatively new to tourism as it did not officially open its borders to tourists until 1996. In 2011, the country hosted 391,176 tourists, an increase of 80,488 from the previous year (Info Burmanie, March 2011, p. 26; Burma Traveler.Com, 2012). Yet the recent travel coverage labeling the country as one of the "in" places to visit in 2012 by everyone from *CNN* to *Lonely Planet* to *Travel & Leisure*, has positioned the country to a new level of fame (Paquette, 2012). With just under 8,000 hotel rooms in the country suitable for tourists and poor infrastructure, it is questionable as to how Myanmar will keep up with an anticipated two-fold increase in tourists this year ("Burma Tourism Set to Boom," 2012).

The government of Myanmar has officially adopted the development of tourism as one of its economic priorities, noting that tourism serves as one of the country's most lucrative sectors (Paquette, 2012). However, from the little tourism expansion that *has* taken place, many international organizations and governments have questioned the lack of inclusion of local peoples in drafting projects, and the poor treatment of communities who are forced to relocate due to tourism development projects (Info Burmanie, March 2011). There is substantial research in tourism development to suggest that if used incorrectly, tourism plans can further a country's dependency on foreign investment, disempower local people, create dependency on a volatile industry amongst workers, spark conflict between allocation of natural resources, and divert attention to tourism activities over local community needs (Ashley & Goodwin, 2007).

The impact that tourism development has on the human rights of local communities is examined in this thesis. A key priority of this research seeks to determine how tourism affects the daily life of a local villager. Developers around the world have recorded success in participatory, pro-poor tourism development projects in other

areas of the world, and the researcher would like to see if the same successes are occurring in Ngwe Saung, Myanmar. It is necessary to further understand the role that tourism plays in promoting development that supports improvements towards the basic needs of local peoples. Thus, this research provides for a better understanding of the role tourism development plays on furthering human rights' empowerment in Ngwe Saung, and results in isolating key factors necessary for success and identifying further areas for exploration.

1.2 Research Questions

This research undertaken seeks to answer the following questions:

- To what extent has the economic impact of tourism affected the local community in Ngwe Saung, Myanmar?
- Can tourism, as a tool for development, improve livelihoods for the local people in Ngwe Saung?
- What is the linkage between tourism for development and human rights?

1.3 Objectives of Research

The primary objectives of this research are:

- To analyze the extent to which tourism has increased employment opportunities and income levels for the local residents of Ngwe Saung.
- To determine the extent that local residents use their increased income from tourism development to improve their livelihood.
- To detail the impact of emerging tourism on the local community's social human rights in Ngwe Saung.
- To outline how and whether tourism impacts both development and human rights and to explore the relationship between tourism, development and human rights.

1.4 Conceptual Framework

In this research, the connection between tourism, development and human rights is explored. Four main concepts; tourism, the trickle-down effect of tourism

development, livelihoods, and human rights, are used to frame this study as detailed below.

1.4.1 Tourism

In addition to the primary economic definitions of tourism, for the sake of this research, in an attempt to steer away from solely economic definitions, the following Weaver and Opperman (Weaver & Oppermann, 2000) definition is used:

Tourism is the “sum of the phenomena and relationships arising from the interaction among tourists, business suppliers, host governments, host communities, origin governments, universities, community colleges and non-governmental organizations, in the process of attracting, transporting, hosting and managing these tourists and other visitors.”

This definition incorporates relationships into the understanding of tourism. Note that the researcher does not recognize tourism as apolitical. Instead, tourism is understood to have great power to shape and change cultures, peoples, geographies and power relations.

1.4.2 Potential Trickle-Down Effect

In analyzing the effect of tourism on the local community it is essential to understand the linkage between tourism and development.

Modernization attests to the idea that the economic benefits provided by the government to businesses and the wealthy will benefit poorer members of society by improving the economy as a whole (Oxford English Dictionary Online, 2012).

American President John F. Kennedy was famous for promoting this theory in his policies, with the understanding that the government can best promote growth by providing incentives for persons to produce goods and services and that improvements in the economy will provide benefits to all participants. In 1963 in a speech to combat critics who were skeptical of his proposed dam infrastructure project, President Kennedy famously stated “a rise in tide lifts all boats,” implying that growth in the economy will seep down from the wealthy developers to the remaining people in the economy (Financial Dictionary, 2012). As stated by Aghion and Bolton (1997, p. 3), “It is widely believed that the accumulation of wealth by the

rich is good for the poor since some of the increased wealth of the rich trickles down to the poor...as more capital is accumulated in the economy more funds may be available to the poor for investment purposes. This in turn enables them to grow richer.”

As development inundates new areas and supplements growth, the theory postulates that each influx brings new and different beneficiaries, including those at lower socioeconomic levels. The theory of modernization which attests that developments produced by the rich will benefit the poor will be tested in this research. The researcher will analyze whether the economic benefits of tourism development actually provide a trickle-down of livelihood benefits into the local community.

This understanding of trickle-down in development is used by the researcher to measure the amount (if any) of economic and social amplifications of tourism on the poor (including hotel, restaurant and infrastructure-related developments as a product of tourism).

1.4.3 Livelihood

In a classic 1992 paper, *Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: Practical concepts for the 21st Century*, Robert Chambers and Gordon Conway proposed the following composite definition of a livelihood:

“A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living” (February 1992).

People and their access to assets are at the heart of livelihoods approaches. In the original framework of the British Department for International Development (DFID), five categories of assets or capitals are identified:

- *Human Capital*: skills, knowledge, health and ability to work
- *Financial Capital*: financial resources including savings, credit, and income from employment, trade and remittances
- *Physical Capital*: basic infrastructure, such as roads, water & sanitation, schools, ICT; and producer goods, including tools and equipment
- *Social Capital*: social resources, including informal networks, membership of formalized groups and relationships of trust that facilitate co-operation

- *Natural Capital*: natural resources such as land, soil, water, forests and fisheries (Eldis, 2012).

Assets can be increased, lost, taken away or destroyed as a result of the trends¹, shocks² and seasonal³ changes in the vulnerability context within which people live. Policies, institutions and processes can have a great influence on access to assets - creating them, determining access, and influencing rates of asset accumulation. Those with more assets are more likely to have greater livelihood options with which to pursue their goals and reduce poverty.

The scope of this research will seek to address a change in human, financial and physical capital livelihoods. That is, to measure the changes in livelihood due to the introduction of tourism in: technical skills; knowledge and education levels; savings, remittance and credit amounts; and infrastructural and private support goods and utensils. This is mainly due to the presupposition that while changes might occur in all five categories of livelihood, the most drastic variations would be observed within the human, financial and physical capitals, and given that education and finances were witnessed as important for the local people of Ngwe Saung.

1.4.4 Human Rights

Human rights can generally be understood as the fundamental necessities and freedoms that all human beings should have. It is commonly understood that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), together with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) (1966) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) (1966) make up an international bill and understanding of human rights (Council of Europe, 2010).

¹ Trends are “long-term forces that have either a positive or a negative effect on livelihoods and involve changes that take place over a longer period of time than is the case with changes brought about by shocks or seasonality” (Department for International Development, 2012).

² Shocks are “sudden events that have a significant impact – usually negative – on livelihoods. They are irregular and vary in intensity and include events such as natural disasters, civil conflict, losing one’s job, a collapse in crop prices for farmers, etc.” (Department for International Development, 2012).

³ Seasonality refers to “seasonal changes that affect assets, activities, prices, production, health, and employment opportunities. Poor households and individuals are often especially vulnerable to seasonal changes in the value and productivity of natural capital (because they live close to nature) and human capital (because they have relatively little of it). The poor are often more vulnerable to the adverse effects of seasonality than wealthier groups” (Department for International Development, 2012).

While there are many different types of human rights, including political, security, due process, liberty, social, equality and group rights (Aghion & Bolton, 1997), this thesis chose to focus exclusively on certain economic and social aspects. This is due in part to the short time frame that tourism has been introduced in the field site, which predicates that the most measurable changes would revolve around education, food, housing, health, and economic opportunity (jobs). This limit and scope of solely analyzing certain economic and social rights is also utilized within the economic theory of trickle-down in tourism.

The specific rights being analyzed, as paraphrased from the three international works that together comprise an international bill of rights, are:

1. Right to an adequate standard of living, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and the “continuous improvement of living conditions” (Article 11 of the ICESCR, United Nations, 1966).
2. Right to health, specifically “the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health” (Article 12 of the ICESCR, United Nations, 1966).
3. Right to education, including free universal primary education, generally available secondary education and equally accessible higher education (Article 13 of the ICESCR, United Nations, 1966).
4. Right to work, with free choice of employment and favorable conditions while at work.⁴ Furthermore, everyone who works “has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worth of human dignity, and supplemented if necessary by other means of social protection.” (Article 23 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948).⁵

These four main areas of economic and social rights were chosen for substantial research given that they hold the largest opportunity for change given the reach of tourism development. Myanmar’s lack of progress in some aspects of human rights was taken into consideration for limiting the scope of this research. Considering that the country only held its first election in twenty years in 2010 (whereby the ‘democratic’ nature of the process is still largely contested), and has significant

⁴ This statement is supported both by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and Articles 6 and 7 of the ICESCR

⁵ For exact wording of these international human rights, please reference Appendix A.

documented reports of violent crackdowns, imprisonments and political prisoners (Amnesty International, 2012), it seemed unlikely that a practice in national political repression would be altered much given a short twelve-year introduction of tourism time-frame. Similarly, the country did not have any formal separation of powers between the executive, judicial and legislative powers until the 2008 Constitution was introduced in January 2011, and most human rights analysts state that it is far too early to tell the extent of this separation in practice (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2012). As a result of the aforementioned considerations, political and civil judicial rights were not included in the scope of this research, although they are acknowledged to be fundamental rights and strong indicators for improved development.

1.4.5 Linking the Trifecta: Trickle-Down Theory and its Relationship to Human Rights

In the conceptual framework presented, the researcher applies the “rising tide” theory of economics to tourism development. This new approach questions whether the benefits of tourism development trickle-down into the local impoverished community, as the economic model depicts. This new development model will also assess whether this trickle-down theory goes beyond augmenting local employment circumstances and income, to see if tourism development enhances a larger amount of social human rights for the local community.

In linking tourism to *social and economic* human rights, the researcher measured enrichments in livelihood and social rights, and whether these advances are correlated to tourism. For example, the researcher analyzed improved rights through increases or additional opportunities in: economic rights such as the right to work; educational rights such as the right to an education; and the right to public services (such as electricity, water, sanitation, and infrastructure).

1.5 Hypothesis

The hypothesis of this study is, assuming that there is a visible increase in income due to tourism, that income would NOT be widely dispersed; particularly amongst the

Conceptual Framework: Benefits to Local Population from Tourism Development

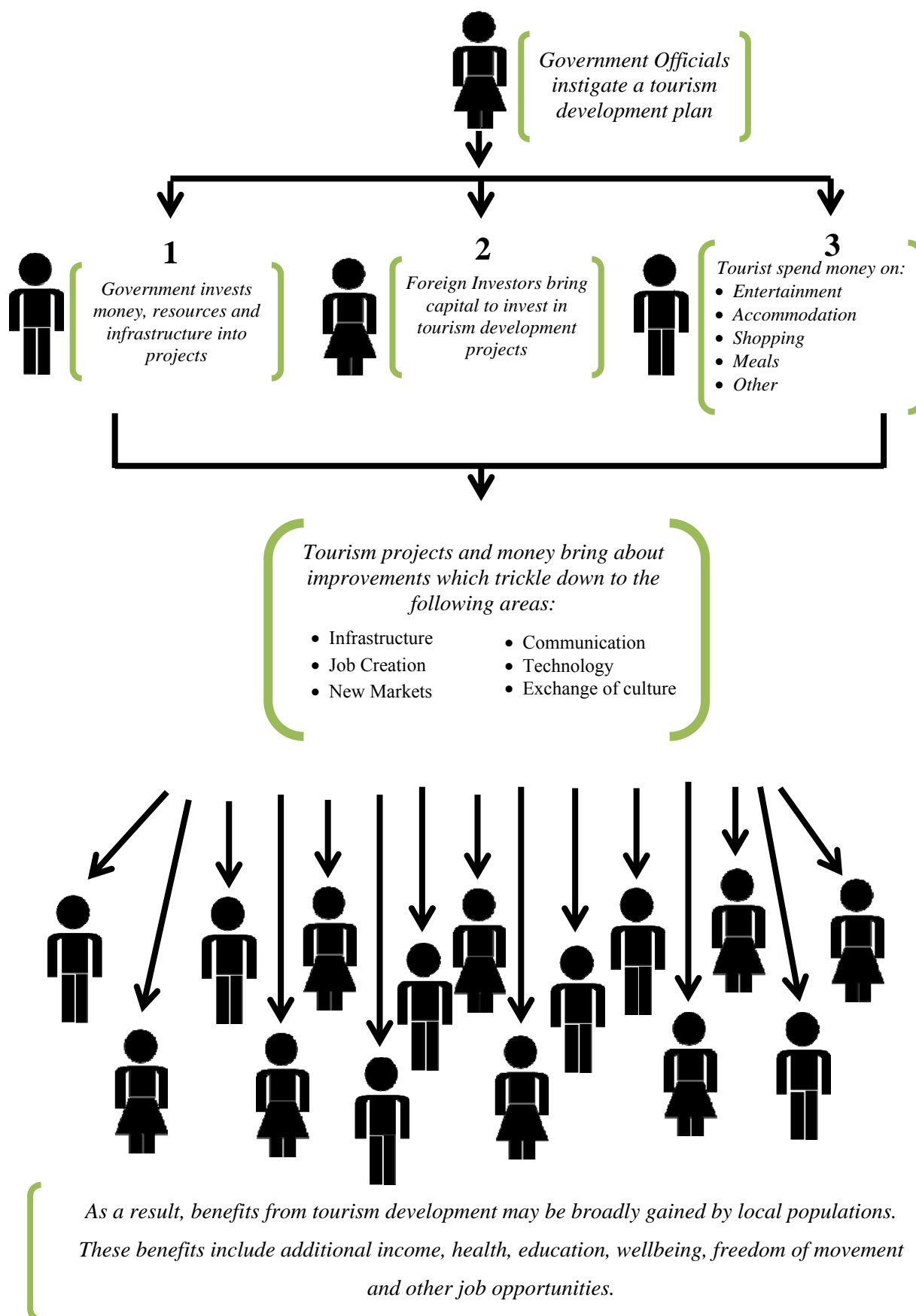


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework

middle or lower class, and that tourism development has not improved local community human rights as defined by Western standards. The preponderance of evidence in international development indicates there has been little to no substantial benefit shown from tourism development in other countries or cultures, especially as to how it can positively affect an average individual in areas such as proper education and health care. In addition, such a benefit to the average person in Myanmar is especially unlikely due in part to the country's previous corrupt system which has provoked a lack of trust amongst local peoples because a small group of people are thought to get the rewards, and the majority suffers from the country's abysmal human rights track record. Due to the lack of fundamental structural and educational foundations, it is difficult to assume that the influx from tourism development has improved the human rights standards of the local people in Ngwe Saung.

However, it is predicted that betterments from tourism development such as infrastructure and increases in income providing further purchasing power may be visible, especially amongst the upper class or government officials. This purchasing power may shed light on how the local people of Ngwe Saung consume, and whether these purchases relate directly to improvements in livelihood.

Part of this thesis assesses whether the Western definitions of human rights are applicable to Myanmar, and whether advances in livelihood can be even ascertained or witnessed in the lower socioeconomic levels so prevalent in Myanmar, and how those possible benefits affect the average person's human rights there. This thesis seeks to better ascertain any changes in human rights from the perspective of the average local citizen impacted by tourism in Ngwe Saung.

1.6 Research Methodology

In order to understand the relationship between tourism, development and human rights, a mixed method of both quantitative and qualitative research is utilized for this study. The quantitative method is used in collecting information about the economic impingement tourism had on the local people of Ngwe Saung through looking at income levels, employment possibilities, standards of living and recent spending habits of the local people. Similarly, some qualitative aspects are included in this study including open-ended questions, semi-structured and key informant interviews, and community observations. Additionally, survey questionnaires (including both

quantitative and open-ended response) were used to collect data regarding the economic impact of tourism on some remote villages in Ngwe Saung. Interviews conducted include local authorities, provincial and district hotelier officers, hotel staff, restaurant owners, tour group managers, community leaders, village elders, fishermen, farmers, relevant NGO staff, and local community members living in Ngwe Saung.

The researcher spent a total of 22 days conducting field work in Myanmar. Although the researcher had allotted more time in the selected community, complications with local authorities made it impossible to stay, and in total, 11 days were spent collecting data from participants in the selected community and remaining days were used to study and collect information from government officers, tourism agencies and associations, and staff of NGOs in Yangon. 5 days were used to review, analyze, follow up and solidify the research to ensure it was complete. During the field work, the researcher coordinated with a local agency called the Ngwe Saung Hoteliers Association, which helped to isolate key informants within the local community who helped facilitate interviews and connections with the local people.

1.6.1 Information Collecting in Yangon

In Yangon, the researcher met with various officials and managers of the Ngwe Saung Hoteliers Association, which has committed itself to ‘Responsible Tourism,’ individual tour companies who bring tourists to the research site and a non-profit organization committed to an open and accountable tourism industry in Myanmar. These interviews provided an overview of the tourism industry both in Myanmar and Ngwe Saung, statistical data regarding the economic activity in the region, and permitted the opportunity for comparatives over time, and projection as to where the industry may go.

1.6.2 Case Study in Ngwe Saung

As mentioned above, the community of Ngwe



Figure 2: Map of Myanmar, Source: Myanmar Travel Information, 2012

Saung has been selected as the case study for this research. Ngwe Saung was chosen given that it only opened to tourists in March 2000, leaving a twelve-year window of possible change. It is not a primary destination for tourists, as most opt for neighboring Chaungtha and Ngapali beaches, but has ample potential for growth. There have been visible advances in infrastructure given the recent 2008 beginnings of construction for a Ngwe Saung airport (MTCO Communications, 2012), as well as the coveted paved road connecting Ngwe Saung to both Yangon and the Ayeyarwady Division's largest city, Patheingyi (Lin & Winn, 2008). The Ayeyarwady Division has a population of over 6.5 million, making it the most populous of Myanmar's states and divisions with an average population density of 466 persons per square mile (Myanmar Travel Information, 2012).

Located on the west coast of Ayeyarwady Division 233 kilometers (144 miles) from Yangon, Ngwe Saung currently has 17 operating hotels with a total of about 800 rooms along the seven-kilometer stretch of coastline (Oo, 2007). Restaurants mainly offer local cuisine, tourist activities are minimal (but it should be noted that they are on the rise with Ngwe Saung being Myanmar's premier dive location (Cho, 2004), and "nightlife is nonexistent" (Asia Web Direct, 2010). Originally the beach hosted domestic tourists from Myanmar, with original numbers indicating 20,954 Myanmar citizens and 823 foreigners visiting Ngwe Saung in 2001 (total: 21,777) (Myanmar Travel Guide, 2003). However, in recent years there has been a drastic increase in the number of foreign tourists inhabiting the 'silver' beaches.

Given its relatively recent opening to tourism, Ngwe Saung provides a perfect sample to analyze the recent influences of the industry on the local people. Therefore, this case study is useful in visualizing a complete picture regarding the economic transformation of the tourism industry – from the very local level involving local communities to interaction between those communities and larger tourism operators in Ngwe Saung. Overall, it is also important to analyze from this data, the relationship between tourism development and its influence on social human rights for the local people of Ngwe Saung.

1.6.3 Respondents and Sampling Procedures

The researcher divided respondents into five main groups:

- Local Officials and Authorities,
- Hoteliers and Tourism Committees,
- Local hotel staff and management,
- Local entrepreneurs in tourism (such as restaurant owners, souvenir shop vendors and guest house operators) , and
- Remaining local community members – including fishermen, farmers and non-tourism related professions

The interviews of all participants are conducted in three forms: respondent semi-structured interviews, survey questionnaires, and ethnographic individual interviews. The Ngwe Saung Zone Hotelier Association introduces several key persons which aided introduction into the community. The researcher ensured that within each of the five respondent groups, both key informants and ethnographic participants were isolated. The snowball sampling technique was utilized to help identify further key respondents including monks, doctors, local authorities, and elders.

Open-ended and semi-structured interviews, as well as group discussions are applied with key participants. Key informants include but are not limited to, the Ngwe Saung Zone Hotelier Association, Supreme Services Team, a WTO (UN) official, government officials and local authorities, village elders, and highly educated members of the Ngwe Saung monastery.

Regarding survey questionnaire interviews in each community, twenty-one respondents came from four different villages:

- Bu Quay Gyi Village
- Naung Maw Village
- Ma Gyi Maw Village
- Cee Ma Village

The selection of participants for the survey questionnaire are set up and advised by the Ngwe Saung Zone Hotelier Association in combination with other participants. For the survey questionnaire with local people, which is conducted in order to understand the changes of economic income and other social wellbeing aspects, participants are chosen by random convenience (those who were accessible and agreed to an interview), with varying economic background, age, sex and education levels, from different households within the village. Included in these conducted questionnaire surveys are farmers, fishermen, merchants, hotel staff and vendors. Ages interviewed

were between 18 and 58, with completed education levels between primary and high school levels. While other villages and many more individuals were interviewed through survey questionnaires, miscommunication with local authorities resulted in the loss of half of the questionnaires.

The survey questionnaire with local people was conducted individually in the sense that the information recorded is representative of one individual, but family members could offer to help in answering the questions should this be appropriate. The participants in this group discussion were selected based on observation and convenience.

Furthermore, in order to understand and get deeper information about situations and changes of economic opportunity and the social morale of local people, the researcher conducted over eighty semi-structured interviews. The researcher selected the interviewees by traveling around the main village, local hotels, restaurants and businesses, and neighboring villages. These interviewees were selected at random, although consideration was given to those who felt more comfortable speaking to the researcher. The selected persons in these interviews were from different physical and economic aspects based on their occupation and income levels whereas importance in ethnicity, race, and gender was not given as high of a priority. The objective of the researcher in these semi-structured interviews was to collect as many opinions regarding the impression of tourism – from various ages, backgrounds, occupational groups, and geographies within the sub-township of Ngwe Saung.

1.6.4 Sample Size

During the three-week fieldwork in Myanmar from June to July 2012, the researcher met and interviewed the following participants:

Schedule of Interviews and Sampling Procedures					
<i>Participant Information</i>	<i>Participants</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Types of Interviews</i>	<i>Sampling Procedure</i>
Local community	Survey households	21	Ngwe Saung surrounding villages	Survey Questionnaire	Random
Local community	Individuals varying in age, occupation and background	80+	Ngwe Saung	Semi-structured Interview	Ethnographic
NGO staff	Including: Supreme	3	Yangon and	Semi-structured	Purposive

	Services Team, and Spectrum		Ngwe Saung	Interview	Sampling
Tourism Agencies	Including: Santa Maria Travels	3	Yangon and Ngwe Saung	Semi-structured Interview	Purposive Sampling
Key-informant	Ngwe Saung Hotelier Association, Doctors, Elders and Local Authorities	19	Yangon	Group Interview	Purposive Sampling
<p>Summary of Participants:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local community in Ngwe Saung= 21 households (survey questionnaire) and 80+ individuals (ethnographic semi-structured interviews) • NGOs staff = 3 organizations (semi-structured interviews) • Tourism Agencies = 3 agencies (semi-structured interview) • Key informant = 19+ persons (group interviews) 					

Table 1: Schedule of Interviews and Sampling Procedures

1.6.5 Data Collection and Research Instruments Used

Data collection and research instruments were divided into three main parts in accordance with the research objectives. The first segment required collecting data and information about employment statuses and income changes from the establishment of tourism in Ngwe Saung. The data collected from this part responds to the first objective. In the second part, data and information was collected in an attempt to determine the impact that these personal economic changes have brought about for larger social possibilities, and how these changes in income were used to improve daily life. This part responds to objectives two and three of this study. Finally, the researcher analyzed the composite above data to determine the relationship between tourism, development and human rights. This answers the final objective. Each part is detailed as follows.

1.6.5.1 Measuring Economic Opportunities and Income Levels

In order to effectively encapsulate the economic influence of the tourism industry on the local people in Ngwe Saung, the researcher utilized both survey questionnaires and semi-structured interviews with the local Ngwe Saung community.

To understand the changes in economic outlook and income levels of the local community due to the appearance of tourism in Ngwe Saung, an individual survey questionnaire was conducted with twenty-one households who are in the further removed villages of the sub-township. The questionnaire collected random samplings of local villagers, and aimed to collect information on various occupations and

households in order to understand the general trends and aspects of economic freedom and income levels in the community and their relationship⁶ to tourism. Moreover, in order to further knowledge of the economic effect of tourism, over eighty participants were selected for individual semi-structured interviews. Most of these questions were open and semi-open questions as opposed to the survey questions which are quantifiable but allowed room for commentary should it be initiated. Questions regarding changes in economic liberties and income levels were critically prepared in order to provide accurate and useful information in later analysis (See Appendices for sample survey questionnaire).

The survey questionnaire was prepared by the researcher with the guidance from academics and Myanmar peers prior to departing for her field work. Upon arrival in Ngwe Saung, after speaking with several key informants in Yangon and further observation, the researcher went out into the field with a translator and further tested the survey to ensure that the questions and indicators were appropriate. The survey was then conducted by four translators over a period of five days. The researcher divided her time between translators, ensuring that data was collected correctly, and reviewed each collection with the group of translators at the end of each day to ensure that the information was properly recorded and that no further changes should be made.

1.6.5.2 Measuring Social Change and Wellbeing

In outlining the social influences of tourism on the local community of Ngwe Saung, targeted questions were positioned during the survey questionnaire and semi-structured interviews of the local community members. These questions sought to understand whether income levels aided individuals to increase their wellbeing, if tourism development projects improved their daily commutes, and if new tourists created a new market for their businesses. These questions were dispersed through the survey questions and semi-structured interviews of the local community, and will follow the same format as that outlined later in this chapter.

⁶ “Relationship” at the time of the research was interpreted to be either positive or negative – as in, ‘relationship’ may mean that individuals or families are *excluded* or negatively affected by the tourism industry. The measurements did not solely focus on individuals who were employed by the tourism industry but sought a larger perspective of those who have been influenced regardless of their employer.

1.6.5.3 Linking Tourism, Development and Human Rights

In assessing the relationship between tourism, development and human rights, the researcher attempted to get the best overall picture from collecting data from a variety of sources, including: the local Ngwe Saung community, local authorities, village leaders, the Ngwe Saung Hoteliers Association, tourism agencies, NGO staff, and other key informants within the local community.

Pointedly, the perspectives and experiences from the local authorities, hotel owners, tourism agencies and local people whose work is closely involved in the development of tourism projects in Ngwe Saung are important to understand the economic impingement that tourism has created at the local level. Overall, the data and information collected identified and demonstrated the ramifications of tourism development in Ngwe Saung by understanding employment outlook and income levels from the local people, as well as establishing the connection between local tourist providers to the higher levels of authority and governance within the sub-township. These interviews were mainly conducted through semi-structured interviews, with different lists of open questions prepared for different respondents. The interview questions were prepared in English, and depending on the interviewee, the interviews were either conducted in English or in Myanmar – depending on which language the interviewee feels most comfortable. It was also found that the collective data measured from the survey questionnaire developed further insight into defining the relationship between tourism, development and human rights.

From the above data collection, the researcher returned from the field, analyzed the data and came to a better understanding of the relationship between tourism, development and human rights. This relationship was thus compared and assessed within the context of the conceptual framework.

1.6.6 Data Treatment and Translation

After data and information was collected from participants, it was recorded in two different fashions. The quantitative data was input into Microsoft Excel, where appropriate graphs, charts and data reflection were later created and analyzed (as noted throughout the data chapters in this thesis). The qualitative data (semi-structured interviews and any open-responses from the survey) were recorded and

transcribed in Microsoft Word in order to keep the data collected organized and electronic.

This data was presented in the following thesis in two ways; both in a narrative form, with quotes from individuals and descriptions of the key issues and trends identified, and quantifiably, with data charts, diagrams and graphs, analyzed according to the research objectives. Overall, the findings of this research were discussed and interpreted through a summarized description of the narratives, including pulling quotes and relevant observations, as well as in graph form, which presented data in an organized and comprehensible manner, in accordance with the research objectives and conceptual framework.



Figure 3: Local translator conducting survey questionnaire with local fisherman
1.7 Research Scope and Limitations

The greatest limitation throughout the field research was the language barrier as the researcher herself does not speak the local language. In order to diffuse this limitation, help was sought through the use of one translator, who accompanied the researcher on the duration of the field research. In addition, trained translators assisted in conducting the survey questionnaire. However, as with any translation, there may have been some meanings and emotions that were ‘lost in translation.’

Building a good relationship and communication with participants and local people regarding access to data and information was taken very seriously by the researcher, in order to ensure accurate and honest information. Questions were presented in an

unbiased format, and interviewees were made aware of the research subject matter prior to their consent to be interviewed. In order to include multiple opinions, account for biases, and check for potential planted interviews, the researcher traveled to very remote areas within the sub-township, interviewed multiple individuals within each occupation, and cross-compared results between surveys, key informants and interviews. While some participants were suggested by the Ngwe Saung Hoteliers Association and other key informants, the researcher also randomly approached individuals within the community to ensure that the target participant audience was not being pre-determined. Regarding personal security, the researcher was careful when traveling from one place to another place by utilizing secure public transportation or other means while ensuring that travel was both safe and convenient, yet did have occasional disagreements with the local authorities. Although these disagreements did not censor the results of the research, they provided additional time constraint and the confiscation of some data.

Other limitations include the possibility that results may not be able to be extrapolated to other communities, and interviewees may not have responded truthfully, especially local authorities and other organizations with personal agendas, who may have tried to alter the data in an attempt to attain more desirable outcomes. However, the researcher did not feel that the responses included in this research contained high levels of untrustworthy or invalid information, as it was fact checked through other avenues including the survey questionnaires, second opinions, and statistical information.

In terms of research scope, it was evident from the research that most people in Ngwe Saung had already adapted to changes in tourism by the time the researcher had arrived, twelve years since the industry's introduction. These adaptations include a transition from an informal to a formal economy, job opportunities and practicalities, and overall lifestyle changes. While many individuals and their families were emotionally upset and strongly voiced their disliking towards tourism, they responded to standard ethnographic interview questions that the subsequent benefits mentioned in this research were a result from the introduction of the industry. It was difficult for the scope of this research to accurately depict these emotions and negative opinions towards tourism, as although not everyone spoke positively about tourism in general, they asserted benefiting from tourism when answering the researcher's standard set of

interview questions. It must be noted in this research, that while each individual held their own opinion regarding tourism, and many negative opinions were recorded, their response in detailing benefits from the industry itself was largely positive and transparent.

1.8 Ethical Issues

The topic being researched, tourism development, is widely viewed to be one of the most lucrative sectors for Myanmar, and one of the government's key economic priorities, and is therefore not overly-controversial and often promoted in government discussions (Lin & Winn, 2008). However, sensitivity was given to the usage of the term "human rights" while in the field, given that the country is very sensitive about their previous human rights record and should this research have been mistaken with an investigation on the country's practice of human rights, it could have put the subjects of the research at risk.

This study required collecting information directly from participants from the field. Therefore, the researcher needed to ensure that the individuals and respondents participating and selected in this study were treated with respect and sensitivity. The researcher greatly values the importance of ethics and honesty, and all of the information collected was purposefully used only for this research. To respect the rights of the participants, all subjects of the research were given the chance to understand the research prior to their participation, and the researcher ensured that all participants voluntarily consented to participate in the interviews. Maintaining confidentiality and anonymity is a high priority. Whether they were providing information on a survey, or responding to a semi-structured interview, respondents were not permitted to disclose their names or personal contact information. Respondents' physical and psychological wellbeing was also assured throughout the data collection process in Myanmar. The time and effort bestowed by each participant is highly appreciated. Interviews, surveys, and other instruments used in the research were designed in such a way that research participants were not embarrassed or asked to do something that might put them in jeopardy.

1.9 Significance of Research

With the recent developments in Myanmar, investors and development projects are pouring into the country. In the past few months, Japan has pledged \$7.4 billion to the Mekong region – including several infrastructure projects in Myanmar, and the World Bank just announced it would re-open its offices in Myanmar for the first time in over 15 years, preparing as much as \$85 million in development aid to the country (Mizzima Associated Press, 2012). China has continued to fight environmentalists to potentially invest \$25 billion in what would be China’s largest overseas hydropower investment to date – which is expected to provide Myanmar with much-needed electricity and “dividends worth US\$54 billion, which account for more than Myanmar’s entire GDP for 2010” (Meng, 2012). The Asian Development Bank’s Myanmar country Director Craig Steffensen says that Myanmar is a “gold mine” and that “there is no flight to, or hotel in Myanmar that isn’t booked by businesspeople looking at opportunities there to get involved in tourism, banking, telecommunications and construction” (Petty, 2012). In addition to investments in tourism and development, tourists themselves are anticipated in large numbers, partially due to Aung San Suu Kyi’s lifting of her travel boycott against Myanmar in late 2011 (Info Burmanie, March 2011, p. 4). With this new wave of tourism development projects at such expedited rates, the livelihoods of the local people must be taken into consideration. While the study of the implications of tourism development on the local people is not totally unique, this is not something that is even remotely well researched in Myanmar. This research helps bring a voice to those who have not previously been included but are largely affected by tourism development. Furthermore, the researcher’s intention to uncover the link between tourism, development and human rights is something that is entirely new to the field of tourism research.

The research prepared to disclose both the positive and negative implications of tourism development on local communities. The results of the research demonstrate a significant study as the interaction and balancing of power and responsibility between the central government and local institutions in tourism development were determined, the challenges and chances to improving economic liberties and income levels were assessed, and the question of whether tourism development can trickle-down down improvements for social human rights was answered. The findings of this

study provide alternative solutions in improving development and management schemes to aid the poor in tourism development for Ngwe Saung in the future.

A Rising Tide Lifts All Boats

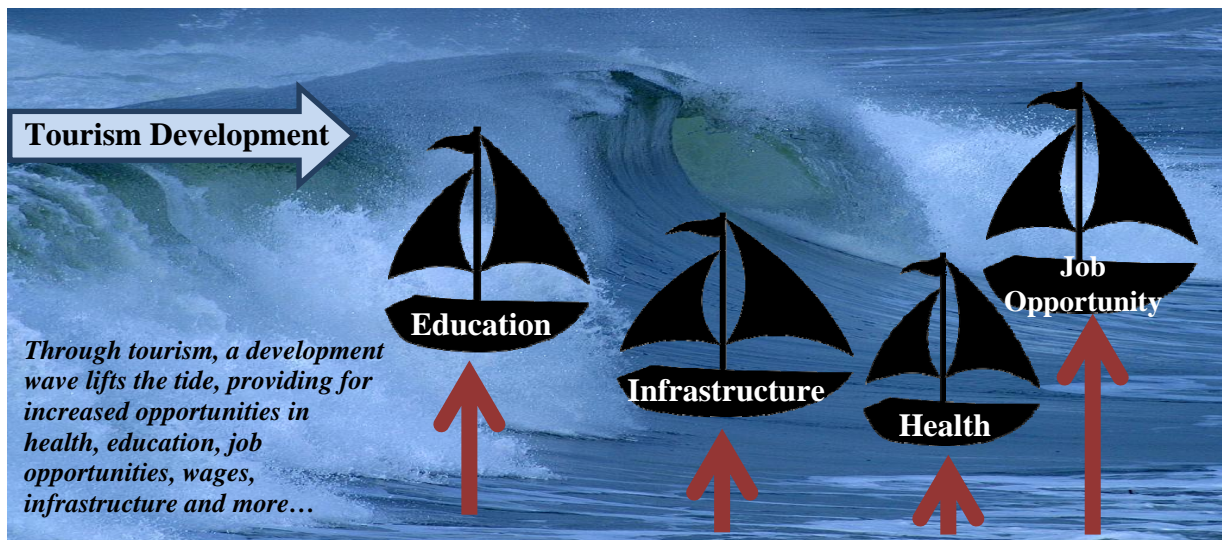


Figure 4: Explanation of Title and Rising Tide Concept

Often at the end of interviews with key informants and local people while in the field in Ngwe Saung, individuals would inquire further into this research, asking for the main concept. It proved difficult to explain the theory of trickle down, as it took time and utilized economic terms and theory. But what was collectively understood by all individuals was the “Rising Tide” theory of economics. In the middle of the beach in fishermen villages, the researcher observed as fishermen used shells to differentiate the level of benefits received by the local people as a result of tourism. By drawing little ships (shells) in the sand, they explained the “Rising Tide” theory through their eyes, depicting how much benefit was witnessed for various human rights by changing the level of the boat (shell). This research is named after the “Rising Tide” theory, as it was understood and explained first-hand by the participants in the sands of Ngwe Saung.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND BACKGROUND

2.1 Introduction

The information in this chapter is divided into two bodies: a literature review, and background on the research site. Within the literature review are two sections; tourism development and its impact on the poor, and tourism in Myanmar, the two major concepts used throughout the study. In the first section of the literature review, the concept of tourism development in developing countries is raised in a general context as a guide to the discussion, and then further dialogue focuses on similar research regarding pro-poor tourism development conducted in the Greater Mekong Sub-region. A brief understanding of tourism in Myanmar is presented offering insight on the country's recent official opening to tourists for the first time in over sixty years. Lastly, an overview of the research site is offered in the second portion of this chapter.

2.2 Tourism Development for the Poor

The United Nations General Assembly notes the relationship between tourism and poverty alleviation in its 2001 *Global Code of Ethics for Tourism*;

“Recognizing the important dimension and role of tourism as a positive instrument towards the alleviation of poverty and the improvement of the quality of life for all people, the potential to make a contribution to economic and social development, especially of the developing countries, and the emergence as a vital force for the promotion of international understanding, peace and prosperity...” (United Nations General Assembly, 2001).

Tourism development is credited with stimulating employment and investment, modifying land use and economic structure, improving infrastructure, and making a positive contribution to the balance of payments (Cater, 1987). With the creation of infrastructure, accommodation, and tourism-related businesses many employment and entrepreneurial opportunities arise – ones that often do not require high skill levels or training (WTO, 2010). Tourism is an unusual activity in that it brings the consumers to the producers, providing new customers and markets for producers (WTO, 2010).

These increases in employment opportunities and income, infrastructure, markets and investment are understood to “trickle-down” and multiply to all citizens in the region where tourism development has taken place. Tourism development can therefore be viewed as an instigator for improving the basic human rights of citizens.

However, the United Nations also cautioned in its February 2010 Trade and Development Session, in notes by the UNCTAD secretariat, that:

“However, developing countries encounter significant economic, social and environmental challenges in maximizing the gains from their national tourism industries, including the need to strengthen weak intersectoral linkages and reduce excessive revenue leakage from their national economies. After reviewing salient trends in the global tourism industry, this note identifies major challenges and outlines policy approaches to meet them” (UNCTAD Secretariat, 2010).

It is obvious then, that both positive and negative effects of tourism can be experienced, and it is important to understanding both aspects. The following sections will highlight the positive improvements and negative setbacks that tourism development has been known to instigate.

2.2.1 Positive Indicators from Tourism Development

In the past several years, there has been a remarkable surge in tourism to developing countries. Arrivals to developing countries accounted for 47 percent of the total international arrivals in 2010 (WTO, 2011). The UN WTO notes that “Tourism has become a major player in the economy of developing countries” (WTO, 2011) and by 2020, it is anticipated that East Asia will overtake the Americas as the second most popular tourist destination in the world (following Europe) (WTO, 2010).

Tourism development in developing countries has been traditionally viewed as a means of promoting economic growth (WTO, 1998) and is extremely important to the economic development of many Third World countries. For example, tourism is a significant economic sector in 11 of the 12 countries that contain 80 percent of the world’s poor (Lea, 1988, p. 1) and is the primary source of foreign earnings for the world’s 48 least developed countries (WTO, 1998).⁷ Tourism accounts for more than

⁷Statistic does not include oil which, although the largest contributor overall, is only relevant to three countries.

twice as much cash moving from rich to poor countries than governments give in aid (WTO, 2010).

In 2010, international tourism arrivals to emerging markets and developing countries amounted to 443 million (Ashley & Mitchell, 2005). In that same year, tourism generated 45 percent of the total exports in services in developing countries. Tourism is a principal export in over 80 percent of developing countries and the main export of one third of them (WTO, 2010). In some developing countries, notably small island states, tourism can account for over 25 percent of GDP (WTO, 2010).

There is limited substantial research regarding the potential enrichment for tourism in developing countries on the livelihoods of the poor. As stated by the WTO, “Tourism in many developing and least developed countries is the most viable and sustainable economic development option, and in some countries, the main source of foreign exchange earnings” (WTO, 2010). The WTO contests that income generated from tourism seeps down to different groups of society and, as stated by the WTO, “if tourism is managed with a strong focus on poverty alleviation, it can directly benefit the poorer groups through employment of local people in tourism enterprises, goods and services provided to tourists, or the running of small and community-based enterprises having positive impacts on reducing poverty levels” (2010).

Although pro-poor tourism development has not been conducted in Myanmar, there have been a few studies regarding the response of tourism on local communities in neighboring countries – such as Thailand and Cambodia. In Anan Wattanakuljarus’s research, which analyzed whether tourism growth was “pro-poor,” his conclusions pointed to the fact that real wages and real rates of return on capital for those individuals who were employed in the tourism industry were greater than those in the agricultural sector (Wattanakuljaris, 2007, p. 244), suggesting that income levels were increased for the poor due to tourism, but only for those industries that had a direct relation to tourism and wealth was not spread uniformly amongst the impoverished community. Furthermore, editor Mingsarn-Kaosa-ard’s research in “Mekong Tourism: Blessings for All?” indicated that although income was not dispersed evenly amongst the poor communities and was concentrated in the hands of few, it is an “important cash source for the poorest families in the villages studied” and villagers were “generally satisfied with tourism as an additional source of income” (Kaosa-ard,

2007). Furthermore, in a 2007 Cambodia Development Resource Institute (CDRI) study, it was noted that the poor in Siem Reap believed their well-being had been improved in infrastructure and social services directly from tourism (2007, p. 260). Similarly, the same report found that the poverty incidence in Luang Prabang is falling “at a faster rate than anywhere else in the country” with the case study arguing that it is largely due to the pervasion of tourism (CDRI, 2007, p. 11). Lastly, in Sapa, Vietnam, researchers determined that a direct linkage between tourism and poverty reduction had been established, and that participation in tourism-related activities “can be an effective way to move out of poverty” (CDRI, 2007, p. 121).

The most substantial work regarding the implication of tourism development on the livelihoods of the poor has been produced by Caroline Ashley and colleagues (Ashley, Boyd & Goodwin, 2000; Ashley & Goodwin, 2007; Ashley & Mitchell, 2005). Although her research is primarily from Africa, there are several parallel and important findings that can be compared with Myanmar, given the country’s developing status and recent opening to tourism, which are discussed at a later point in this chapter.

2.2.2 Negative Impact of Tourism Development

While the development of tourism has been regarded as a ‘panacea for the economic malaise’ of many developing countries faced with a narrow resource base and serious balance of payment difficulties (Cater, 1987), there are many challenges and difficulties that developing countries face with initiating, promoting and amplifying tourism development. Many scholars and defendants of tourism development for the poor argue that this is because it is easier to critique than create, and that “tourism is susceptible to taking the blame for negative changes simply because it is such a visible industry” (Brunt & Courtney, 1999). Despite disagreements, it is important to briefly mention these negative impacts, as they are substantial and long-lasting.

2.2.2.1 Harmful Social Impact of Tourism

Perhaps the first and most apparent reason tourism development in developing countries is seen to have a negative impact on human rights, is due to the fact that “in going to the Third World for their holidays, many tourists are seeking the ‘untouched’ (read: ‘pristine environments’) and/or the ‘exotic’ (read: ‘tribal peoples in ethnic

dress'), both environments and peoples which are particularly vulnerable to exploitation (Albuquerque & McElroy, 1995). Tourism, in bringing foreigners into a country, forces exchanges in culture, which are often seen as damaging to the 'exotic' way of life for the local people. Similarly, environments are affected by the overwhelming amount of people – wildlife, resources and landscapes are all impacted. Additionally, with livelihoods less balanced and heavily reliant on the more lucrative opportunities in tourism, tourism can undermine economic security by creating dependency on a volatile industry.

Another less evident criticism to bringing tourism development into developing countries, is noted by Scheyvens (2002, p.8), "If job creation transforms a community of self-sufficient farmers and traders into a community of employees reliant on a resort for menial, seasonal jobs as cleaners and service personnel, it would be difficult to argue that 'good change' has occurred." This is a foundational question to all human progress; not simply tourism: Just as the highly beneficial aspects of the personal computer are necessary in today's world, there is concomitant negative social impact – how does one judge what is progress and a "better" life? This criticism greatly takes into consideration the way in which tourism development's impact on human rights is measured – and whether cultural bias or value-added perception determines much of these questionable 'advancements.'

2.2.2.2 Dependency on Developed Countries

Dependency theory argues that there are internal political, institutional and economic structures in developing countries that keep them in a dependent position in the global economic system controlled by developed countries (Telfer, 2003). The resulting international capitalistic system of rich and poor countries leaves an unequal power relationship between the developed (centre) and the developing (periphery) (Frank, 1988; Todaro, 1994). Dependency theory contributes to discussions on tourism and development to show the uneven balance of power which accords large private organizations, usually Western-based, an unfair influence over tourism development and control over the economic rewards of tourism (Scheyvens, 2002, p. 33).

Lea (1988: 12) analyzes tourism development as being a consequence of imperial domination of the Third World in the past and the pattern of trading links and spheres of influence established at that time. "Metropolitan companies, institutions, and

governments in the post-colonial period have maintained special trading relationships with certain elite counterparts in Third World countries. These representatives of the ruling class gain most benefit from the less-than-equal share of income and profits that remain inside a peripheral economy” (Lea, 1998, p. 12).

This form of tourism neo-colonialism, whereby large multinational corporations, such as airlines, tour operators, and hotel chains, control the industry from developed countries leaving the developing countries as the mercy of these global giants (Britton, 1982). Power structures emerge in the tourism industry reinforcing the dependency and vulnerability of developing country destinations (Telfer, 1996, p. 159). These external powers that control the tourism industry leave limited potential for community development through tourism as destinations are exploited by the tourism industry (Telfer, 2003). In this regard, tourism can disempower local residents from decision-making and create conflict by creating power structures which limit and take away land and other natural resources (Ashley and Goodwin, 2000).



Figure 5: Dependency Theory in Tourism Development, Source: Polyp.org.uk

This neo-colonialism, or as labeled by some as imperialism (Scheyvens, 2002), was seen to exploit the physical and human resources of the Third World. Tourists, through their power control and domination of the market furthered economic dependency, undermining the autonomous decision-making power of the local people (Krippendorf, 1987). This ‘alien [tourism] development’ occurs in many developing

countries and is considered to be a serious problem due to the economic structure of dependency on the external market demand [Western tourists and Western travel businesses] (Akama, 1999, p. 7).

2.2.2.3 Leakages

Leakages, known as the way in which revenue generated by tourism is lost to other countries' economies due to a large externally controlled tourism industry are devastating to the growth, prosperity and development of a developing nation (Brown, 1998).

On average, around 55 percent of tourism expenditure remains outside the destination country, rising as high as 75 percent (Ashley, Boyd & Goodwin, 2000, p. 1). Leakage occurs due to use of imported skilled labor and luxury products, repatriation of profits by owners, and the considerable role of marketing, transport and other services based in the originating country. This direct loss of economic benefits of tourism to a host country is most visibly evident when individuals book their travel through Western travel agencies, utilize Western airlines, stay in accommodations that are part of a multinational hotel chain, and eat mainly imported food and drink – such as Coca Cola, McDonald's and KFC (Scheyvens, 2002).

The effects of leakages can be devastating to a developing nation, and in some severe situations, it can actually neutralize the money generated from tourism (UNEP, 2012). What is important to analyze from a pro-poverty or human rights development perspective is the concern not simply about how much money stays in the country, but how much is spent on goods and services of the poor (Ashley, Boyd & Goodwin, 2000). This external control and lack of spending on goods and services of the impoverished certainly does not promote a basic human rights improved standards of living focus, and furthermore, can suppress the growth of human rights and economic growth.

2.2.3 Conclusion on Impacts of Tourism Development on Developing Countries

In concluding this summary of previous study regarding the impact of tourism development, it is obvious that while economic and social improvement can be witnessed, it is risked with the cost of a further divide in power relations between rich and poor, increasing dependency on foreign investors and consumer goods, and

devastating communities with nearby development. Below, Ashley and Goodwin (2000) highlight both the positive and negative contributions tourism development has on the livelihoods of the poor, serving as a summary of the above highlighted positive and negative attributes of tourism development on the local people.

Potential Positive and Negative Impacts of Tourism on Aspects of Livelihood		
Tourism Affects	Possible Positive Impacts	Possible Negative Impacts
Livelihood goals	<i>Tourism can support livelihood goals such as economic security, cultural life, health</i> E.g. by increasing cash income of workers/entrepreneurs, contributing to cultural restoration, catalysing improvements in hygiene	<i>Tourism can undermine economic security, self-determination and health</i> E.g. by creating dependency on a volatile industry among workers, creating local inflation, disempowering residents from decision-making, exacerbating spread of disease
Livelihood activities	<i>Expand economic options</i> E.g. by creating employment and small business options for the unskilled and semi-skilled, or by complementing other activities e.g. earnings in agricultural lean season; development of transferable skills	<i>Conflict with other activities</i> E.g. constrain fishing, gathering, or agriculture if land and natural resources are taken away; clash with busy agricultural seasons; increase wildfire damage to crops and livestock
Capital Assets	<i>Build up assets (Natural, Physical, Financial, Human and Social)</i> E.g. enhanced physical assets, if earnings are invested in productive capital; enhanced natural capital, if sustainability of natural resource management is improved	<i>Erode Assets</i> E.g. lost access to natural assets if local people are excluded from tourism areas; erode social capital if conflict over tourism undermines social and reciprocal relations; over-burdening of physical infrastructure (sewage, water supply)
Policy and Institutional Environment	<i>Improve the context or residents' ability to influence it</i> E.g. by expanding local markets, focusing policy-makers' attention on marginalized areas. Participation in tourism planning and enterprise can give residents new status, information and skills to deal with outsiders	<i>Exacerbate policy constraints</i> E.g. diverting policy-makers' attention, resources and infrastructure investment to prioritize tourism over other local activities. Improved transport access and markets can undermine local production
Long-term livelihood priorities	<i>'Fit' with people's underlying long-term priorities</i> E.g. to diversify against risk, or build buffers against drought, by developing an additional source of income which continues in drought years	<i>Create or exacerbate threats to long term security</i> E.g. physical threats from more aggressive wild animals due to disturbance by tourists; economic vulnerability can be exacerbated due to dependence on volatile tourism
Adapted from Ashley and Goodwin (2000)		

Table 2: Potential Positive and Negative Impacts of Tourism on Aspects of Livelihoods

2.3 Tourism in Myanmar

Myanmar, previously known as Burma, is the largest state in mainland Southeast Asia with a population of over 60 million, ranking as one of the 25 largest populations in the world according to the CIA World Fact Book (CIA, 2012).

Currently more than half of the country is closed to tourism due to limitations enacted by the military regime because of ongoing conflicts with various ethnic minorities. Within the Ayeyarwady Division, only three cities are accessible to tourists [Patheingyi, Chaungtha (beach), and Ngwe Saung (beach)] out of twenty-nine (CIA, 2012).

Myanmar, although rich in natural resources, is a country plagued by poverty. It has been estimated in past years that generals running the country spend approximately 40 percent of the country's budget on the military, while most of the people live in poverty and disease (Info Burmanie, March 2011, p. 15). In 2011, Myanmar ranked 149th out of 187 countries and territories in the United Nations Human Development Index (HDI), which measures achievements in health, education and living standards (UNDP, 2011b). Myanmar ranked nearly 20 points below the rest of East Asia and the Pacific's regional HDI average.

Myanmar has been accused of horrific human rights violations, and as a result has suffered from economic sanctions from both the European Union and the United States. Yet, after years of deadlock and stagnation in the country, change is coming at a rapid pace (though still on military terms), as many of these sanctions have been lifted. Since taking office in March 2011 after deeply flawed elections, the new president, U Thein Sein, a former general, has shown 'leanings toward democratization, breaking sharply from the highly centralized and erratic policies of the past' (UNDP, 2011a).

On April 2, 2012, after the National League for Democracy announced that it had won 43 of the 45 parliamentary seats, Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi was enthusiastic and spoke of the "beginning of a new era" in a brief address to a tightly packed crowd outside her party's headquarters (New York Times, 2012).

Issues regarding Tourism in Myanmar

Because movement is restricted in Myanmar and tourists are not allowed to venture where they please, the image of the country is controlled by the government. Consequently, the country is often presented as "picturesque and idyllic landscapes

imbued with spirituality as a consequence of its Buddhist traditions, inhabited by peaceful people whose traditional culture has been preserved” (Info Burmanie, March 2011). However, skeptics warn that “tourism gives the illusion of an open country although the Burmese population lives in an “open sky prison” (Hudson, 2007, p. 385). There are few studies conducted on the industry’s impact on the country, but there are general observations noted by several international organizations as to the issues involved with tourism development implementation in Myanmar. These issues can largely be separated into both economic (e.g. corruption, family business and forced labor) and social (e.g. human rights violations).

2.4 Conclusion: Identifying Gaps in Knowledge

From this literature review it is evident that there are two large gaps in knowledge with regards to the context of this research. Each gap is explained in detail and explored below.

2.4.1 GAP: Relationship between Tourism, Development, and Human Rights

The first gap in research that has been identified respective to this literature review is the gap in knowledge regarding the relationship between tourism, development and human rights. As tourism theorist Sutteeshna Babu insightfully notes, “Revisiting the eclectic and slippery subject of development and its contextualization in tourism is an arduous task” (Babu, Mishra & Parida, 2008a).

Although the link between tourism and development has been clearly defined, it has not been explored practically to analyze how tourism effects development. Scholar Richard Sharpley states that “little attention is paid to how tourism contributes to development – how the developmental needs of the destination can be met by tourism and even what development actually is” (Sharpley, 2006). Furthermore, Babu notes that the inadequate attempts to assess the magnitude of contribution of tourism towards development have subsequently, “limited the legitimate understanding of it in the development of national and local economies” (Babu, Mishra & Parida, 2008, p. 17).

In the same line, because tourism and development do not have a concrete, practically analyzed connection, the link between tourism development and human rights remains largely unexplored. Although Caroline Ashley and colleagues from the

Overseas Development Institute in recent years have begun to explore the benefits of pro-poor tourism development (mostly in Africa) (see Ashley, Boyd & Goodwin, 2000; Ashley & Goodwin, 2007; Ashley & Mitchell, 2005), there has been little study on the effects of tourism development in promulgating human rights, and whether tourism helps or hinders this process. As stated by Ashley herself, “We do not know of any destination where the full range of impacts of tourism development on poverty levels (not just of one group but different poor groups) has been rigorously assessed” (Ashley & Goodwin, 2007).

Thus, the proposed research seeks to address this gap in knowledge, regarding the relationship between tourism, development and human rights.

2.4.2 GAP: The Unidentified Impression of Tourism in Myanmar

Myanmar up until very recently practiced a very tightly regulated, controlled and closed relationship to the outside world. While data collection remains sparse and a population census of the country has not been conducted officially in thirty years (since 1983), recent efforts to open the country have been acknowledged at an international level, and the country is preparing for its largest influx of tourists in the nation’s history. There has been little insight on the tourism industry in Myanmar, and the researcher was unable to find any report or document that related tourism development to the impact of human rights for the people in Myanmar.

In order to adequately receive the anticipated record number of tourists crossing into Myanmar’s borders, in partnership with the government’s renewed commitment to develop tourism projects that embody the participation of the poor, an analysis of previous tourism development must be conducted, to help understand what worked and what didn’t work in the championing of human rights.

2.5 Background on Ngwe Saung

This section introduces Ngwe Saung, the site that was undertaken for this case study, in order to give the reader some background on the geographic, demographic and infrastructure foundations required to understand this research.

2.5.1 Ngwe Saung Location

Ngwe Saung Beach is located in Western Myanmar in the Ayeyarwady Division, forty-eight kilometers from the nearest town of Pathein. Ngwe Saung has its beach frontage on the Bay of Bengal and a thirteen mile stretch of white sand and palm trees.

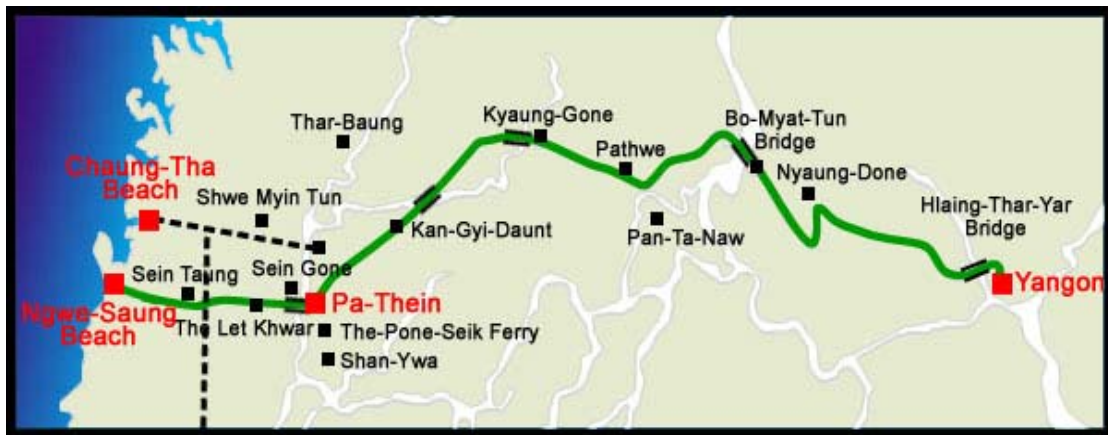


Figure 6: Map of Ngwe Saung, provided by Ngwe Saung Hoteliers Association. Public transportation includes a bus which currently runs from Yangon to Ngwe Saung once per day, routing through Pathein, and two buses commute back and forth between Pathein and Ngwe Saung daily. The commute takes about six to seven hours, and covers 232 kilometers. In 2000 the government paved the road from Yangon to Pathein and built several bridges. Prior to 2000, the road from Pathein to Ngwe Saung was known to be incredibly dangerous and took an entire day to travel. With tourism development, the government paved the road and began running regular transportation to the town.

2.5.2 Population of Ngwe Saung Sub-Township

The sub-township of Ngwe Saung has a population of 27,091 people, amongst forty-four villages. There are three main ethnic groups: Rakhine, Myanmar and Kayin that practice both Buddhism and Christianity. The chart below details each village and the local population within it.

The main town in Ngwe Saung, where the main road and resorts are located, is noted as “Ward Ngwe Saung” on the following Population Fact Sheet. Individuals were interviewed from this ward as well as from surrounding villages including Kukwe, Sinma, Thazin, Kyaukphyar and Alalywar.

Ngwe Saung Sub-Township Population Table ⁸												
	Village or Ward	Household Number	Families	Ethnic Group	Schools	Monastery	Church	Male Under 18	Female Under 18	Total Male	Total Female	Total Population
1	Ward Ngwe Saung	941	1019	Rakhine/ Myanmar	4	3	-	513	501	2029	2015	4044
2	Ward Kukwe Ngwe Saung	543	543	Kayin	3	3	-	354	382	1108	1127	2235
3	Sinma Village	605	677	Rakhine/ Myanmar	3	3	-	422	503	1318	1393	2711
4	Thazin Village	785	955	Rakhine/ Myanmar	3	3	-	401	370	1463	1543	3006
5	Kyaukphyar Village	445	445	Kayin	4	3	3	363	359	1135	1032	2167
6	Alalywar Village	474	474	Myanmar/ Kayin	5	2	3	498	608	1270	1382	2652
7	Nga Kwa Village	797	797	Myanmar/ Kayin	10	5	5	845	720	2234	2103	4337
8	Kyettuywe Village	414	414	Myanmar	4	4	-	455	438	1183	1134	2317
9	Thalutkhar Village	534	563	Myanmar/ Kayin	3	2	2	397	453	1279	1338	2617
10	Latmyathnar Village	165	167	Myanmar/ Kayin	2	1	1	239	219	511	494	1005
	TOTAL:	5703	6054		41	29	14	4487	4553	13530	13561	27091

Table 3: Ngwe Saung Sub-Township Population Table

2.5.3 Tourist Profile

The majority of tourists that travel to Ngwe Saung beach are domestic tourists, traveling from Yangon and other regions, predominately from central and northern Myanmar. Hotel managers and staff estimated that about sixty percent of tourists traveling to Ngwe Saung are domestic, while the remaining forty percent are foreigners mainly from Germany, France, Switzerland, China, the United States, Japan and Korea (Housekeeping Supervisor, Female, 24). Most domestic tourists spend between two to seven days, while foreign travelers spend anywhere from one week to one month in Ngwe Saung. Hotels and resorts pride themselves in offering a

⁸ Information for this table was acquired from the Ngwe Saung Hoteliers Association and cross-checked with local authorities. Is the most recent population chart of the Ngwe Saung Sub-township.

relaxing atmosphere, perfect climate and beautiful scenery for domestic and foreign tourists who mainly “keep to themselves and enjoy the beach and relaxation while here” (Housekeeping Supervisor, Female, 24).

2.5.4 Ngwe Saung Resorts and Coast

In the map on the right, the seventeen operating hotels and resorts can be seen strewn along the thirteen mile coast of Ngwe Saung Beach. There are twenty-one resorts on this map as some are in the process of being built. It is estimated that there are an additional fifteen to thirty guest houses, located closer to the center of town, but it is difficult to obtain this number as many do not report their earnings or existence to the local authorities. Also important to note on this map, are the education centers, hospital and local authorities. Ngwe Saung sub-township currently has two primary schools, one middle school and one high school with more primary and middle schools located in larger villages surrounding the center. The township also received its first matriculation exam center in 2007. Due to the large increase of migrant workers who arrived with the addition of hotels, the village became a township, and both municipal government offices and a police station were established in 2000. The town’s hospital was built in 2005 (High School Teacher, Male, 59) and the town currently has three pagodas that were all built by the hotels shortly after their arrival in 2000.

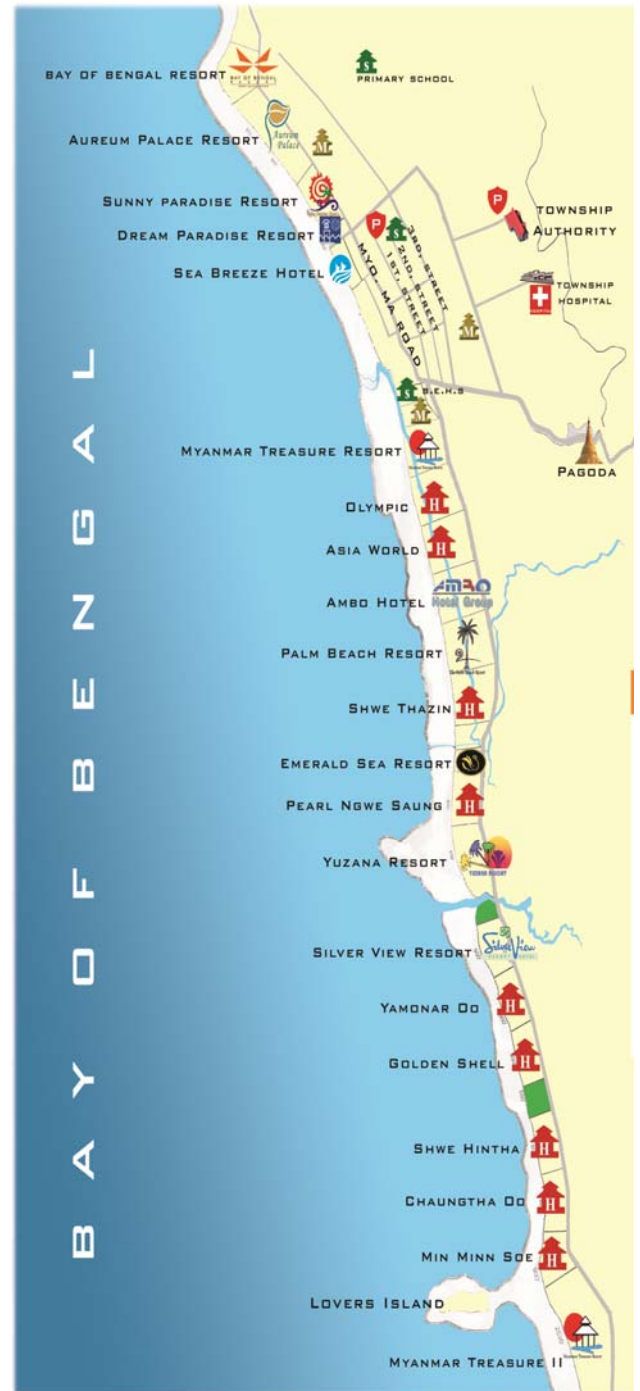


Figure 7 Map of Ngwe Saung Beach
Source: Ngwe Saung Hoteliers Association

2.5.5 Ngwe Saung Main Ward

The main road that goes through the town center, Myo Ma Road, winds past all seventeen current resorts and hotels and the middle of town. This single road, constructed in 2000, is the lifeline



of not only the tourism industry but of the entire town, as it is the prime location for businesses, restaurants, and souvenir shops. It is also where the bus station is located where villagers and tourists can come and go from Pathein and Yangon.

Most villagers who live in the main town center live further away from the main street closer to 1st, 2nd and 3rd street. These streets are not paved, in poor condition, and many villagers noted that there would be a significant improvement towards their livelihood if these roads too were paved so that tourists could come to their side of town.

The remaining villages and communities visited were several miles south along the coast past the Myanmar Treasure II.

2.5.6 Occupations

As demonstrated from the interviews, prior to the initiation of tourism in 2000, most villagers were fishermen, palm tree farmers and orchardists, or rice farmers. They had very little monetary income, and most of their needs could be quenched by living off of their land, which was primarily situated along the coast with some paddy fields further inland.

However, with the coming of tourism, several new occupations were introduced, and currently in Ngwe Saung there is a mix of professions ranging from hotel managers

and staff, to restaurant owners, tourism operators and other small businesses, and fishermen, farmers and traders.

2.5.7 Land Grab in 2000⁹

In 2000, a very important event took place – one that would forever change the landscape and future of Ngwe Saung. The government, with less than one month’s notice, confiscated the land of 400 families, forcing them to relocate to the center of town (Village Elder, Male, 82). The families were not compensated for their land, and instead only compensated 4,500 kyat per palm tree located on the land – which was for most families, the sole livelihood and income generator for their families.

Prior to 2000, most villagers lived along the shores, on large coastal-front plots of land, averaging three to four acres each and worked as fishermen and palm tree farmers. As one village elder described,

“In Ngwe Saung, there was fishing, palm trees and farming. No one was rich or poor – everyone was the same. At that time, we had 2,000 people in the village. For me, life was simple. We only had one elementary school, and no middle or high schools. We didn’t have any nightlife or alcohol, we just had our families” (Village Elder, Male, 61).

Another elder community leader noted that, “before tourism, we were all fishermen or farmers – and we grew rice and palm trees. With our palm trees, we would only pick coconuts once every two months, so we had the freedom to travel the country. I took my family to the pagodas [further away in Ayeyarwady division] every year. We didn’t always have to work and we didn’t really need money to do anything – we could live off the land” (Village Elder, Male, 82).

But in 1996, the government decided to make Ngwe Saung a “Good Beach” and envisioned a prime location for world travelers to see the natural beauties of Myanmar. In 2000, they implemented their plans, and forced villagers to relocate.

⁹ FAO, IFAD, IIED’s joint report “Land grab or development opportunity? Agricultural investment and international land deal in Africa” (2009) defines land grab as “land acquisition that does not only include purchase of ownership but also the acquisition of use rights – leases or concessions – whether short or long term” (Cotula, Vermeulen, Leonard & Keeley, 2009). This definition asserts that land grabbing refers to any investment activity that involves land transaction, underlying purpose, investors, compensation measures or time length. Investors in land grab can be either from the private sector or government body (Zoomers, 2010).

“They came on January 1st, 2000. We were told we had fifteen days to move. No one denied the orders from the military and we were told that by doing this [moving/leaving] we were providing for the next generation. We watched construction companies demolish our houses. My family and I lost three houses, over ten acres, my paddy fields and 500 palm trees. We only received compensation for 220 of the 500 trees. With our land taken, some people died from sadness, and others went insane” (Village Elder, Male, 82).

Villagers describe that this abrupt resettlement was difficult, mainly because their previous lifestyles and occupations were no longer plausible in their new environments. They could not fish anymore, because the government denied the local villagers’ access to the shores that they had previously used, and the land that they had been given in resettlement was not large enough to farm. “The government confiscation of our land ruined our livelihoods and lives! We were not compensated for the loss of our land or the loss to our livelihoods. For us – it was a sudden change from fishermen to tourism – and we couldn’t adapt that quickly. It was a shock” (Hotel Manager, Male, 53). As this one villager described, it was an extremely abrupt change. By the end of January 2000, the government had cleared all of the land and demolished all houses. Hotel entrepreneurs were then mandated a short forty-day time frame to build and construct all resorts (Hotel Manager, Male, 53). All construction workers and hotel businessmen were brought in from Yangon, because the local people had no experience with construction of this nature. Migrant workers began to flood the area (Shopkeeper, Female, 51). Within two months, villagers went from living in large, vast compounds with flexibility in their occupational working hours, to small compounds with no land and no means to sustain themselves.

Local people were jolted and befuddled as to how to earn a living in their new environment. Before, the villagers were able to sustain themselves by fishing for food and using nearby runoff water that fed into the ocean. “We never had to worry about where to get food or water before – we just lived off of our land!” (Village Elder, Male, 82). It was also mentioned that between fifty to one-hundred families lost their houses because they didn’t have money and they didn’t know how to work, so they were forced to sell their family homes in order to get more money (Information collected from Village Elder and Monk).

“For three years, we lived off of the money from our compensation. But when it ran out, we had no idea what to do! We began gathering cashew

nuts from the field. We snuck into the hotel compounds in order to fish and get enough food. Then all of a sudden, young people who were educated with the new schools that were brought in began working in the hotels. My people [Rakhine] didn't want to work for others, it is not part of our culture and we had never had to work for someone else before. But after three years and no money – we had to change our attitude” (Shopkeeper, Female, 51).

As one young hotel worker described, “My family was very very sad because we now live in a small compound whereas before our land was taken we used to have a big large house and lots of land. We had to sell our two cows and learn how to do something else because we did not have enough land to grow palm trees anymore. We used the money from our cows to open a grocery store on the main street in town, and I was able to graduate [high school] and get a job working in the hotel” (Hotel Receptionist, Female, 28).

The outcome of this government land grab are further examined in the following chapter (Chapter 3), however, it should be noted that in addition to the land which was taken from local people in 2000, it was reported from this research that further land had been seized as recently as May of this year in preparation for the SEA Games in 2013.

2.6 Conclusion

The following two chapters will analyze the data collected from this town and its surrounding villages. The first chapter of data analysis seeks to answer research objectives one and two, in analyzing to what extent the economic prevalence of tourism affected the local community and whether tourism can improve the livelihoods of the local people in Ngwe Saung. The subsequent data chapter, Chapter Four addresses research objective three by detailing the betterments in human rights that the local people experienced as a product of tourism. Chapter Five concludes the data drawing on general trends and observations and answers objective four linking the relationship between tourism development and human rights in Ngwe Saung.

Chapter 3

THE INFLUENCE OF TOURISM ON LOCAL LIVELIHOODS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the influence of the tourism industry on the local people of Ngwe Saung. As delineated in research objectives one and two, this section analyzes the extent to which tourism increased employment circumstances and income levels for the local people, and determines the extent that local residents used their increased income from tourism development to improve their livelihoods. Livelihood is defined in Chapter One in its simplest form: as the work that provides you with money to pay for the things you need. This chapter analyzes the data collected on the various work that enables villagers to live.

Due to the abundance of different jobs, occupations and skills, after the completion of research and in order to improve data comparison and analysis, the participants were separated into three distinct tiers based on occupational proximity to tourism. The first tier, Tier 1, pertains to individuals employed by hotels and resorts in Ngwe Saung. Tier 2 contains jobs that relate to tourism and are considered to be within the tourism industry, but are outside hotel employment. These occupations include self-made entrepreneurs, businesses, and jobs within those businesses that relate to tourism. Lastly, Tier 3 contains the remaining jobs that do not relate to the tourism industry.

In the following table, the division between occupations that were recorded from the field is detailed. It is important to

<i>Occupational Division by Tier</i>	
Tier 1	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li style="width: 50%;">• Cook <li style="width: 50%;">• Hotel Receptionist <li style="width: 50%;">• Hotel Driver <li style="width: 50%;">• Hotel Waitress <li style="width: 50%;">• Housekeeper <li style="width: 50%;">• Hotel Human Resources <li style="width: 50%;">• Hotel Manager <li style="width: 50%;">• Hotel Technician 	
Tier 2	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li style="width: 50%;">• Shopkeeper <li style="width: 50%;">• Souvenir Shop Owner <li style="width: 50%;">• Handicraftsman <li style="width: 50%;">• Taxi/Motorbike Driver <li style="width: 50%;">• Restaurant Owner <li style="width: 50%;">• Tour Guide <li style="width: 50%;">• Grocery Store Owner <li style="width: 50%;">• Guest House Owner 	
Tier 3	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li style="width: 50%;">• Shrimp factory owner <li style="width: 50%;">• Head Monk of Monastery <li style="width: 50%;">• Housewife <li style="width: 50%;">• Pawn Shop Owner <li style="width: 50%;">• Student <li style="width: 50%;">• Palm Tree Farmer <li style="width: 50%;">• Fisherman <li style="width: 50%;">• Rice Farmer <li style="width: 50%;">• Engineer <li style="width: 50%;">• Animal Breeder <li style="width: 50%;">• Merchant <li style="width: 50%;">• Headmaster of Schools* <li style="width: 50%;">• Health Assistant* <li style="width: 50%;">• Middle School Teacher* <li style="width: 50%;">• Police Officer* <li style="width: 50%;">• High School Teacher* 	

**Denotes a government appointed position and is sometimes separated from Tier 3 in analysis*

note that this division between tiers is utilized throughout the entire data analysis, as

Table 4: Occupational Division by Tier

the effects of tourism on the lives of the local people are best exhibited through these different groups. By differentiating through occupation, it is evident that assorted groups received varying benefits, access to rights, and opportunities.

The following data shows that tourism did have a positive realization on the livelihoods of the people – in all three tiers. However, the extent to which individuals experienced improvements in livelihoods, wages, job opportunity and mobility, and purchasing power varied between the above mentioned three tiers.

3.2 Job Creation and Opportunity

With tourism's initiation, it is evident that job liberties have greatly improved, which furthers livelihoods and employment freedoms. Every participant, regardless of their education level, occupation, and salary admitted that there have been substantial increases in job opportunities due to tourism.

The jobs created, as listed by many different participants, include restaurant and souvenir shop owners, taxi/motorbike driver, karaoke owner, construction worker, waitress, government official and hotel worker. Hotel industries alone brought in over 1,750 jobs¹⁰ ranging from operations managers, housekeeping, waitressing, cooks, gardening, technicians, and receptionists.

Although it could not be fully determined because some local guest house operations wished to remain unreported due to unwanted



pressure from local authorities, it is estimated that there are an additional Ngwe Saung thirty guest houses operating for domestic tourists, which support an additional

¹⁰This estimated number of increase in jobs applies to the high season of tourism in Ngwe Saung, which is typically from October through May

seventy-five to one-hundred newly-created positions (Guest House Owner, Female, 46).

Most contributors mentioned that in addition to hotel jobs, there were many other positions created with relation to serving tourists, such as restaurant owners and workers, souvenir shop vendors, tea shops (which include the sale of alcohol), tour guides, karaoke venues, grocery store vendors, and motorbike rentals. One local elder detailed that before tourism, there was only one restaurant in town, whereas now, there are over twenty establishments, bringing in an estimated fifty to seventy-five additional workers. One hotel manager stated that now, not only can local people get jobs, but that they have been able to start their own businesses in tourism (Hotel Manager, Male, 27). A migrant restaurant owner noted that many local villagers now rent out their personal motorbikes to local tourists (Restaurant Owner, Male, 42). These small-scale entrepreneurial positions are extremely popular, especially on the main road in town, and often one shop will contain multiple services, such as souvenir vendors and tour guide operators.

Furthermore, it was noted that there were many jobs created from tourism that are not necessarily dependent on the tourism industry. One villager noted that many jobs have subsequently been created from tourism that are not specifically related, such as selling food to migrants (who come to Ngwe Saung to work in the hotels) or being a taxi driver (Hotel Waitress Captain, Female, 29). Of particular note, concomitant with the introduction of tourism to Ngwe Saung was the addition of positions for government officials and municipal authorities (Information collected from Shopkeeper and Food and Beverage Waitress). Due to the number of migrant workers that came to work on the construction and management of hotels, there was a large population increase, and Ngwe Saung became large enough to have a municipal center of its own. This job option alone brought in over 45 police and over 10 municipal government positions (Police Officer, Male, 36). Participants cumulatively listed over forty different kinds of jobs that were indubitably created as a result of tourism. And many of them mentioned that with the upcoming SEA Games in 2013, they are confident that many more will continue to be created undoubtedly due to tourism.

Many also noted a significant change from the previous occupational lifestyles: “Previously, we [Ngwe Saung villagers] just relied on palm trees, fishing and farming but now, because of tourism we have many other industries” (Shrimp Factory Manager, Male, 57). Another noted the change in the town with the subsequent job creation from the tourism industry, stating that “This place [Ngwe Saung] used to be a small village but now it is a bigger city. People used to just be fishermen. Now they can open shops and have other jobs” (Hotel Human Resources Manager, Female, 29).

3.2.1 Growing Prospects for Young Generations

While there were many new jobs that were created, it cannot go without mention that the new jobs introduced from tourism were most transformational for the younger generations defined as individuals under thirty years of age.

For most hopeful high school graduates, there is a one-year waiting period from the time the matriculation exam is administered to receiving marks. But since the inception of the hotel industry, these young people who are waiting for their matriculation results have the occasion to gain work experience and skills (human capital), which previously they were unable to do (Hotel Waitress Captain, Female, 29). As one local villager verbalized, “the opportunity has changed most dramatically for high school hopeful graduates who can now work at hotels. Before [tourism] they were just lying around waiting and hoping for university” (Engineer, Male, 41).

Some individuals, including one high school teacher, went a step further to say that even for high school graduates (upon receiving a diploma) and university graduates, this possibility was particularly beneficial. This community high school teacher, who had worked in the Ngwe Saung school district for over twenty-seven years, stated that “Students can now work at the hotels when they graduate. Before tourism, jobs were not available to young people who graduated from high school or Uni but now with the hotels and restaurants, they can” (High School Teacher, Male, 55).

Most middle-aged villagers noted that the salaries, benefits¹¹ and working conditions were the most enticing aspects of hotel jobs for young people. While young people noted that these certainly were appealing, they had a slightly different answer as to why hotel jobs were so valuable. For one twenty-nine year old waitress captain, who

¹¹ Benefits of hotel industry are described in a subsequent section of this chapter

had been working in the same Ngwe Saung hotel for seven years, the chance to work in tourism was much more than just wages and benefits. She noted, “It is an opportunity for young people to learn other languages and get good work experience. In the village, poor people cannot afford English lessons, so they send their children to work in the hotels to learn English” (Hotel Waitress Captain, Female, 29). One recent Ngwe Saung high school graduate, when asked how many of her friends worked in the tourism industry, noted that “about half of my friends from school work as hotel staff, some are government officials, some got married, and the others own businesses with their families such as grocery stores and restaurants. People in my community want to either be in the hotels or use their capital to create a business for tourism” (Hotel Food and Beverage Staff, Female, 21).

It should be mentioned however, that while these job ventures were numerous for young educated individuals, many villagers indicated that families have become dependent on their son or daughter’s income from the hotel industry. While these remittances are discussed at a later point in this chapter, one villager stated that “There are more job opportunities for young people, but for old people (which he later defined as over 40 years of age) there are no jobs” (Village Elder, Male, 82). One village elder mentioned that these possibilities were “good for a family with educated children who can get a job in the hotels but very difficult for families who do not have children” (Village Elder, Male, 82). “There is a clear gap between the rich and poor in Ngwe Saung – and it is dependent on the number of children a family has. The more educated children, the better chance they have of working in a hotel and raising the family income” (Head of Village, Male, 45).

3.2.2 Ethnic Composition of Job Opportunity

As noted in Chapter 2, Ngwe Saung is mainly comprised of three ethnic groups: Rakhine, Myanmar (also known as Burmese or Bamar), and Kayin (also known as Karen). In the case of this study, there were wealthy and poor families within all three ethnic groups, nearly all villagers spoke only Burmese, and there was no real dominating group by either occupation or power relation observed within the community. Many Rakhine families, who had lived in Ngwe Saung for generations, had access to land that was closer to the main road in town and profited from this land and subsequent businesses that evolved to serve tourists. Younger Rakhine

generations worked in the hotel industry as well. Some Karen families owned the large grocery stores on the main street which brought in large revenues, and similarly, many Burmese migrants and locals owned restaurants and worked in the hotels. Likewise, there were isolated communities of Rakhine, Karen, and Burmese families who lived further outside of the main town, and worked predominately as fishermen, farmers and merchants. Most participants interviewed answered to only speaking one language – Burmese; very few, and only elders attested to knowing both Burmese and either Karen or Rakhine. These ethnic groups lived together, intermixed, without perceived signs of conflict. The only exception to this relatively mixed and equal opportunity to employment based on ethnic group was with the hotel managers and higher management – where predominately all the employees in these high paid, high level categories had come directly from Yangon with certain skill sets. This specific occupational group was overwhelmingly Burmese individuals who had come almost exclusively from Yangon. It should be mentioned however that ethnic groups were not researched in depth, and further research may wish to target these specific groups.

3.3 Job Desirability

One of the interview questions that each participant was asked was whether or not they felt their job was desirable and sought-after within the community. Every hotel staff member (Tier 1) that was interviewed agreed that their job was both a desirable job within their community, and a reputable one. One hotel receptionist mentioned that “people want it [a hotel job] because of the salary and because we are all so happy to be [working] here” (Housekeeping Supervisor, Female, 24). Every hotel worker mentioned that their position was one of the most coveted jobs in town because it was one of the few that provided all meals and full accommodation for its staff. Lastly, some young hotel staff members noted that for learning and practicing English, the hotel training was unparalleled.

In Tier 2, entrepreneurs and self-made businessmen all repeated this same positive desirability and reputation about their jobs. Most stated that the reason their jobs are so desirable is because of how much profit they make from their business. One restaurant owner stated that the sole reason people covet his job is because it is a business that “makes money” (Restaurant Owner, Male, 42). His restaurant on the

main road made a reported 4 million kyat per year¹², allowing him enough money to build two more restaurants. Similarly, one guest house owner, who wouldn't state her exact earnings but admitted to having the luxury of spending over 700,000 kyat per month on education expenses for her children and recently in the last six months built three additional guest houses, stated that her job was coveted because it "made some of the most money in town" (Guest House Owner, Female, 46).

Other reasons mentioned revolved around dependable work. A grocery store owner noted that her job was sought after because it was not dependent on the season, and "we can sell things for the entire year" (Grocery Store Owner, Female, 53). A major benefit of the tour guide job is the freedom to work when they please and as one tour guide noted, "If I don't want to do it, I don't do it" (Tour Guide Operator, Male, 41). He stated that his job has provided him enough earnings that he has been able to save, and doesn't necessarily need to take every job that is presented to him.

Tier 3 farmers and fishermen were also just as proud with their professions, and reiterated the same positive reputation and desirability of their occupations. Fishermen stated that within their small community villages (which lie outside of the main Ngwe Saung town), their jobs have some of the highest earnings. One fisherman, in stating why his job was so desired, smiled and added, "I also have three to four apprentices each season" (Fisherman, Male, 58). Similarly, farmers stated that their work was desired within the community. One farmer in particular said he was respected within his village because he not only grew palm trees, but also grew mangoes, cashew nuts and other fruit (Palm Tree Farmer, Male, 67). One wood vendor proudly exclaimed that his job was admirable because it is "almost impossible to do this job without knowledge of the forest and you need a lot of capital to start up this business" (Farmer, Male, 36).

From this analysis, it is evident that regardless of whether the individual was in Tier 1, 2 or 3, each was proud to hold the position he did, and felt that it was desired within the community. Many felt that within their village, their job was a respected and coveted one, and that it made good money. There were a few exceptions however, although these were rare. Interestingly, the two occupations that had reservations

¹²At the time that this research was conducted, one U.S. dollar was equal to 873 Myanmar kyat and one Thai baht was equal to 27.58 Myanmar kyat.

about desirability were both government-appointed jobs. The headmaster of the school in Ngwe Saung noted that teacher positions are only seen as suitable for women, as “teaching is seen as social work and people have to devote enough time. A husband is the head of a household and cannot make enough income for a family with this amount [salary of teacher]” (High School Headmaster, Female, 59). However, this was countered by a local male high school teacher who said that in past, the job was not desired by men for these reasons, but that with the recent government pay increase this has now changed (High School Teacher, Male, 55). Similarly, both police officers interviewed had reservations when answering whether their jobs were respected within the community. As one senior officer said, “Some people think it is a good and desired job, while others don’t because they don’t like cops” (Police Investigations Officer, Male, 38). Both the teaching position and police officer are government-appointed positions and salaries are controlled by the government.¹³

3.4 Income and Earnings¹⁴

All three tiers witnessed an increase in income due to tourism, and for many, these jobs were different from the previously traditional family occupations of farmer and fisherman. For some, especially the youth, it was their first possibility to earn wages in positions had never before been available for their age and skill set.

For Tier 1 hotel staff workers, the average monthly earnings totaled 101,071 kyat which was the lowest average earnings of the three tiers. However, it should be noted that this income assessment does not take into account benefits or bonuses, both of which hotel staff receive large amounts. The lowest monthly salary within the group of fourteen participants in this category was 35,000 kyat and the highest was 300,000 kyat. There were two distinct groups within the hotel staff – hotel high level management and lower positions within the hotel staff such as housekeeping,

¹³ From this research, it was reported that there was serious corruption on the part of both teachers and police officers. Tuition is a form of outside tutoring, in which teachers refrain from teaching all coursework and curriculum in class and bribe parents into paying extra money for tutoring on the side. Similarly, for police officers, they often take cash for bribes out of traffic tickets and violations.

¹⁴ The reported wages and earnings for individuals are fairly trustworthy – seeing as how they were crosschecked in several different manners including managers, local competing businesses, local authorities and other key informants and through survey questionnaires. However, it appears that there were a few mentions of underreported incomes as opposed to over, as many local entrepreneurs admitted to not reporting all of their income for their taxes.

reception, and cooking. The high level management positions made on average 233,333 kyat per month, whereas the lower-level hotel staff made only 69,545 kyat.

Local entrepreneurs and tourism-related industries in Tier 2 had the highest monthly average of earnings out of the three sections at 224,615 kyat. While it contained low incomes of 20,000 kyat per month, it also generated one of the largest individual salaries in the entire sample; held by a guest house owner of 1 million kyat per month. Within this group two distinct categories were isolated and further analyzed – entrepreneur owners and businesspeople, and their staff. There was a substantial difference between those individuals who had enough capital to invest in a business versus those who were simply working in a local restaurant or souvenir shop. On average, entrepreneurial investors and owners made 510,000 kyat per month, whereas their staff only made on average monthly wages of 38,571 kyat.

In Tier 3, farmers, fishermen and traders contained the largest spread of salaries – ranging from just 15,000 kyat per month to over 1 million kyat per month. Average salaries were charted at 136,559 kyat per month, whilst government workers, included in the average, contained a much lower wage of roughly 98,666 kyat per month. What is interesting within this category is that there are some farmers and fishermen

making 500,000 kyat per month, whilst other farmers and fishermen from the same village only make 40,000 kyat per month. The drastic difference within fishermen salaries was attributed to their status within the fishing industry

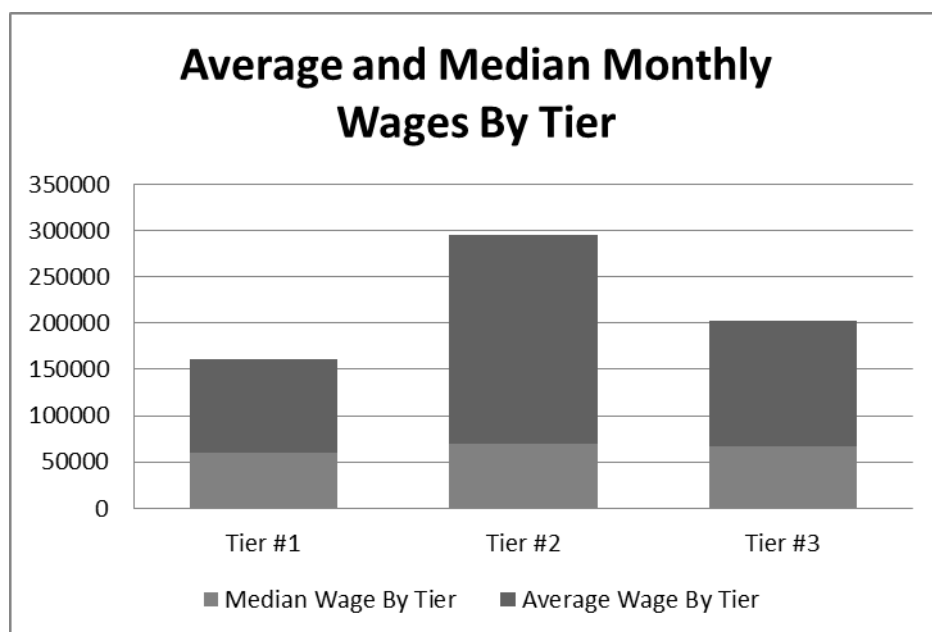


Figure 10: Average and Median Monthly Wages by Tier

(whether they were a captain or owner of a boat) and the amount of their sales that went directly towards hotels and shrimp companies.

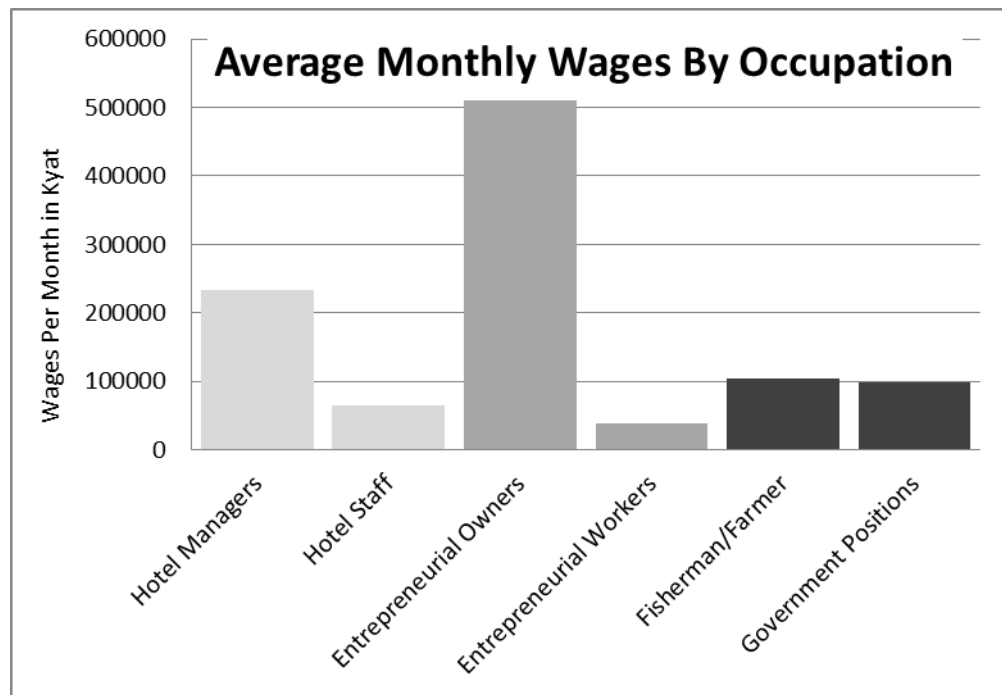


Figure 11: Average Monthly Wages by Occupation

While it appears that hotel workers do not

make as much in comparison to entrepreneurs and even local fishermen, wages are only a portion of the occupational package. Further analysis later in this chapter details these additional benefits. It is evident that entrepreneurs and local businesspersons have the largest salary levels due to tourism, but it should be noted that some Tier 3 jobs such as farming and fishing included individuals who had salaries comparable to Tier 2 entrepreneurs.

What is interesting however is that when accounting for outlying numbers, the medians of all three Tiers are very similar. Tier 1 has a median of 60,000 kyat per month, while Tier 2 has 70,000 and Tier 3 is in between with 66,666. While there were individuals within each of these tiers that made substantial amounts of money, the middle number in each salary was very similar, indicating that the average person's wages were similar, although there were outliers both at the bottom and top levels.

3.4.1 Increase in Wages Due to Tourism

While comparing salaries and monthly earnings between each tier is imperative, the most important aspect learned from asking local villagers about their wages and salaries is how much they have changed before and after tourism.

For most individuals who previously were palm tree farmers and fishermen and have since switched professions to either work in the newly created hotels (Tier 1) or local business jobs that are utilized by tourists (Tier 2), the difference is unparalleled.

“Before, we didn’t have any money to spend on ourselves. We lived off the land for food and sold coconuts. We didn’t have money. Now, I have enough capital to open a guest house, employ six people and send my daughter to Japan for a Master’s program” (Guest House Owner, Female, 46). Tourism created Tiers 1 and 2, where previously these job ventures and large incomes did not exist. These income generating jobs produced salaries and wages far greater than their previous ones.

Another important indicator of positive change is that all three tiers noted that, within their new job, there has been a substantial increase in wages since tourism arrived in 2000. This may be due in part to an increase in the cost of living in the town, which was noted by some villagers (although this was not substantially felt in many ways other than the increase in land prices) but it is certainly unlikely that all of these increases in wages were due to an increase in the cost of living or inflation.

Tier 1 hotel staff noted that excluding promotions, wages increased, especially in the initial few years after tourism first came to Ngwe Saung. One hotel waitress noted that her wages increased from 30,000 kyat per month to 36,000 kyat, excluding promotions (Hotel Waitress Captain, Female, 29). Another housekeeping staff noted a 5,000 kyat increase in her wages and improvements in benefits such as the emergence of the bonus-saving scheme (Housekeeping Supervisor, Female, 24). This employer-driven plan provides incentive for the employee to stay with the company and inadvertently provides employees the concept of saving. One housewife who previously worked in tourism shared, in addition to her wages increasing by 1,500 kyat per month in one year, that by the start of the following year, her wages increased by 16,000 kyat. She explained that the hotel staff had a meeting with the hotel manager in order to change wages due to the higher demands from their jobs because of the increase of tourists (Housewife, Female, 24).

Tier 2 also saw increases. Not only did one tour guide’s wages increase from 35,000 to 40,000, but with the increase in tourists, his workload also became so demanding that he had to begin turning away less profitable work as he was unable to manage it all (Tour Guide Operator, Male, 41). A grocery store owner in town saw her profits

double with the influx of tourism, to over 300,000 kyat per month. A souvenir shop owner said that her entire business was created based on tourism, and that 100 percent of her profits (over 3 million kyat per year) come from tourism (Souvenir Shop Owner, Female, 38). A restaurant owner said that his profits rose from just under 1 million kyat per year in 2003, to over 4 million kyat per year in 2012. He also mentioned that in 2003 he only paid his employees between 7,000 and 10,000 kyat per month, but now pays them between 20,000 and 70,000 kyat per month (Restaurant Owner, Male, 42).



Figure 12: Captain of Prawn Boat

For Tier 3, although their occupations are not necessarily within the realm of the tourism industry, they each noted improvements in their wages. One merchant noted that in his village before tourism, fishermen used to sell one kilo of prawns for about 3,000 to 4,000 kyat. But today, after tourism, they sell the same one kilo for 30,000 to 40,000 kyat, a ten-fold increase (Former Head of Village, Male, 41). Another fisherman and boat owner reiterated this, saying that before tourism, “You could only get 1,000 to 2,000 kyat per catch. It didn’t matter whether it was prawn, cuttlefish or fish, it was all the same price. Now, for prawn especially, I get at least 30,000. Not just from the hotels, but from everyone, the [sale] price has increased. I get an additional 3,000 to 4,000 kyat more for the catch I sell to the hotels because they come to me to choose the catch themselves” (Captain of Fisherman boat, Male, 32).

The local pawn shop owner noted that roughly 30 percent of his clients are domestic tourists and went on to state that his business has benefited incredibly from tourism because one in three of his clients are migrant hotel staff workers who pawn their

items and reclaim it after their next pay check (Merchant, Male, 60).¹⁵ The head of one of the peripheral villages in Ngwe Saung (away from the main road) commented that regardless of occupation, each family makes between 45,000 and 50,000 kyat per month from tourism in high season (Head of Village, Male, 45). Another former head of village in another outlying town said that about 300 of his 650 households have regular interactions and income from the tourism industry (Former Head of Village, Male, 41).

3.4.2 Promotions/Mobility in Jobs

Within the hotel industry and tourism sector (Tier 1), research proved ample opportunity for promotion and mobility within the industry. Both local and migrant staff reported promotions and possibility in advancing not only their skills, but their positions and careers.

One hotel manager explained that promotions for his specific hotel occur in October of every year and each of the higher staff members rank, vote and report on their lower staff performance to the operations manager, who makes the promotions. Each year in this particular hotel, there are between ten and fifteen promotions (Hotel Manager, Male, 27). A similar number was reported by another hotel human resources staff member who noted that promotion outlook depends on performance, personality and skills. In her resort, over 20 promotions occur every year, and over half of these promotions are to local staff (Hotel Human Resources Manager, Female, 27).

The prospect of physical mobility was noticed in most of the higher level positions. One current hotel manager, due to his occupation, has traveled the entire country at the young age of twenty-seven years old and currently makes over 300,000 kyat per month;

I knew I didn't like traditional university and that kind of school wasn't for me and I wanted something different. My brother was also working in the tourism industry, and helped me get my first job. When I first started working, I was a receptionist at a hotel in Yangon. Then I was promoted to supervisor receptionist and moved to a resort in Ngapali Beach. Then I was

¹⁵ The pawn shop owner stated that most hotel staff pawn their items because a family member from home is ill and needs treatment, or their family needed the money back at home. He stated that most reasons for hotel staff pawning was due to burdens from family and extended family at home.

promoted to guest office manager at a resort in Bagan, and then again promoted to manager in Inle Lake before being promoted again and relocating to Ngwe Saung (Hotel Manager, Male, 27).

This physical mobility was also noted with several other lead management positions, and many hotel managers had worked in multiple tourist locations prior to coming to Ngwe Saung.

In addition to physical mobility, jobs in the tourism sector have allowed for upward mobility within the workplace, including many promotions and management level positions. The most compelling story of upward mobility was witnessed through the story of one local twenty-four year old female;

“I was born and raised in Ngwe Saung and after finishing my studies, I began to work at one Resort as a housekeeper. I was sixteen years old. In 2008, less than two years after I began working, I was promoted to housekeeping supervisor. And at the beginning of 2012, I had been promoted to senior supervisor of housekeeping. My salary increased from 12,000 to 80,000 kyat per month and including my bonuses and tips, I now make approximately 150,000 kyat per month. In addition to the salary increase, I have been given the opportunity to have substantial work experience in both management and secretarial areas, and the skills that I have gained from my job include learning English, proper hygiene techniques, and housekeeping services” (Housekeeping Supervisor, Female, 24).

In addition to this one participant’s experience, many other hotel staff noted upward movements and promotions. Most migrant hotel staff received promotions that were similarly experienced by local hotel staff. One local was promoted from receptionist to senior receptionist and saw a 9,000 kyat increase in her monthly salary (Hotel Receptionist, Female, 28). Another local hotel restaurant staff member at twenty-six years old, was promoted from waitress to head captain, and witnessed a doubling of her monthly salary (Hotel Waitress Captain, Female, 29). A migrant technician¹⁶ who was brought to Ngwe Saung by his company, was recently promoted at age thirty-four and noted his wages increased from 100,000 kyat per month to 150,000 (Hotel Technician, Male, 34). And one hotel human resources staff member noted that, “In combination with my promotions and hotel policy of seniority,¹⁷ I started in this hotel as a shelf re-stocker in the hotel store making 30,000. By the next year, I was

¹⁶ Technicians are responsible for all daily operations maintenance within the hotel including electric, IT communication and mechanics.

¹⁷ Where hotel staff get an increase in their salary due to the number of years that they have been on staff

working as a cashier making 50,000 kyat per month. Then, I was given a bonus and earning 75,000 kyat per month. Now, I was recently promoted to human resources, and make 100,000 kyat per month” (Hotel Human Resources Manager, Female, 29).

There was no mention of upward mobility for Tier 2, but many entrepreneurs in this category mentioned achievements such as being able to diversify their services, buy additional motorbikes for their rentals, build additional restaurants and guest house annexes, and invest more in their businesses.

For Tier 3, most fishermen noted that with the increase in their wages due to tourism, they were able to invest in boats, nets, and other machinery for their business.

Farmers also mentioned that they have diversified their crops, no longer relying solely on palm trees, but growing mangoes and cashew nuts which they then sell to the hotels and at the market in Pathein. The only promotions or potential for wage increases were witnessed in the government sector jobs, which have standard service promotions and bonuses. Promotions within the education system are difficult, as varied levels of teaching staff require different education levels and trainings.

However, promotions can occur from high school teacher with a salary of roughly 90,000 kyat per month to headmaster of schools with a salary of 130,000, but this is rare (High School Headmaster, Female, 59). The government also recently introduced a living-bonus of 30,000 kyat per month to all teachers regardless of level. This bonus is not reflected as an increase in salary, but is said to be an increase in living expenses to both help teachers and prevent corruption within the education system. Similarly, one local teacher in Ngwe Saung was promoted from primary school teacher to middle school teacher, and witnessed a 10,000 kyat increase in her monthly salary (Middle School Teacher, Female, 46). She admitted however that this is unusual and only occurs in small towns where there is a shortage of teaching staff and a few teachers are brought up to help with the demand. Lastly, police officers talked about limited promotion availability within the force, which can have a substantial change in monthly salary (one officer noted a 22,000 kyat increase in his monthly wages) but these are sporadic and particularly limited within small communities where only a few positions exist.

3.5 Employee Benefits

As can be expected, the benefits that workers received varied greatly between Tiers 1, 2 and 3. This is due in part to the fact that most positions in Tier 1 are under contract from a hotel (employer) while many of the occupations in Tiers 2 and 3 are self-employed positions, where benefits are not included.

Tier 1 showed fascinating benefits that were incredibly impressive. Out of the five different resorts interviewed, all five provided housing and three meals per day for their staff. These participants mentioned that this was standard treatment for all hotel employees and the remaining resorts in Ngwe Saung practiced the same policy. While three meals were included at every resort, there were some restrictions on housing that was different at each resort. Sunny Paradise Resort did not provide housing for local staff, whereas most other hotels did. Most hotels did not offer housing to married staff, and it should be noted that there were multiple cases of staff members who met and later married while working at these resorts. Beyond meals and housing, the more formal resorts (over \$100 USD per night) provided uniforms and clothing for their staff (Hotel Human Resources Manager, Female, 27). These more expensive resorts also gave staff Sundays as a weekly vacation day from working; whereas in less expensive resorts, staff were expected to work full time (Hotel Cook, Male, 25). Less common was annual leave, or vacation days from work. But some resorts did promise 30 days of annual leave to all permanent staff, although the staff were highly encouraged to take these days off during the rainy season when tourism was at its lowest (Hotel Receptionist, Female, 28).

The most interesting and innovative form of benefits, was that every hotel paid for medical care for their staff if they got sick. And while there was no set number of sick days that one could take, it was understood that most staff could take up to one month of sick leave with the appropriate paperwork and permission from a doctor.¹⁸ Furthermore, at the Bay of Bengal Resort, there is an in-house doctor that treats all staff and their families. This service is included for free with full-time employment. Furthermore, for the Bay of Bengal, staff must undergo a health check-up before their employment with the resort where staff are administered Hepatitis A and B vaccines for free (Hotel Food and Beverage Staff, Female, 21). Incentives in salary were also pioneering, with the Sunny Paradise offering a 15,000 kyat bonus to permanent staff

¹⁸ Information acquired from participant interviews #1-4, 27-31, personal communication, June 29 and July 3, 2012).

members every month, that was saved and presented bi-annually in two 90,000 increments. Each staff member described how the resort encouraged saving, and how this bonus and payment scheme attempted to teach staff how to save. Similarly, at the Ever Flowing River Resort, seniority is given to staff in the form of bonuses. The longer a staff member has worked for the resort, the more salary they receive and the more chance for promotion they have (Hotel Human Resources Manager, Female, 29).

Tier 2 had some mention of benefits although this category was mainly self-made entrepreneurs who said that when they needed a day off work for illness or vacation, they could take it, because they were their own boss. Similarly, guest house owners and restaurant owners both outlined their staff's benefits, reiterating the already mentioned notion of "caring for one another like a family" (Restaurant Owner, Male, 42). The restaurant owner said that his staff work seven days per week but if they get sick they can take a day off and the restaurant pays for their medical expenses. Like the hotel staff, accommodation and meals are provided.

Benefits received by local hotel staff, restaurant and guest house workers, and shrimp company laborers were impressive – and far above the national average of benefits received (Chandler & Thong-Ek, 2012). Nearly all of these workers were provided housing, three meals a day, and medical care. Estimated benefits to hotel staff, restaurant workers, guest house employees and shrimp factory laborers was calculated as a minimum additional 50,000 kyat per month.¹⁹

Tier 3 also mainly consisted of merchant, fishing and farming positions, none of whom had formal benefits, but were awarded informal understandings towards sick days and annual leave. The only exception to this Tier, were shrimp factory workers, who received benefits similar to restaurant workers in Tier 2, and government positions. These government positions, such as doctors, school teachers and police officers had specific benefits. Police officers are given housing, electricity and water,

¹⁹ Estimates for benefits came from multiple staff and hotel management, and were priced at the following per person average: Housing: 10,000 kyat per month, Food: 30,000 kyat per month, Health: 10,000 kyat per month. Of course, most hotel benefits included further compensation in the form of bonuses, uniforms, and health care for the entire family, however, the benefits estimated above only constitute the bare minimum of what every hotel staff employee was offered.

although food is not included. Similarly, they are given a 1,000 kyat increase in their salary every other year (Police Officer, Male, 36). As a teacher, you were entitled to 10 days per year for leave, maternity leave for three months, and sick leave, which was dependent on a doctor's note, but paid up to a maximum of one month, after which 60 percent of pay was deducted. Teachers do not have housing, meals or medical coverage with their positions and if a teacher gets sick, they are responsible for the cost of medical services. Recently, the government has offered a 30,000 kyat bonus per month to all government teachers, regardless of their level, in an attempt to combat complaints about tuition. "Tuition" in Myanmar is equivalent to a Western understanding of the word "tutoring" whereby students receive extra after-school teaching and support on curriculum and homework. Many villagers mentioned this difficulty, as all across Myanmar tuition has become increasingly popular and growingly expensive. Teachers have refrained from teaching all required curriculum in school, and instead, offer pricey after school tutoring, known as "tuition" to review the excluded materials. Because all students must take the matriculation exam, (whose marks determine what kind of profession they can pursue), acquiring this extra "tuition" is extremely important, and many parents have found value in investing in this corrupt system because they want their children to succeed.

3.5.1 The Ability to Save

It was evident that with the establishment of tourism, many individuals and families in Ngwe Saung who were previously unable to save, were now able to do so. Multiple variations of saving were practiced by the villagers including saving (typically under a mattress as there is no trusted formal banking system in Ngwe Saung), remittance, and

reinvestment. These varied forms of savings are discussed in the following sections.

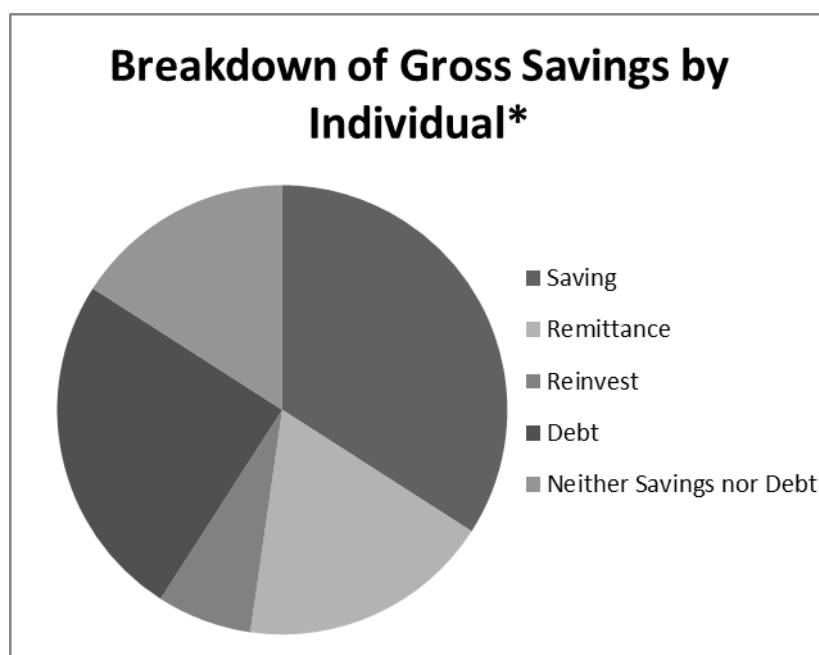


Figure 13: Breakdown of Gross Savings by Individual

The largest advances in savings occurred from the Tier 1 sector, but were also witnessed in the remaining two occupational groups.

Hotel staff from the Tier 1 sector indicated the largest knowledge about savings and held the largest amount of savings. Most hotel staff demonstrated a combination of both saving and sending remittances back to family members. Remittance amounts are discussed at a later point in this chapter. For one hotel cook, whose monthly earnings were 60,000 kyat per month, he stated that he saves between 200,000 and 300,000 every year in case of a house fire or loss of employment (Hotel Cook, Male, 35). For another hotel receptionist, who made 45,000 kyat per month, she noted that she and her husband (who is a driver for the same hotel) save between 40,000 and 50,000 kyat per month and regularly send money back to her family (Hotel Receptionist, Female, 28). A hotel technician reported that he saves most of his 150,000 kyat income for his children and anticipated their costs of education (Hotel Technician, Male, 34). A housewife whose entire family including her husband, mother and two brothers worked in the hotel industry said her family saves over half of their 200,000 kyat income every month. She beamed that the contingency to save was not something her family had in the past, and it is because of tourism and the family employment in tourism that they have been able to save for her children to go to school (Housewife, Female, 24). Lastly, one young compelling hotel manager noted that half of her 250,000 kyat monthly salary is sent home to her mother, and she saves an additional 100,000 kyat per month for marriage, children and a house (Hotel Human Resources Manager, Female, 27).

In Tier 2 the focus was predominately on reinvesting in entrepreneurial businesses. Reinvestment is discussed at a later point in this chapter. However, there were a few examples of saving, most notably with one particular restaurant owner, who saves about 20,000 to 25,000 per year and utilizes the remaining amount of his 4 million kyat yearly profits on reinvestment (Restaurant Owner, Male, 42).

In Tier 3, there were also examples of saving, although compared to the amount in savings of Tier 1, these were much smaller. One orchard farmer indicated that his family saves 50,000 kyat per month out of their combined 70,000 kyat salaries and live off their land to provide for food which otherwise accounts for a large portion of their income (Housekeeping, Male, 25). Another merchant family whose pooled

reported income is 70,000 kyat per month saves 10,000 for their children's education (Student, Male, 18). One fisherman in a neighboring village in Ngwe Saung stated that he saved 10,000 of his 60,000 kyat monthly earnings (Fisherman, Male, 40) and a tuition teacher (who lives with his family) saves half of his 20,000 kyat monthly wages in hopes of going to university.

Comparison Between Tiers in Percentage of Income Saved, Reinvested and Sent in Remittance

	<i>Percentage of Income that is Gross Savings¹</i>	<i>Percentage of Income That was Gross Savings and then used as Remittance²</i>	<i>Percentage of Income that was Gross Savings and then Reinvested</i>	<i>Net Savings (Gross – Remittance – Reinvest)</i>	<i>Number of Participants</i>
Tier 1	68%	48%	0	20%	12
Tier 2	35%	0	33%	2%	3
Tier 3	15%	2%	2%	11%	27

Table 5: Comparison Between Tiers in Percentage of Income Saved, Reinvested and sent in Remittance

Government jobs represented more savings in comparison to the remainder of Tier 3 occupations with multiple teachers indicating that they had begun saving between 30,000 and 40,000 kyat per month after the government provided a special bonus for living expenses (Information collected from Middle and High School teachers). They all stated that these savings were for health treatment (as teachers are not given medical benefits) and welfare donations to the community. Likewise to teachers, police officers indicated that they saved, with some saving up to 20,000 kyat per month for donations to Buddhism and welfare (Police Investigations Officer, Male, 38).

^aGross Savings is the combination of money that is used as remittances, reinvestment and net savings (meaning the portion of gross income that is set aside and not consumed but saved). In Ngwe Saung, there was no clear financial savings bank – and the savings that these individuals collected was stored within their own home for safekeeping.

^bRemittances are a form of savings because it is money from income that is set aside and not consumed, but the individual chooses to give this savings to their family.

What is most compelling perhaps is the reasons to save. In all three Tiers, donating money to the welfare association, understood to be a community-led initiative that sought to help impoverished families within the community, was mentioned and seen as incredibly worthwhile, with some individuals donating over 20 percent of their monthly earnings to this association (Police Investigations Officer, Male, 38).

However, it was education that was seen as the single-most important initiative worth saving for. Some families saved over 60 percent of their monthly salaries for the future education of their children (Hotel Technician, Male, 34). One young family had already begun to save 20,000 kyat each month for their son's future education even though he was under two years old and had several more years before his education began.

There were Ngwe Saung villagers, in all of the varied geographical villages and occupations, who demonstrated the ability to save. While the employees from the Tier 1 hotel industry were able to save the most, it is evident that even orchard farmers and fishermen with daily wages as little as \$2 USD per day, were able to save for their future and their families. While there were different reasons why people saved, as one head of a village summarized, it was mainly split between "health (and retirement and getting old), education, and next life (donations to Buddhism and the welfare association)" (Head of Village, Male, 45).

3.5.2 The Opportunity to Reinvest

The liberty to reinvest was seen most predominately in Tier 2 with many of the micro-enterprise businesses, evidenced in the following figures. One restaurant owner mentioned that besides a rough 20,000 to 25,000 kyat that is saved for his children's education per year, he reinvests his entire 4 million kyat yearly profits into his restaurant business (Restaurant Owner, Male, 42). He has already built a second restaurant and is hoping to open a third in time for the SEA games in Myanmar next year. Easily the most profitable entrepreneur in town, the guest house owner, stated that her entire earnings are reinvested in the family business and in her daughter's Master's education. Although her profits were not disclosed, she has been able to build three new buildings for her guest house in the past three months and reportedly spends over 700,000 kyat per month as a family (Guest House Owner, Female, 46). The souvenir shop owner also stated that her family business generates approximately

3 million kyat a year – all of which is reinvested back into the business (Souvenir Shop Owner, Female, 38).

Tier 3 also experienced reinvestment initiatives, most notably with fishermen reinvesting money in their equipment and machinery such as boats and nets. One family who reportedly profited 1 to 2 million kyat per year on their family business selling wood said that all money was reinvested back into the business (Farmer, Male, 36). Lastly, the pawn shop owner said that currently, all of his one million kyat yearly profits are reinvested back into the business, but that soon this may have to change as his young daughter is becoming of age to attend school (Merchant, Male, 60).

3.5.3 Remittances

Remittances were not something that was expected to come out of this research, however, given the surprising number of young adults who send all or a portion of their monthly earnings to their families, it must be mentioned as it is the largest expenditure for most of these young employees. All but one recorded remittance came from a Tier 1 hotel employee.

Out of the seven hotel staff interviewed who disclosed sending remittances home to their families, four individuals sent their *entire* monthly earnings back to their families, averaging 52,500 kyat in remittance per month. The average age of these four individuals was 24.75 years old, with salaries ranging from 35,000 to 80,000 kyat per month. As these four individuals noted, their accommodation, meals and uniforms were provided by the hotels, and they didn't need any other income to live, but their families back home were dependent on their monthly wages. Each individual was supporting at least two people back at home through their wages.²¹

There were three additional individuals who reported sending a large portion of their earnings back to their families. Two housekeeping employees, each earning 50,000 kyat per month, sent between 30,000 and 35,000 kyat home every month, or 60 percent of their salaries. The two young men were brothers who had been sent by their aging parents to work in the hotels to provide for their family. Another hotel

²¹ Information for these statistics was collected from Interview Participants #9, 10, 29 and 30, personal communication, June 30 and July 3, 2012.

employee manager sent home half of her 250,000 salary to her dependent mother (Hotel Human Resources Manager, Female, 27).

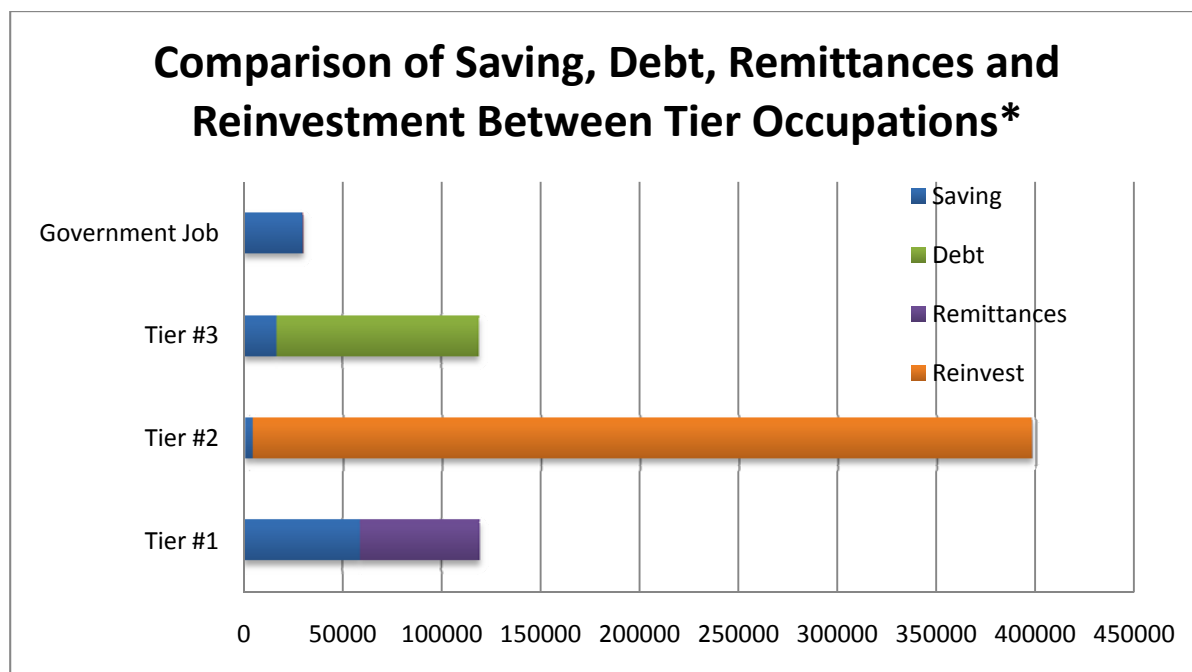


Figure 14: Comparison of Saving, Debt, Remittance and Reinvestment between Tier Occupations

* Normally government positions are included in Tier 3, however, to get a more accurate account of information, they were separated from the remainder of Tier 3 for these data points

Seven out of the twelve hotel staff interviewed reportedly sent home between 60 and 100 percent of their monthly wages to their parents. This amount monetarily ranges between 30,000 and 125,000 kyat per month and was used to support between two to five family members. In total and on average, for those hotel staff that sent remittances home, 82.85 percent of the individuals' salary was sent as remittance, with an average monthly amount of 57,143 kyat. This implies that tourism in Ngwe Saung not only affects the local people – but generates importance for many families within the larger sphere in Myanmar.

3.5.4 Debt

As remittances were witnessed solely in Tier 1 jobs, debt was solely witnessed in Tier 3 jobs. While there were no individuals within the main town of Ngwe Saung that admitted debt, out of twenty-one participants that were surveyed in outlying villages in Ngwe Saung villages, eleven witnessed some amount of debt, which is slightly over 50 percent of those surveyed. The amount of debt ranged between 20,000 and

300,000, with an average amount of 102,272 kyat debt. The percentage of debt owed compared to monthly wages was 236 percent meaning that, on average, local villagers owed over two-times their monthly wages in debt.

There were many different reasons why families were in debt.²² The most

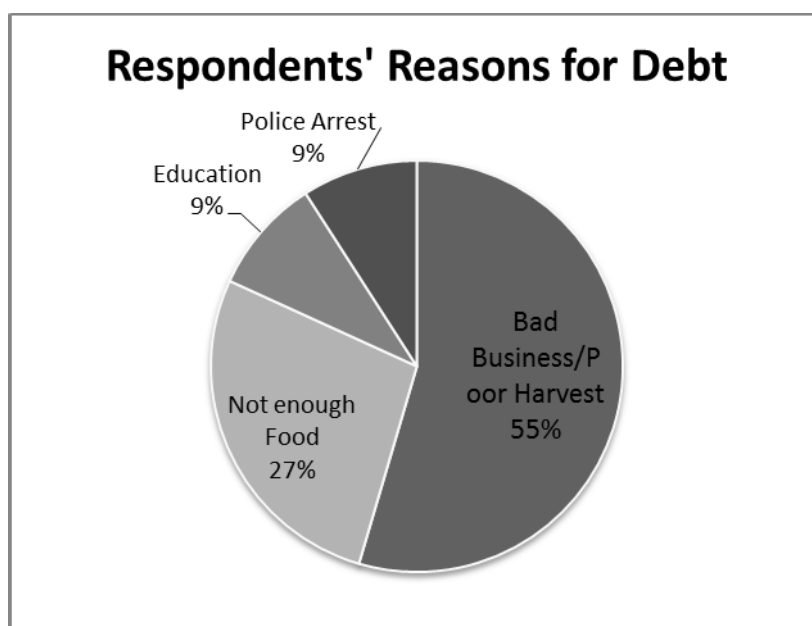


Figure 15: Respondents' Reasons for Debt

common answer,

accounting for six of the eleven responses, was due to bad business and a poor harvest. Three responses reflected that they did not have enough money for food. This could perhaps also be interpreted as not having enough money due to bad business or a bad harvest and therefore not having enough income for food. One respondent said he was in debt because of education expenses and the final respondent admitted to owing the authorities 300,000 kyat because she was caught selling alcohol illegally (Vendor, Female, 41).

The income levels for these families who were in debt were on average 70,270 kyat per month per family, with a median family income of 50,000 kyat per month. Occupations ranged from fishermen, orchard famers, and traders.

It is evident from this data that debt affected occupations such as farmers, fishermen, and merchants. The main reason for debt was due to a fault in business – often out of their control, such as a bad harvest or fishing season, or arrest due to illegal business activity. This indicates that individuals within this tier suffer larger uncontrollable risks with a great outcome on income and livelihoods.

3.5.5 Skills Acquired from Tourism

²² While it is understood that debt relies largely on the interest rate that is charged, this research did not include interest rates for debt.

The skills acquired from the newly established tourism industry have been vast. While most technical job skills have been acquired by Tier 1 hotel staff, the village noted that as a whole, their social, communication skills and English have improved from interaction with tourists.

Tier 1 hotel staff noted that in addition to learning English and improving communication, they have learned about the industry of tourism and management, and gained knowledgeable work experience. Employees of resorts noted the following skills and trainings that were introduced and acquired from tourism: cooking and food preparedness, environmental training (learning how to protect and not harm the environment), first aid certification, swimming and lifeguarding, computer skills, staff management, formal speaking and polite service, and hygiene and personal appearance.²³

Hotel managers noted that in June through August, during the rainy season, they send staff to three-month training sessions on hotel management in Yangon. These selected individuals return in August to then teach the remaining staff what they have learned, and make changes to the management operations (Tour Guide Operator, Male, 41). All hotel staff acknowledged that every September, before the start of a new tourist season, the hotel offers specified department training sessions and refresher courses for all staff members of the resort. One housekeeping staff member noted that through her department trainings program, she has learned various skills such as public appearance and hygiene, room cleaning and laundry services (Housekeeper, Female, 25).

3.6 Migrant²⁴ versus Local in Tourism Jobs

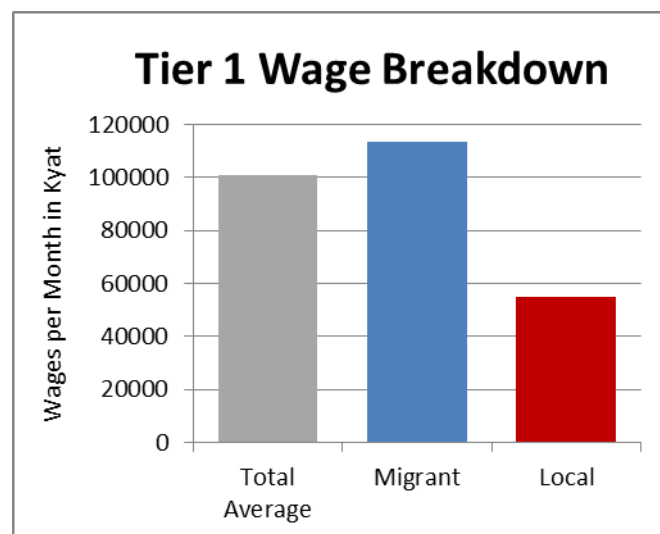
Notable during the research was the significant difference between the wages of migrant and local workers in all three occupational tiers. Tier 1, migrant hotel staff make on average, between 13,750 to 58,636 kyat higher each month than local people. It was mentioned in interviews that local people are not hired as high level managers, and all operational managers and higher management staff interviewed were in fact migrants (mainly originating from Yangon). If you remove the salaries

²³ Information acquired from participant interviews #1, 2, 6, 9, 28 and 29, personal communication, June 29 and 30, July 3, 2012).

²⁴ For the sake of this research, migrant is understood to be non-local (outside of Ngwe Saung) Myanmar citizens

of these high level positions however, there is still a 13,750 kyat difference between migrant workers and local workers. It should be noted that consistencies were found in salary – such as one local housekeeper received the same wage as another migrant housekeeper working in the same resort, indicating that there were equal wages amongst identical positions within the hotel industry. But in comparing local and migrant average salaries of hotel staff, it is a striking difference of minimum \$15 USD per month.

Furthermore, there was a serious difference in the random sampling of hotel workers regarding the *number* of



local people in hotels. Out of the fourteen individuals in the hotel industry that were interviewed, only three were local people, representing 21.43 percent, not even one-fourth of the hotel staff sample. Yet in local people and interview participants stated the opposite, and reiterated that within hotels especially, “permanent staff is balanced between local and migrant workers” (Hotel Waitress, Female, 29). The percentage of local staff working in the hotels was quoted at between 40 and 60 percent²⁵, indicating that there should be a relative balance between the two types of workers. Yet this was not the case as indicated from the small sample size of local workers that was collected, and merited further analysis.

In Tier 2, local entrepreneurs dominated tourism businesses and local salaries soared above migrant ones. This data was in contrast to what many local villagers mentioned; complaining that migrant businessmen were coming into town and local people could not compete. On average, local entrepreneurs made 212,857 kyat per month more than migrant workers, and there were some astounding businessmen and women in this category, operating multi-million kyat businesses such as restaurants, guest houses and grocery stores. In Tier 2, the number of local entrepreneurs and tourism-related workers outnumbered migrants, by a little over half at 53.85 percent. Separating the entrepreneurs and businesspersons from the Tier still yields a

²⁵ Information collected from participant interviews #10 and 28, personal communication, June 30 and July 3, 2012).

difference in wages amongst entrepreneurial workers of 12,000 kyat per month, with migrant workers making 42,000 kyat whilst local workers made 30,000 kyat.

Lastly, within Tier 3, similar results as the Tier 1 hotel staff were observed, with migrant workers making significantly more money on their monthly wages. Tier 3 was predominately local, with over seventy percent of the thirty-one people considered for this study born and raised in Ngwe Saung. The average monthly salary for fishermen, farmers, animal breeders, teachers, police men and

merchants fell at 136,558 kyat. Migrant workers witnessed a 124,569 kyat positive difference in their wages in comparison to local people. In this category however, it is difficult to make a generalization, as there were very poor and very wealthy local

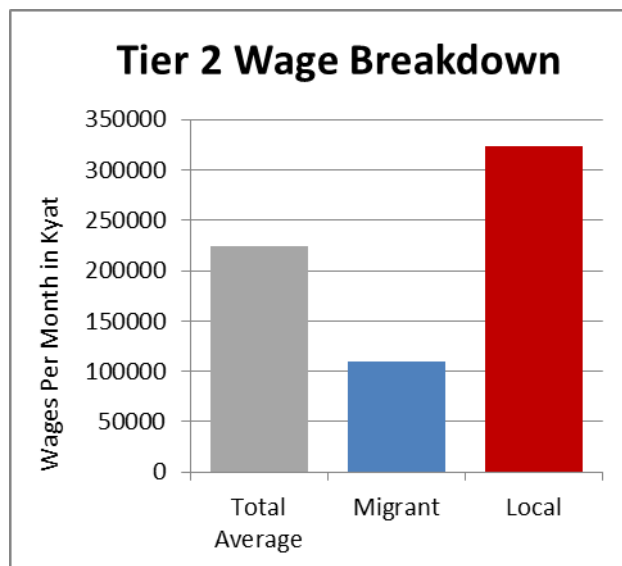


Figure 17: Tier 2 Wage Breakdown

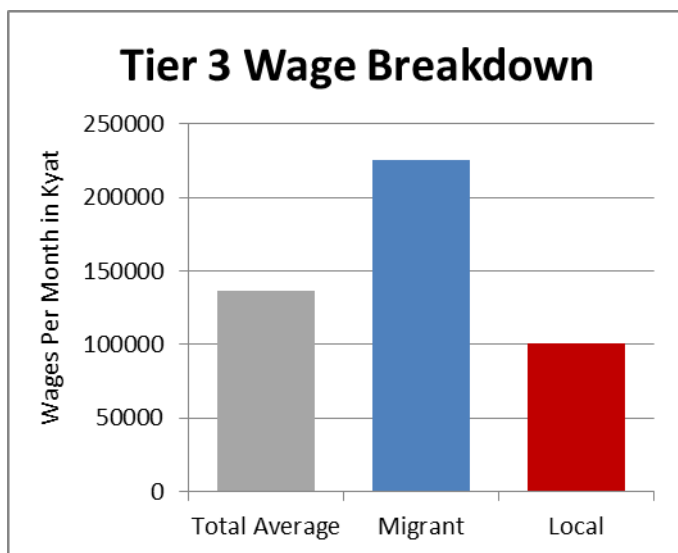


Figure 18: Tier 3 Wage Breakdown

individuals, which makes the comparison more challenging. For example, there were some local fishermen who netted over 500,000 kyat per month in earnings, and other local orchard farmers who made less than 15,000 kyat. But as a group, it was evident that there were many local people in farming and fishing positions that made far less than migrant traders.

Despite these differences in incomes and earnings, every single participant responded with a strong “no” when asked if there were tensions between local and migrant people. One restaurant worker smiled and said “I married one!” while another head of the village reiterated that many migrant workers end up starting families here in Ngwe Saung and fuse with the local population (Hotel Technician, Male, 34).

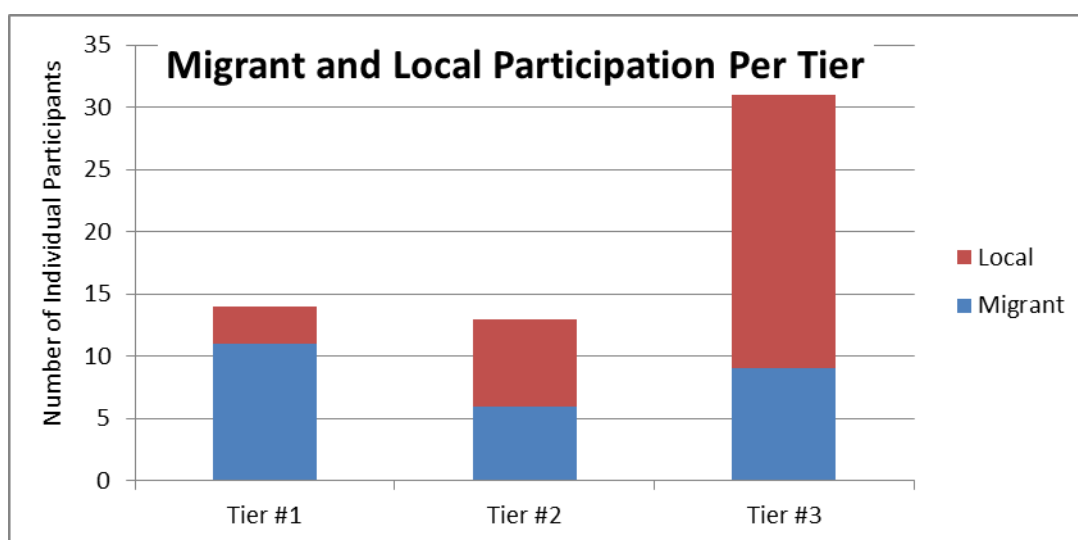


Figure 19: Migrant and Local Participation per Tier

Possible Explanations for Differences in Wages

There are several different scenarios that can help to explain this difference between local and migrant wages. The most apparent, that was suggested by several migrant workers, is that there is a strong difference in education levels and skill sets, which gives advantage to migrant workers. This was reflected in the data, in which migrant workers, from all three tiers of occupation, had a minimum high school education, and over sixty percent holding a university degree. This is in comparison to the local population, where less than eighteen percent held a university degree and nearly fifty percent had not achieved above a middle school education level. As one hotel technician bluntly stated, “I was

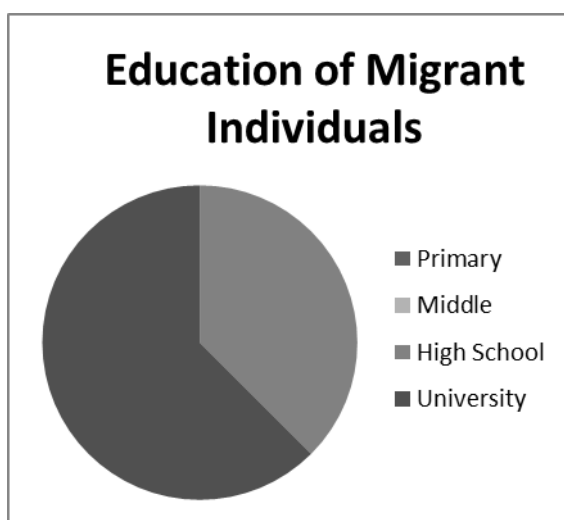


Figure 20: Education of Migrant Individuals

brought to Ngwe Saung from Yangon, because the local people have no skills” (Hotel Technician, Male, 34).

Hotel managers, when detailing their hiring process, stated that education, English language, personality and appearance were all stressed. Most managers admitted that the higher level hotel staff are brought in from Yangon, and positions such as supervisor, operations manager and assistant manager are filled by migrants. Lower level positions that do not require as much education or interaction with tourists (where knowledge of English is crucial) are filled more predominately by local staff. These positions include housekeeper, gardener, cook, driver, and groundskeeper, although these still require a high school degree. The greatest difference in education levels between migrants and local people was found in Tier 3, which held varied jobs from fishermen, farmers, animal breeders, to vendors and government positions. The majority of migrant workers working in this tier were government positions, and were required to have a minimum level of high school education while the majority of local workers in this tier were farmers and fishermen, making the distinction amongst migrants and locals with their disparate education levels very apparent.

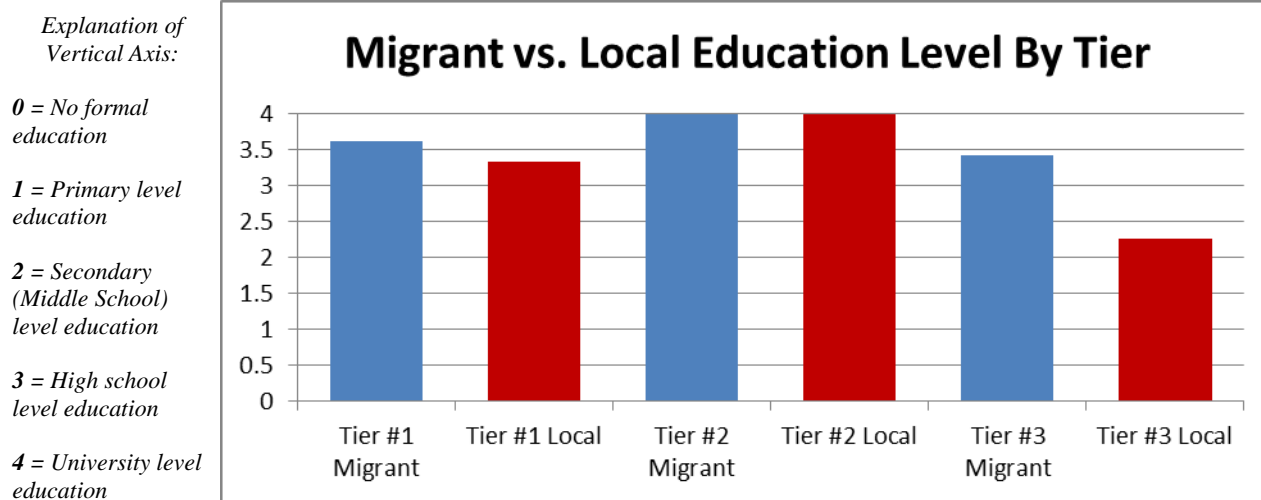


Figure 21: Migrant versus Local Education Level By Tier

However, with the construction of the Ngwe Saung matriculation exam center in 2007, many noted a strong, although slow change in the number of local staff workers and their level of position within management. A migrant hotel technician, who originally came to Ngwe Saung in 2006, noted that today there are many more local people employed by the hotels, whereas when he first arrived, there were none (Hotel Technician, Male, 34). One hotel manager noted that many of his receptionists and

assistant supervisors are now local people (Hotel Manager, Male, 27). As one migrant worker and former monk noted, “Local people don’t have the education level or communication skills for hotel jobs. Now – this is changing with the school they brought in recently. Competition for good hotel jobs used to be just amongst migrant workers but now it is changing” (Housekeeping, Male, 30). This is most certainly noted in the data for Tier 2, where local and migrant entrepreneurs and their staff attained the same standard of education – at university level.

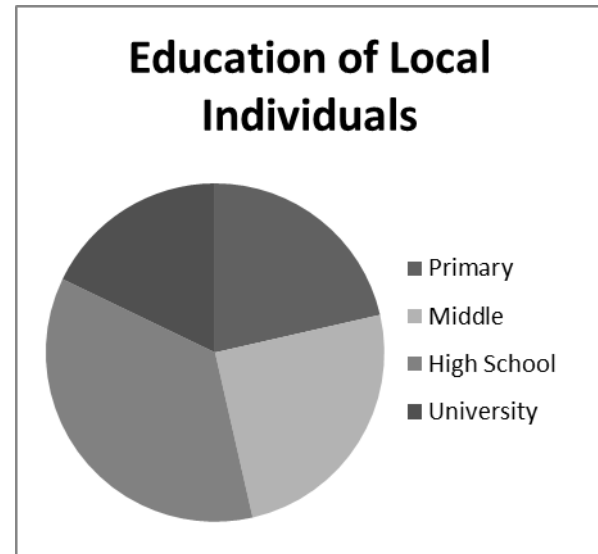


Figure 22: Education of Local Individuals

The second reason that was mentioned repeatedly, involves complications with the government’s seizure of local lands with the subsequent development of hotels and tourism in Ngwe Saung in 2000, conflicting with the traditional culture of the local people. When the land of the local people was taken by the government in 2000, it was a very sudden and quick adjustment for former fishermen and farmers to make. Most of the local people were from the Rakhine ethnic group and as one elderly village leader who had lost over three acres and one-thousand palm trees admitted with a weary smile:

“We Rakhine, even though we were very poor, we didn’t want to go wash other people’s clothes. We had never had to work for another person before – we didn’t know how to. We were too prideful and didn’t want to work in the hotels. So we didn’t fight with the migrant workers over the hotel jobs in the beginning because we didn’t want them! But then, after about three years, when most of our compensation for our palm trees ran out and we still didn’t know how to earn a living, we put our pride aside and began to apply for hotel jobs and began to work for someone else for the first time” (Shopkeeper, Female, 51).

Another migrant restaurant owner offered a slightly different opinion, stating that because of the land loss and sudden loss of livelihoods experienced by the local people, they have become very concerned with saving, and do not take risks. But, as he proudly noted, migrant workers “take risks and invest everything and take chances. When I came to Ngwe Saung in 2002, I only had 300 kyat in my pocket. Now, I

make over 4 million kyat each year. I have enough food to feed my family and my two-restaurants full of staff” (Restaurant Owner, Male, 42).

3.7 Purchasing Power

With the increase in salaries and wages from the insertion of tourism in Ngwe Saung, families suddenly had more income and larger purchasing power freedom which largely contributed toward their private physical capital livelihood. Most participants commented on their increased purchasing power, noting substantial change in purchases. One young migrant worker noted, “We have more money now and have more choices of what we want to buy.”

One local hotel waitress noted that with her job alone, her family has been able to purchase many things they “couldn’t dream of before” such as a TV, DVD player, and electricity (Hotel Waitress Captain, Female, 29). Another villager noted that TVs have been the most obvious purchase due to extra earnings from tourism. “Before 2000, no one here had a TV, but now, thanks to tourism, almost every house has one” (Hotel Cook, Male, 35). Mobile phones are another investment that many villagers have made, notably to improve communication in their businesses (Grocery Store Owner, Female, 53). Mobile phones in Myanmar cost between 200,000 kyat (if purchased in 2012) and 500,000 kyat (if purchased before 2011) which is seen as a serious investment for a fisherman who only makes 50,000 kyat a month. Other villagers noted that purchasing power has enabled many families to make improvements and additions to their homes.

The other very visual procurement that most families have made is the purchase of a motorbike. Before, no family could afford a bike, but now, most families have at least one motorbike. Police authorities noted that the most common reported crime today is motorbike traffic accidents, because “now everyone has them!” Motorbikes are not the only form of transportation that has entered Ngwe Saung, as some villagers observed automobile traffic increasing in more recent years. One young local villager noted that it wasn’t until after 2002 that she saw her first car that came carrying tourists who traveled privately from Yangon (Hotel Food and Beverage Staff, Female, 21). As one former monk stated, “Before tourism, only rich people could drive. Now [after tourism] more people can afford means of transport whether it is a bicycle, motorbike or car” (Housekeeping, Male, 30).

3.8 Land Grab Ramifications

The most important question in analyzing the ramifications of the tourism industry on the local people's livelihoods in Ngwe Saung is whether the local people have more livelihoods and opportunities now with tourism, or before – or if it remained stagnant. Given that most local villagers experienced having their land taken from them with an abrupt halt to their livelihoods; this was a very sensitive and important question.

While there was some discourse, the response to comparing livelihoods before and after tourism was overwhelmingly in favor of “after tourism.” This response was not only recorded from hotel staff and entrepreneurial business workers, but also from the local fishermen and farmers who had themselves experienced a loss of land and livelihood just twelve years ago. One local shopkeeper noted that even with the taking of the land, and the loss of fishing, farming and palm tree jobs, there are “so many more jobs now, and there is more to do. You can be a farmer, or a fisherman, but you can also be a hotel worker, own a restaurant or karaoke” (Shopkeeper, Female, 51).

There were mentions and perhaps complaints, mainly from elderly villagers, that the new jobs that came brought different traditions. “Local people never had to work for someone before, or work strict hours,” notes one monk. “They worked when they wanted to and didn't when they didn't want to. But people's lives improved with hotel jobs and there was a diversification of various kinds of jobs that local people could do” (Head Monk at Ngwe Saung Monastery, Male, 53).

Perhaps the best summary of tourism's impression on the local people was described by one eighty-two year old elder community member who had lost three houses, over ten acres and five-hundred palm trees with the land grab in 2000 noted that in some ways, it provided for next generations as the government had indicated by providing tourism jobs to local people (Village Elder, Male, 82). In response to whether there were more jobs created now with tourism, or whether there had been more jobs before tourism was promoted in 2000, he said *“it is difficult to make a comparison because the jobs now are so different than they were before. Overall, there are more jobs and opportunities now – before it was just fishing and farming, and there are more ways to make money now with business and hotel jobs – especially for young people. But before, we didn't need that much money – we lived off of our land and had a simple*

life” (Information collected from Shopkeeper and Village Elder). He mentioned that while the entrée of tourism destroyed his house and his livelihoods, he cannot help but notice how much his life has changed. *“Now my family and I have a house phone, a cell phone (which they sold their cow in order to purchase because their field was taken away and they no longer had room for their cow), a TV, a motorbike, and electricity. We are OK now”* (Village Elder, Male, 82).

Although some of these local people described that the government land grab in 2000 stole their livelihoods, twelve years later they can’t help but notice how much their current livelihoods have changed their lives – for the better. While there are still several changes that many elders see as “troublesome” – such as the appearance of karaoke and alcohol, everyone admitted that they were able to live a better life and have more disposable income and opportunity for employment thanks to tourism.

3.9 Conclusion

In concluding this chapter, it is evident that there has been substantial change towards human, financial and physical capital livelihood since tourism was first introduced to the region in 2000. While not all of it has been positive – most notably the land grab in 2000 that took the land and livelihoods of over 400 families - the change that has taken place since the initial groundbreaking has brought tremendous wealth and outlook to the local people.

From this data collection, it is estimated that there were over 2,000 new jobs brought into the town as a direct product of the tourism industry – and from this data, both Tiers 1 and 2 are jobs introduced with the coming of tourism. These jobs not only include hotel staff, but an abundance of entrepreneurial and small business opportunities such as souvenir shop and restaurant owners, tourism operators, and motorbike rentals.

The increases in wages and income were most notably witnessed by individuals in Tiers 1 and 2 – who switched from former fishermen and farmers into the newly created tourism industry positions. This new possibility was especially rewarding to young high school and university graduates, who previously could not gain employment.

Salaries from Tier 1 hotel positions, in combination with the comforting benefits, provided chances to save and send remittances home to families, largely creating an opportunity for financial livelihood. For those individuals that sent remittances home, the average amount per month returned was 57,143 kyat. This data indicates that the tourism industry in Ngwe Saung not only advances the lives of local people, but improves the lives of families within the larger context of Myanmar. Similarly, for Tier 2 positions, the increase in income allowed for larger reinvestment in business that yielded more capital. Although Tier 3 did not note significant amounts of saving, reinvestment, or remittance, many farmers and fishermen noted a ten-fold increase in their wages with the coming of the tourism industry and that “business was better than ever” (Captain of Fisherman boat, Male, 32) thanks to tourism.

From the increase in wages and job prospects, purchasing power increased, and villagers were able to better their lives and increase their private physical livelihood by buying motorbikes, transport, TVs, electricity, and mobile phones.

Perhaps the most important question surrounded the aftermath of the land grab in 2000, in which villagers were displaced and left largely uncompensated for their land which was taken to build beachfront hotels for tourism. Were the local people of Ngwe Saung better off before tourism, or now – even though their land was taken and their livelihoods lost? The people of Ngwe Saung felt, without second thought, that their livelihoods are much better now, largely for the reasons indicated above, despite the government land grab. This begs the further question then, of whether tourism could have in fact been brought to Ngwe Saung without the displacement and harm that was caused. In the following chapter, these improvements from tourism continue, with an examination in how far tourism development affects the human rights of the local people in Ngwe Saung.

Chapter 4

TOURISM'S PROGRESSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

4.1 Introduction

The following chapter examines the impact of tourism on the local community's human rights. These rights include education, health, freedom of movement, water, electricity, information and social integrity. Measuring the level of tourism causation in furthering these rights for the local people of Ngwe Saung helps to understand tourism as a development tool. Academic papers and research have not explored whether tourism development can yield results in furthering human rights for individuals, and this chapter examines this possible relationship.

4.2 Educational Advancements in Human Rights

Currently Ngwe Saung's Ward One main school has over six-hundred students enrolled, and twenty-eight teachers.

There has been significant growth in the number of students attending

school, and as the headmaster notes,

"When I arrived three years ago,

there weren't even five-hundred

students in our school. Now, just a

few years later, we have over 600!"

(High School Headmaster, Female,

59). She noted that this increase in

the number of students was due to

more migrant workers who had come

several years ago to Ngwe Saung and had since settled down and raised families

(High School Headmaster, Female, 59).

Number of Students Enrolled in Ngwe Saung's Ward 1 School*	
Elementary School	255 students
Middle School	281 students
High School	104 students
Total:	640students
<i>* Ngwe Saung Ward 1 School is the largest school within the sub-township, and the only high school in the sub-township.²⁶</i>	

Table 6: Number of Students Enrolled in Ngwe Saung's Ward 1 School

The headmaster of Ngwe Saung's Ward One main school estimated that of the six-hundred and forty students that are currently enrolled, about 20 percent come from families employed by hotels, 30 percent from fishermen, ten percent from government

²⁶ Research collected from headmaster of high school

workers and the remaining forty percent come from local people who either own small businesses or sell things to these businesses (such as local foods to restaurants) (High School Headmaster, Female, 59).

The following section analyzes the outcome of tourism on the procurement of educational human rights for the local people of Ngwe Saung. Structural and physical improvements are surveyed, as well as educational investment changes before and after tourism.

4.2.1 Educational Cultivation

The largest advancements in education generated by tourism are evident in the quantity and quality of education that has been presented since 2000 and credited as being propagated by tourism. Before tourism, the main town of Ngwe Saung only had one elementary and one middle school. If children wanted to pursue their high school education, the nearest high school was in Pathein (Head of Village, Male, 45), which at that time, took an entire day to travel to and was very costly. But with tourism, and “as migrant workers came to Ngwe Saung and brought their families, there were more people and more children – we needed schools” (Hotel Manager, Male, 53). In 1999 the government constructed Ngwe Saung’s first high school (High School Teacher, Male, 55) in the town center. In subsequent years, with the growing number of villagers, the hotels and local shrimp factories donated money to build an additional two elementary schools within the main ward of Ngwe Saung (Shrimp Factory Manager, Male, 57). As one shrimp factory owner describes, “Migrant workers came to work in our shrimp business and these hotels. In order to get them to come live and work in Ngwe Saung, they needed schools for their children. We donated money to build additional schools in order to attract our workers” (Shrimp Factory Manager, Male, 57). These donations from hotels and local companies did not stop with the building of schools, but evolved into donating computers, supplies and support for schools. “They [hotels] donated computers to our high school and pens, pencils and paper to the students” notes one middle school teacher (Middle School Teacher, Female, 46).

The enrichments in education brought about by tourism were not only felt in the town center of Ngwe Saung, but in the outlying villages. In Sinma, one recent high school

graduate noted that when she was growing up, they only had an elementary school, but her life changed with the emergence of tourism;

“For me, there was no option for middle school or high school because it was too expensive to travel to the neighboring villages for middle school, and impossible for my family to send me all the way to Pathein for high school – my parents couldn’t afford it. My biggest hope back then was to graduate from elementary school and get married. When the hotels came, they came to our village and built a middle school – now we have education through 8th grade. They built transportation and bridges so that we could cross the river and attend high school in Ngwe Saung (main ward). Twelve years ago – I had no hope of entering middle school, and today I graduated high school and just took the exam to become a teacher!” (Student, Female, 19).

In another neighboring village of Naung Maw, one fisherman describes a similar story: previously their village only had an elementary school, but with the hotels, more schools were built and now children can attain education in the village through 10th grade (Fisherman, Male, 58).

Another significant advancement effectuated by tourism was the building of a matriculation exam center in Ngwe Saung in 2007 (Grocery Store Owner, Female, 53). In order to successfully graduate high school, students must take an exam. Their score on this exam determines what occupations they may pursue and is the pivotal point in a career. In school, students prepare for over a year to take this exam while many spent several more years studying with hired private tutors. One young hotel employee noted, “Eight years ago, when I took the matriculation exam, I had to pay to go to Chaungtha, about two hours away – and that is with the new roads! It costs my family a lot of money. Now, my younger sister can take it here in Ngwe Saung” (Housekeeping Supervisor, Female, 24). Another villager observed that “with the building of the matriculation center – there are many more high school graduates. Before 2007, it was too expensive for families to send their children to take the exam in faraway towns. Now, with the exam center in Ngwe Saung, there is a place for students, and many more graduate high school now” (Housekeeping, Male, 30). This same message was reiterated by a fifty-three year old mother whose daughter was one of fourteen students who passed the matriculation exam this year. She said that when she was younger, no one graduated high school because no one could afford to send their children away for education. But with the building of the high school and the matriculation center, many more students are graduating high school, “more than we

have ever seen before – at least one per household!” (Grocery Store Owner, Female, 53). This is congruent with the growing number of students who have both taken and passed the matriculation exam. This year, in 2012, 28 percent (14 out of 50) of high school students passed the matriculation exam, in comparison to just 21 percent the year prior (High School Headmaster, Female, 59).

Another mentioned area of advancement in education accomplished by tourism, is in the behaviors and mannerisms that were taught in school. These behaviors and mannerisms came from a combination of observing foreign tourists and their etiquette and with the city teachers that were brought in by the government from Yangon who taught children how to behave properly. As one proud parent exclaimed, “Before, our children had no manners – no behavior. When the schools were being built, and the government brought in teachers from the city [Yangon] for the first time, they brought their manners with them” (Hotel Manager, Male, 53).

Education has drastically changed since the opening of tourism – just twelve short years ago. “There weren’t that many educated people here before,” (Hotel Human Resources Manager, Female, 29) notes one migrant hotel employee. “Now – everyone here is more educated. Before, we didn’t have schools or an exam center, or tuition options. Now we do and people are more educated because of it” (Hotel Food and Beverage Staff, Female, 21). Perhaps as best summarized by one village elder, who had seen the change of Ngwe Saung for the past sixty-one years, “Poor people in our village couldn’t afford education before – they couldn’t afford to go to school. But now, because of the hotels and tourism, which brought more people, more teachers and more schools, we can” (Village Elder, Male, 61). Another local Ngwe Saung middle school teacher noted that “Most people here didn’t used to get education beyond primary school because it was far away and expensive. Now – they can get it” (Middle School Teacher, Female, 46). The circumstances created in education for the local people in Ngwe Saung furthered a right to education, and equalized opportunity regardless of income levels. For the first time, poor families could afford education for their children, and as a result, Ngwe Saung has many more high school graduates.

4.2.2 Investment in Education

Perhaps the most compelling evidence of a change in education brought forth by tourism was the increase in investment and reasons parents listed as why they have chosen to finance their children's education – which have drastically changed since tourism came twelve years ago. Over thirty parents mentioned that they were spending money on their children's education so that “they can be educated in order to have a good job to have a good life” (Guest House Owner, Female, 46). The sacrifices that these parents made for the education of their children was monstrous, as some local villagers admitted being up to 200,000 kyat in debt or spending as much as 50,000 kyat per month on tuition fees to tutor their children. One family in neighboring Shauw Chang village has even sent their daughter to live with her tuition teacher in order to get a better education – since she was four years old (Farmer, Male, 36). As one proud father noted, “I pay two other employees 70,000 kyat per month, even though I have two strong boys of my own. I will not let my children help me in my business [restaurant]. They need to focus, stay in school and become educated” (Restaurant Owner, Male, 42). Parents from all corners of Ngwe Saung – from the town center to the rural villages, all strongly believed that education was an important investment in the lives of their children. This mindset of investing money and providing a strong education background for their children's futures has not been here in Ngwe Saung since the beginning, and as one villager observes, it has only been around “for about ten years. Before, we didn't see any reason to spend money on education – our children couldn't take the matriculation exam anyway, so whether they graduated primary school or middle school, there was no difference – they still wouldn't get a job” (Mother, Female, 41). As one local high school graduate described, “Most of us, especially us girls, just tried to graduate elementary school and then get married. We didn't even think we would be able to work or earn wages – but just keep a good house” (Hotel Waitress Captain, Female, 29). Another young female villager noted that “before, we would never dream of job opportunities like this because we just weren't smart enough” (Hotel Food and Beverage Staff, Female, 21). With the improvements in education, in combination with the increased job liberties for local people – there has been a dramatic change in the mindset of parents. In one rural village, nearly three hours by motorbike from Ngwe Saung's town center, one parent who worked as an animal breeder envisioned “my children will study abroad with foreigners. They can go to Singapore or get their PhD in the UK, or [he

smiles]...Harvard” (Animal Breeder, Male, 45). The dreams and ambitions of the local people have far surpassed what they were just twelve short years before.

This change in mindset towards the advantage of education from a previous dim possibility is a consequence of tourism and its positive contribution to the local people, providing jobs and further freedoms for

local, educated individuals and by providing the education tools (schools, exam centers and supplies) to have them achieve tourism (and other) positions.

Tuition as an Additional Investment in Education

While in Ngwe Saung, it was learned that ‘tuition’ is an important opportunity in education; however, it is predominately utilized by the wealthier villagers, as poor families cannot afford the exorbitant costs. While it should be noted that tuition is seen as a wider education problem within Myanmar, openly practiced all over the country, and is not isolated to Ngwe Saung, it is important to note that Ngwe Saung is experiencing barriers and corruption like most other communities in Myanmar.

Tuition is essentially after school tutoring for students to advance their studies and improve their performance on the matriculation exam. However, it is apparent through several conversations in Ngwe Saung, that there is underlying corruption in tuition – as “Teachers are the ones that teach tuition on the side. They have sisters, brothers and friends who teach the course and get the curriculum from the teachers. Teachers will purposely not teach everything in the class, so that kids have to go to pay to go to their house to get the other information” (Motorbike driver, Male, 31). In

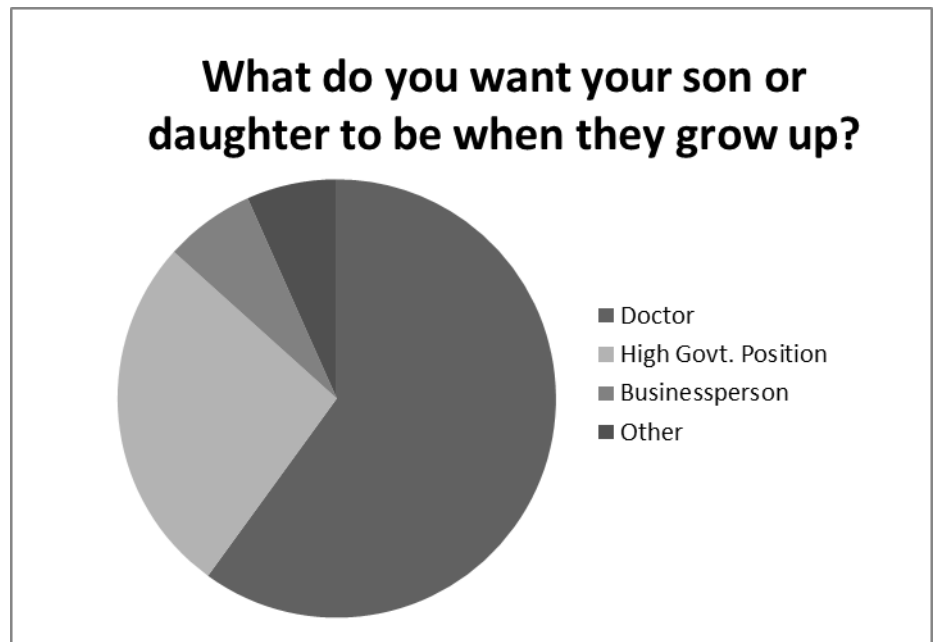


Figure 23: Desired Occupations for Offspring Determined by Parents

the more remote villages of Ngwe Saung, this corruption could be witnessed within the education system, and as pointed out by one fisherman; “I spend 40,000 per month for my two children on tuition fees. I pay this because the teacher in school doesn’t teach very well. But their tuition teacher is the same teacher as the one in school” (Captain of Fisherman boat, Male, 32). One middle school teacher noted, “Tuition gives students twice the occasion to practice and study, and helps the students with their marks [grades]. About one third of students in this school have tuition – and the number is increasing as more parents see the value in investing in their children’s education” (Middle School Teacher, Female, 46). While tuition is seen as giving advantage to those who can afford it - distinguishing between poorer families and richer ones - it is still an indicator for investment in education. Government school costs approximately 7,000 kyat per year (Hotel Manager, Male, 53), but parents have been known to spend upwards of 40,000 kyat per month per child in tuition fees. For one hotel manager, who wants his eleven-year old daughter to become a doctor, he said he pays 30,000 kyat per month in tuition because “in order to be a doctor, you must pass with very high marks. In order to get those high marks, she needs to study more.” Pictured on the right with her very proud father, hung on the wall of their living room in pink and yellow, are her two most recent “first-in-class” certificates.

While the price of tuition depends on the grade level of the child, it is important to note how many different family occupations have chosen to invest in costly extra educational support for their child.



Figure 24: Proud Father with his daughter and her First-in-Class Certificates in their Living Room

One restaurant owner pays 3,000 kyat per month for his third grade son, and an additional 20,000 kyat per month for his seventh grade son to attend tuition (Restaurant Owner, Male, 42). Another animal breeder pays 40,000 kyat per month for his two children (Animal Breeder, Male, 45), and one farmer pays 25,000 per month for his daughter's tuition in the sixth grade (Farmer, Male, 36). Both police officers had children who were enrolled in tuition courses, with one officer paying 50,000 kyat per month for his two children and another paying 3,000 kyat per month for his daughter in the first grade (Information collected from police officers).

The headmaster at Ngwe Saung high school indicated that tuition was only for privileged families who could afford it (High School Headmaster, Female, 59), yet from speaking with many villagers in both remote and central locations in the sub-township, it was evident that families from all occupational groups and all levels of income provided this investment in their children's future. While a majority of those who mentioned costs in extra tutoring fees came from Tier 1 hotel staff, the percentage of entrepreneurs and Tier 2 workers who invested in their children's education was much higher per capita, and furthermore, it was found that fishermen, farmers, animal breeders and government officials from Tier 3 also paid significant tuition fees to further their child's education.

Although this was not mentioned in interviews, with speculation and supporting data it is understandable that parents who are investing in their children's futures also understand that they are investing in their *own*. For most villagers, who live with their families, the younger generations were supporting old parents and in-laws who could no longer work due to age. It was expected in this culture, that children would take care of their aging parents. By investing in a child's education so that they are able to achieve higher marks and get a better education and job, a villager is essentially ensuring a better retirement plan for themselves. Furthermore, through the remittance data discussed in the previous chapter, it is evident that younger generations are monetarily supporting families who have at times become reliant on these large remittances.

4.2.3 Returns on Investment in Education

While it is still too early to tell for many families who have invested substantial amounts of money to further the education of their children, some local families and school teachers have already noted positive results.

Although working in the hotels and other tourism jobs are not necessarily the students' first choice of employment, as one headmaster noted, "Most people who pass the exam [high school matriculation exam] – and those that don't – go into hotels. Those kids whose parents are fishermen go back to fishing but work with the hotels and their former classmates that way" (High School Headmaster, Female, 59).

Another high school teacher elaborated on this explanation:

"Those students whose families aren't wealthy enough to send their children to uni – they get jobs in the hotels. For those kids whose families can afford to send their children to uni – they go to uni, and then graduate and return to Ngwe Saung to work in the hotels. Some use their university education to open a business, but most just come back to work in the hotels" (High School Teacher, Male, 55).

It is evident that tourism has created more employment liberties for these young high school graduates – especially more possibility for those impoverished families who may not be able to afford sending their son or daughter to university. "Before tourism, our students who graduated from high school and university couldn't get jobs – now with the hotels and restaurants and local businesses – they can" (High School Teacher, Male, 55).

Another important indicator of change and betterment in the educational human rights of the local people is the number of children who are achieving education levels above that of their parents. All Tier 1 hotel staff anticipated that their children would not only graduate high school, but perform well enough on their matriculation exams that they would be able to receive further schooling as doctors, dentists or government officials. Tier 2 also indicated that their children would graduate university in order to achieve the skill sets necessary to "make a good living" (Souvenir Shop Owner, Female, 38). But the most compelling data came from the indicators of the local fishermen and farmers in Tier 3. From the previous chapter, education levels were explored, and while Tier 1 and Tier 2 retained relatively high levels of high school and university education, nearly fifty percent of Tier 3 attained a middle school education level or lower. However, from the data collected it is evident that there is a strong desire to change this level of education for their children's generation.

For one local vendor who sells fish in Ma Gyi Maw village, the sacrifice of education for her daughter is important. Her daughter is currently in the sixth grade, and her family spends 10,000 kyat per month in tuition fees. But presently, their daughter is the person with the highest education level in their household, as neither parent went to middle school (Dependent, Female, 41). As another proud fisherman father from Naung Maw village exclaimed, his two children are already in high school and middle school – two levels of education neither of their parents reached. He spends 7,000 kyat per month, over a tenth of their income, on tuition fees alone, and hopes that his daughter will soon pass the matriculation exam. (Fisherman, Male, 40). For another local farmer who never completed middle school, the fact that his elder child is enrolled in university and his other son is in high school, is the “biggest accomplishment of my life.” And one trader with primary education from Bu Quay Gyi village said that despite being 200,000 kyat in debt for her two sons’ education, she is proud that one is currently in 10th grade while the other has already graduated and went abroad for work (Dependent, Female, 46).

Witnessing such drastic changes in education levels in just one generation’s worth of families indicates the enrichment of tourism on educational human rights opportunities. For these local farmers, most of whom did not enter or graduate middle school, the chance to see their children graduate high school and even pursue university, is an outlook they themselves could never have imagined.

4.3 Health and Hygiene

The following section seeks to assess the impression of tourism on local people’s health human rights. Health human rights have been separated into two sections: health care opportunities and hygiene elevations.

4.3.1 Health Care Treatment Facility Growth and Opportunities

There have been several advances and extended freedom for health care progress for the people of Ngwe Saung emanating from tourism.

The most drastic of course, is the prospect of advanced treatment for the local people. In 2002, Ngwe Saung received its first clinic in the main town, and local people were able to see medical practitioners for treatment (Grocery Store Owner, Female, 53). Furthermore, in 2005-2006, Ngwe Saung hospital was built. Prior to this, local

people had to travel all the way to Pathein to seek treatment – a very costly and lengthy commute. The hospital was “built by the government to serve the growing number of tourists and population here. It is not expensive and is the same hospital where tourists go to seek treatment” (Hotel Cook, Male, 35). This betterment in treatment has been monumental for local villagers and one elder recollects, “Before, many people died on the way to hospital [in Pathein] but now many people live because there is a hospital here and the roads are so much better to move faster” (Head Monk at Ngwe Saung Monastery, Male, 53).

Advancements in medicine have enabled near-eradication of widespread malaria and dengue in Ngwe Saung (Restaurant Owner, Male, 42), and as one health assistant noted, “The only reason we were able to control these widespread diseases is because the government in 2000 realized that it needed to have a disease-free travel destination and began giving local people treatment” (Doctor, Male, 51). The health assistant also noted that in addition to these upgrades in curtailing widespread disease, medical practice improved with the introduction of government-sent doctors from Yangon. “We used to re-use needles, but now, because of improved transportation from Pathein and government supplies, we only use them once and practice proper medical treatment” (Doctor, Male, 51).

These improvements in health care have been especially beneficial towards the impoverished villages and communities. One merchant in outlying Zeehmaw village noted that with tourism, the “hotels donated and hired a



doctor who travels between the villages. He [the travelling doctor] has come here every Friday since 2011” (Merchant, Male, 41). In another remote village, Shauw Chaung, a health center was donated by the local hospitals and shrimp companies just this year, in 2012 (Farmer, Male, 36). In addition to these new facilities, treatments, and clinics, the local villagers have noticed a drastic change in cost for medical care and treatment. “Before, it costs over 10,000 kyat for treatment in Pathein, and that

isn't even including transportation costs! Now, with the Ngwe Saung hospital, local people can afford treatment, as one visit to the hospital only costs 3,000 kyat" (Hotel Receptionist, Female, 28). "Before [tourism], poor people couldn't even travel or afford to get to Chaungtha or Pathein hospitals. They took traditional medicine – that's it! Many died" (Village Elder, Male, 61).

While health advances have improved for the entire population of Ngwe Saung, there is one group of individuals and their families who have perhaps benefited the most. Benefits of hotel staff include health care, and some hotels such as the Bay of Bengal Resort have health coverage that extends beyond the individual staff member, to include his/her family. "We recognize that a healthy living starts with the family," notes one Bay of Bengal hotel manager. "We have a doctor on staff whose only job is to provide treatment and care for the staff. Our hotel incurs all medical costs" (Hotel Human Resources Manager, Female, 27). With the addition of hotels and their policies, local people were, for the first time, given the occasion to access employer-provided, free health care coverage. Consequently, other companies and businesses in the area followed these practices and began to offer health care coverage to their employees. One health care assistant noted that his former job in Ngwe Saung was working for the shrimp company as a hired on-staff doctor. "They provided all care and treatment for their workers and wanted to ensure that injuries and sicknesses were handled appropriately. It started right after all the migrant workers came with the hotels and the shrimp company realized that in order to compete for the workers, it needed to offer the same things as the hotels" (Doctor and former medical assistant to shrimp factory, Male, 51). In addition to treatments, many hotels require that staff undergo a full health exam before their employment begins – whereby they are given vaccines for Hepatitis A and B (Hotel Food and Beverage Staff, Female, 21).

Tourism brought about great advances in hygiene and health care – most importantly, in the ease of access and affordability in seeking medical treatment.

4.3.2 Hygiene Elevations

There have been noticeable improvements towards the local community's hygienic human rights that have been credited with the coming of tourism. The most drastic has been the emergence of toilets, which many village elders and locals explain did not exist before tourism. "Before tourism, we didn't have toilets. Local people didn't

know how to use toilets, we didn't have bathrooms here – just bush. The hotels brought toilets, and migrant workers in Ngwe Saung who came for tourism first introduced local people to bathrooms and proper sanitation” (Hotel Manager, Male, 53). One monk added that, “we first got toilets right after the hotels came in 2000.” The installation of toilets within the community not only helps from a hygienic perspective but also from a health perspective as many diseases can be transmitted through feces (Water Aid, 2011).

Similarly, with the entrance of tourism, proper food preparation and management was shared with the local people from the hotel management and staff who were trained in food preparation. Local restaurants that began to pop up shortly after 2000 learned from the hotels how to serve food in restaurants. Similarly, with proper food preparation and treatment came the initiation of cleanliness and proper personal hygiene methods. “They [local Ngwe Saung people] now wear clean clothes and practice proper hygiene because we teach them how to do this in the hotels and provide uniforms for our staff. The local people learn from those staff who work in our hotels and bring these skills and lessons back home” (Hotel Human Resources Manager, Female, 29). With the hotels, “now restaurants know how to prepare food and have proper hygiene” (Hotel Waitress Captain, Female, 29).

Overall, tourism has improved hygienic human rights for the local people, by introducing toilets, personal cleanliness and sanitation methods, and proper food preparation and treatment.

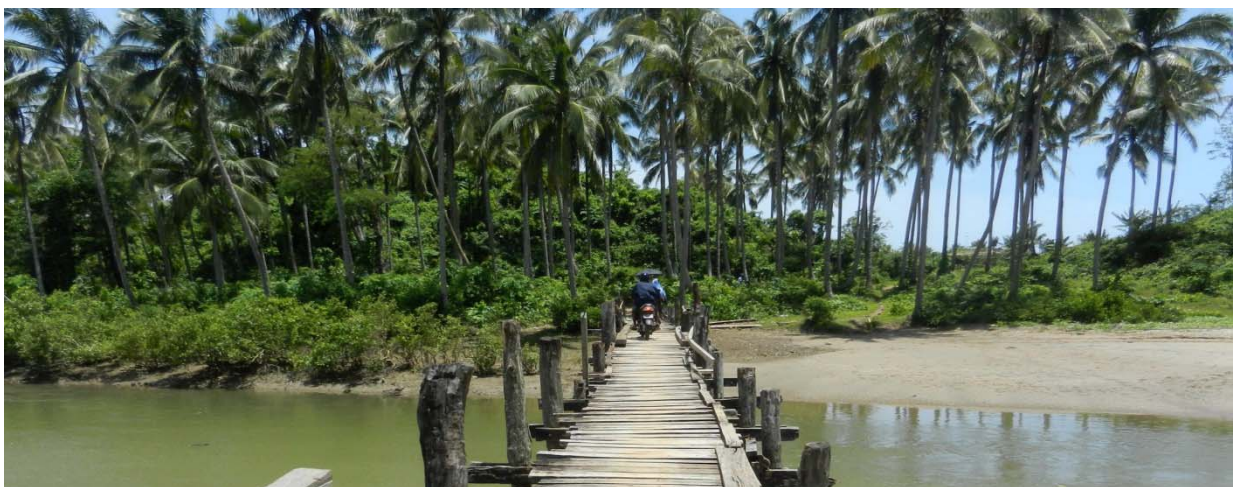


Figure 26: Transportation Improvements in Ngwe Saung

4.4 Transportation and the Freedom of Movement

Perhaps most noticeable in changing the local people's rights, was the paving of the road from Ngwe Saung to Pathein and later Yangon, which came almost immediately after the allowance of tourism in 2000. This new road, supported in part by local hotels and shrimp factories (Shrimp Factory Manager, Male, 57), permitted the local villagers access to large cities, markets and opportunities. In combination with the increase in wages, local villagers were able to purchase transportation vehicles such as bicycles, motorbikes, totes²⁷ and cars in order to get from Ngwe Saung to other cities. Similarly, with the coming of public transport, for 2,000 kyat villagers can get from Ngwe Saung to Yangon. "Before tourism, it was too expensive and took too long to get from Ngwe Saung to Pathein – it took us an entire day! No one could afford to go because it was too expensive and the road conditions were too bad. But now – even the poor people here can go to Yangon or Pathein" (Head Monk at Ngwe Saung Monastery, Male, 53). These improved features of transportation allowed for access to larger networks – be they social networks, larger markets and consumers for local products, or advanced medical or education assistance from larger cities (such as medical specialists and university education). "The bridges and roads that were built in the early years of tourism made it much easier for locals to travel within the villages in Ngwe Saung, and to other places like Pathein and Yangon" (Hotel Cook, Male, 35). Tourism opened the local people's accessibility, affordability and opportunity, which provides for the right to freedom of movement.



Figure 27: Boat Pulley Transportation Improvement connecting local village to the main road

In addition to providing further access and affordability in transport and improving the right to the freedom of movement, transportation inadvertently improved other

²⁷ A toto is a small three-wheeled motorized tricycle, similar to a "Tuk Tuk" in Thailand.

rights – such as the right to medical access and the right to education. “We used to have to take the sick people by bicycle cart all the way to Pathein. Many died on the way. Now, because of the hospital here in Ngwe Saung and the improved road conditions, people can either be treated here, or if it is more serious, they can be taken to Pathein and reach the hospital with enough time” (Head Monk at Ngwe Saung Monastery, Male, 53). Transportation also improved access to education, and as one high school student states, “When they built the pulley²⁸ from our village across the river, my parents said I could go to [high] school because they could afford it now. Before that, I wouldn’t have been able to go to high school” (Student, Female, 19).

4.5 Water

“Access to safe water is a fundamental human need and therefore a basic human right.” – Kofi Annan, former Secretary General of the United Nations (United Nations, 2001).

Water is essential to life. With the coming of tourism, villagers were able to secure access to life’s most precious resource. “Before, we were responsible for finding water and clean drinking water on our own. But once the hotels came, they built wells for us. Five households to one well. Each family has to pump the water themselves” (Hotel Receptionist, Female, 28). In addition to gaining and securing access to water, there were also enhancements in the quality of the water itself, as mentioned by one villager in remote Shauw Chaung village, “The water is much better now – in addition to the wells that they built, we now have one well for five households and one each well so we don’t get sick” (Palm Tree Farmer, Male, 67). With the coming of tourism, families had access to clean drinking water that was not previously available.



Figure 28: Government-implemented water pump which five households share one well

²⁸ A small boat that is pulled across the river using a large rope

4.6 Electricity

The most popular polled answer when asking local people “What changed after tourism came in 2000?” was a large smile and “With tourism – we got electricity!” (Local villager, Female, 28). It was confirmed by nearly every household that electricity came to Ngwe Saung in 2000 because of the hotels and tourism. Although not every remote village of Ngwe Saung received electricity at this time (and there are still a few outlying villages that do not have electricity), the majority of Ngwe Saung’s population, including those who were resettled after their land was taken by the government, were given access to electricity in 2000. This electricity is not 24 hours however, and it certainly comes with a price; yet despite the costs it is apparent that nearly everyone is willing to pay for power. As one hotel staff employee revealed, “Almost every household has electricity now from 7:00 – 9:30 pm. One TV costs 3,000 kyat per month and one light bulb costs 500 kyat per month” (Local villager, Female, 28). As one villager indicated, “We could now have electricity thanks to tourism. Before – it was too difficult and way too expensive. Private sector prices costs 3,000 per light bulb” (Hotel Food and Beverage Staff, Female, 21). The private sector charged upwards of six times the cost of electricity from the

government. Due to the initiation of government electricity brought in by tourism, local people could afford and access electricity.

More remote villages also remarked that although they got electricity later than the majority of



Figure 29: The Date Electricity was brought into this Ngwe Saung home written in chalk on the wall

people in Ngwe Saung’s Central Ward, they were very happy to have it. When asking one family in a neighboring village the year they received electricity, they pointed to a wooden beam in the middle of their living room. In white chalk, it read in both

Burmese and English “February 14, 2008.” The importance of attaining access to and affordable electricity cannot be better described than with this family – who inscribed in their home, the date they received electricity (Elder, Male, 82).

4.7 Freedom of Information and Communication

Tourism also brought innovative and improved means of communication and the freedom to access and transport information. With electricity, televisions were introduced for the first time to the local people of Ngwe Saung and freedom of and access to information became more widely available. In addition, with an increase in income due to tourism, mobile phones were purchased by families, which improved both personal and work communication.



Figure 30: Electricity and lines of communication running between houses in Naung Maw. With the entrance of television, local people suddenly had access to news, shows and cultures to which they previously had no exposure. “Nearly every house in Ngwe Saung has a TV now,” notes one migrant worker who has lived in Ngwe Saung since 2001. “When I first came, before there was TV, people were narrow minded and their language was very rude and they had never seen a TV before! Now – after watching TV, they are much better at communicating and polite, they know more information about the Ayeyarwady division from the news, and the community is more united because we sit together in tea shops to watch important shows” (Hotel Cook, Male, 35). From the installation of television, both access to information and elevation in communication and education were experienced by the local Ngwe Saung people.

Mobile phones and house phones were soon able to be purchased with the increased incomes and purchasing power of local people due to tourism. The increase in the number of phone communication channels increased drastically in the short years following the establishment of tourism. “In 2000, only two to three households had house phones – no one had a cell phone. Now, almost every household in this village (200 households) has a house phone, and many have cell phones” (Grocery Store Owner, Female, 53). Cell phones largely improved communication channels between social networks and professional networks. “Now with cell phones – we can share the information of the price of goods in the market in Pathein with palm tree farmers here” (Housekeeping, Male, 30). One fisherman even explained that he now always calls Pathein to check the price of prawns before he makes a local sale here in Ngwe Saung. Smiling, he said, “But the price is always better here with the hotels” (Captain of Fisherman boat, Male, 32). With the opening of phone communication, betterments in both personal and business communication and business were observed.

4.8 Social Cultivations

While there were clear indications of elevation in rights such as transportation and freedom of movement, access to clean drinking water, electricity and the freedom of information, in the area of social human rights there were mixed reviews. Most indicated a drastic change in communication, the increase in the freedom of purchasing choices and practicing religion, and the creation of the community welfare association. But others also noted the dark side of tourism and cited cases of prostitution, alcohol and a negative change in culture.

4.8.1 Positive Social Enrichments Achieved by Tourism

As mentioned in the communication section above, most villagers noticed a positive change in both language and communication for the local people – improvements witnessed in both English and Burmese. In addition to TVs aiding these progressive developments, “domestic tourists and foreigners brought formal culture and polite language in Burmese and English.” As one migrant hotel employee recalls, “Before, we spoke very harsh and rude. Now we are polite. Hotel guests taught us this during their travels, and we learned it through watching TV” (Hotel Manager, Male, 53). As another villager notes, these improved etiquettes in language not only improved

communication, but also “respect for one another within the community” (Housekeeping, Male, 25).

With increases in income and the increase in available goods, families in Ngwe Saung were able to have more freedom in choosing their purchases. While this may seem like a trivial upgrade, to some it has been incredible. As one villager notes, “Before tourism, there was only one tea shop here. Now there are many. We didn’t used to have shops or restaurants – now there are a lot more and we even have choices between shops and restaurants” (Hotel Technician, Male, 34). One migrant hotel manager also stated that when he first came to Ngwe Saung in 2000, “we didn’t have butter, soft drinks or cheese. Now we have choices and have been able to diversify our food and options” (Hotel Manager, Male, 53).

Like these purchasing power and furtherance in options, there were also advancements in the ability to practice religion. With the land grab in 2000, the monastery was demolished. As one monk described, “Hotel owners built us this new monastery for free. We have a larger plot of land now” (Head Monk at Ngwe Saung Monastery, Male, 53). In addition to building a new monastery, the hotels donated enough money to build the community three pagodas in town. “Before – we didn’t have any pagodas in Ngwe Saung, and now, thanks to the hotels, we have three. It was important for my family to visit pagodas, as it is a part of our religion, but before it was very expensive to travel to pay homage to a pagoda. Now we have three within our own town!” (Hotel Food and Beverage Staff, Female, 21). The hotels, who sponsored the building of a new monastery and the erection of three pagodas, improved the local people’s access and ability to practice their religion.

A recent initiative, that was originally proposed by the Ngwe Saung Hoteliers Association,²⁹ but largely enacted by the local community, is the creation of the community welfare association in 2011 (Tour Guide Operator, Male, 41). This association has, through donations from local people, saved over 150,000 kyat for poor people within the community. The committee meets to decide who should be awarded money and based on what circumstances. The vice chairman of the welfare

²⁹ The Ngwe Saung Hoteliers Association is an organization comprised of the seventeen hotel owners in Ngwe Saung. They meet to propose measures on proper treatment of employees, improve environmental awareness on the impact of tourism on the local ecosystem, raise benefits and compare wages, and attract tourists to the beach.

association noted that often these donations are given to support elders who need medical treatment, or to families who cannot afford to send their children to school. The vice chairman himself pointed to a very intelligent child sitting next to him and said “He was chosen by the welfare association to have his education sponsored. His family had eight children and couldn’t afford to send him to school. He lives with me now and goes to school in town. He is in the top of his class too” (Restaurant Owner, Male, 42). Through community initiatives, originally introduced by the Ngwe Saung Hoteliers Association, a welfare system was created to help the less fortunate within the community.

4.8.2 Negative Social Influences Derived from Tourism

While there have been great betterments generated by tourism, the local community in Ngwe Saung also voiced several negative influences that have arrived with tourism.

The first, most commonly mentioned, and most drastic is the bringing of karaoke, prostitution, and alcohol to the local community. One monk notes that, “Before tourism, people went to sleep at 7:00 pm. Now, we have tea shops full of beer and alcohol and karaoke. People stay out late. We didn’t have prostitution and alcohol before” (Head Monk at Ngwe Saung Monastery, Male, 53). As one migrant hotel owner further elaborated on the topic, “Domestic tourism brought prostitution and alcohol. Many girls from the village who were less educated became prostitutes. Men, especially domestic tourists, have found alcohol and karaoke [he identified karaoke as the gateway to prostitution in Myanmar] – they get drunk, get loud, waste their money and buy women” (Hotel Manager, Male, 53). Although police authorities did not report tourism-related crime, they noted that the most common crimes in Ngwe Saung today are motorbike accidents (due to the increase in the number of transports on the road) and fighting between local people (where alcohol is usually involved) (Police Investigations Officer, Male, 38). While there are only two to three crimes a month that are reported, this is still a comparative increase over pre- 2000 rates (Police Officer, Male, 36).

In addition to these changes in culture and local practice, there have been negative cultural strains from tourism such as influx of foreign clothing, moral values and work schedules. A few elders of the community, concerned with modesty, noted that “foreign tourists wear short clothes – and now local people are wearing short clothes

like the tourists” (Information collected from Grocery Store Owner and Village Elder). Local people feel clothing was not the only mentioned cultural change for local people – and one elder went as far to say that local culture has been “destroyed by tourism – especially religion.” While this was in direct contrast to what others had mentioned about their improved freedom and ability to practice their religion due to the donated monastery and pagodas, the elder continued to explain that, “We used to have festivals where the entire village would stop their work in order to participate. Now, we can’t do this anymore because some people have to work in hotels and cannot take off work – our culture is destroyed” (Information collected from Shopkeeper and Village Elder). Along a similar line of thought, one astute monk observed that “Before [tourism], no one was rich and they had time and could help others with their work. Now, certain people have the opposite – money and no time” (Head Monk at Ngwe Saung Monastery, Male, 53). The mindset of the local people has changed with the admittance of tourism. While the villagers did not intend to say that acquiring more income from tourism was negative, repercussions of having more money has brought more problems to the community. “There are problems within the family – now siblings fight over money and inheritance. Before we didn’t have anything to leave behind so there was no fighting” (Restaurant Owner, Male, 42).

Overall, several voiced tourism’s negative stresses on the social rights of the local people - most notably the influence and emergence of prostitution, karaoke and alcohol, which brought a change in mindset and culture.

4.9 Conclusion

It can be concluded from the data above, that there were substantial increases in certain areas of human rights, while there were also negative worry regarding tourism’s effect on the social human rights of the local people. Education within Ngwe Saung has drastically changed with the introduction of tourism in 2000 and renovations towards educational human rights can be most visibly seen through the building of several new schools and an examination center, which has yielded increased access to education facilities and higher rates of graduation from high school for local people. Similarly hygiene and health care treatment has improved due to the improved hygiene methods taught by migrant workers and hotel management, the building of a local hospital and neighboring clinics – some of which

were funded by hotels and local shrimp factories, and the affordability and improved access to medical treatment for local people.

Improvements in transportation allowed for increased access and affordability, promoting the freedom of movement. With electricity and higher levels of income introduced through tourism, local people were able to purchase TVs and phones which improved communication and the freedom of information. Levels of language improved for the local people through interactions with tourists and from watching TV, and religious freedom and access improved with the rebuilding of the monastery and three pagodas by the hotels. However, there were several negative strains on social human rights – most noticeably the influence in the appearance of alcohol, karaoke and prostitution to Ngwe Saung and its damaging effects on culture.

In addition to these structural changes and furthered freedoms, the mindset of the local people has changed. Previously, people were unfriendly and spoke to one another in harsh language, and did not support investment in education or wellbeing. But with the coming of tourism, people now speak to one another with a heightened level of respect and language, they support their children through substantial investment in education, and they have improved their wellbeing by entrusting in doctors and higher levels of medical care. The efforts of the hotels have been remarkable in bringing about positive change towards this mindset. They helped found the welfare association, and have donated money, structures and supplies to the education, health care systems, and religious institutions.

It is evident from this study that the people of Ngwe Saung have been enormously bettered by the positive change in their human rights and freedoms.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

In this final chapter, further analysis of this research and a conclusion is offered. As the research objectives require, the relationship between tourism, development and human rights is explored and an analysis of poverty reduction due to tourism is mentioned. Key contributing factors to Ngwe Saung's success are detailed and suggestions are offered for tourism development projects and further research.

5.2 Employment Opportunities and Income Levels

From the data collected and described in Chapter Three, it is evident that there was clear job creation and job opportunity for the local people resulting from the establishment of tourism. In this research, occupations within Tiers 1 and 2, comprising of hotel staff, small entrepreneurs and restaurant and guest house workers, were created directly for tourism. The total number of new jobs created is estimated at over 2,000 positions. Wages and earnings for newly created industry occupations soared above pre-tourism reported income levels, with average monthly income levels in Tiers 1 and 2 being 71,000 to 194,615 kyat higher³⁰ than pre-tourism wages for local fishing and farming occupations. By introducing this new sector, tourism diversified occupations and Ngwe Saung no longer relied solely on agricultural production for income.

Difference in average income varied greatly between Tiers, and it was surprising to find that Tier 1 hotel positions appeared to have the lowest salaries. However, when the median salaries were calculated and compared, it was evident that all three Tiers were within a 10,000 kyat difference. If the additional monthly 50,000 kyat in benefits to Tiers 1 and 2 were taken into account however, it is clearly delineated that hotel, restaurant, guest house and shrimp workers receive the best salary package.

Data collection also revealed that tourism not only increased wages for employees in the hotels, but within the entire village – regardless of industry. Tier 2 shopkeepers,

³⁰ These estimates are based on pre-tourism fisherman/farmer salaries of 30,000 kyat per month, which was quoted from several interviews with local people.

souvenir shop owners and restaurant entrepreneurs noted substantial increases in their incomes, witnessing anywhere from a doubling to quadrupling of profit. Even more astounding however, were Tier 3 fishermen, who reported a ten-fold increase in the price of prawns due to tourism.

5.3 Improving Livelihoods through Tourism

What was most unexpected and impressive from collecting this research, was the extent to which local residents used their increased income from tourism to improve their livelihoods. Understanding the extent of benefits that hotels and other businesses in Ngwe Saung provided their employees and measuring the level of savings, reinvestment, and remittance that each individual practiced, reiterated the level of commitment that each villager had to improving their financial livelihood. Furthermore, investment in electricity and mobile phones in order to improve business communication underscored that sentiment.

The benefits that were originally offered by hotel operators to their staff became a widely practiced employment option in Ngwe Saung. As one owner of a shrimp company noted, “We realized we couldn’t compete for workers with the attraction of the hotels – they provided everything for their staff. So we too had to start providing these things in order to attract the higher skill levels for employment” (Shrimp Factory Manager, Male, 57). The tourism industry inordinately raised the standards of employee benefits for the people in Ngwe Saung – that extended far beyond the realm of hotels and resorts. The effect that tourism has had on improving local work conditions and benefits is impressive and allowed for further transformation in saving, reinvesting and remitting wages.

For the first time, as every villager noted, individuals and their families had more income than they needed to sustain themselves and had surplus cash to spend. Increases in disposable income allowed for the purchases of motorbikes, electricity, and phones, which largely improved communication and transportation channels for business. In addition to purchasing material goods that furthered private physical livelihood, excess cash was saved in various ways by different Tiers. Tier 1 hotel staff practiced a combination of both saving and/or sending money home as remittance to family members, with average gross savings nearing seventy-percent. The remaining Tier 2 and Tier 3 occupational groups could not save nearly the same

amount, because most of them have additional housing, food and health care costs – all of which were provided free of charge by the hotels for their staff. Tier 2 demonstrated strong reinvestment practices, with over a third of their income being funneled back into their businesses. This emphasis on reinvestment was witnessed in this occupational group only, and corroborates that micro-entrepreneurs and businessmen were very serious about their profits and improving their businesses. Tier 3 exhibited a combination of savings and debt, depending on both the occupation within the group, and how many uncontrollable risks were related to an individual's occupation.

Of the individuals who sent remittances, on average, they sent back over eighty percent of their entire salaries, averaging 57,143 kyat per month. It is evident from these numbers that tourism in Ngwe Saung is not only supporting local villagers within the town, but trickles down to affect even families who live within the larger geographical sphere of Myanmar.

The ability to save and access to financial capital is often argued as one of the best ways to lift the poor out of poverty (CGAP, 2012). As one prominent microfinance expert notes,

“If you can save, you can be empowered. But the poor can't save. Without savings, you don't have any backbone. Where do you fall? You are standing; you just fall down. But if you have the support—that's the savings—when you fall, something stops you. Then you can lift up in society, and with the business you are doing, you will be able to continue saving and move on... We can end poverty through savings” (Graham, 2011).

Families across all three tiers noticed increases in the amount of additional money that was generated from tourism. And while most participants mentioned that their money was being saved for education, health, remittance or reinvestment, one hotel cook noted that the *ability* to save has changed his life. “I used to rely on day to day wages and living. When I got sick, I couldn't afford treatment or medicine. Now, I have set [dependable] wages and can care for myself and my family” (Hotel Cook, Male, 35). The ability to save has changed the lives and livelihoods of many villagers – who no longer have to live on day to day wages and can save for education, health care, and their next life.



Figure 32: Hotel Cook, his wife and their son in their family home. Their son is too young for school now, but this family already has enough saved for him through middle school

From the data described in previous chapters, it is evident that the local people experienced substantial improvements in their human rights. These improvements were noted in the right to education, health and hygiene, freedom of movement, water, electricity, and religious expression.

The most compelling data proved that serious advancements had been made in the accessibility and affordability of local education in Ngwe Saung. With the increase in population in combination with financial support from the hotels, Ngwe Saung's first high school and matriculation exam center were built – providing education through high school to local people for the first time. Prior to this structure, local people had to travel far away to Pathein for high school, which was too expensive for most families to finance. Subsequently, most children did not achieve education levels above middle school and the population was largely uneducated. However, with the construction of Ngwe Saung's first high school and exam center, the town is experiencing its highest number of graduates in history. Education centers and schools were built in neighboring and more remote villages within Ngwe Saung sub-township – further improving access and affordability to those families and students.

With the appearance of tourism, the increase in education centers and opportunities for education, local people changed their mindset and value system regarding their investments in education. Over thirty parents interviewed stated that they invest in their children's education so that their children can "be educated in order to have a good job to have a good life" (Guest House Owner, Female, 46). With tourism, it became understood that education was necessary in order to get a high-level, well-paid position. Thirteen years ago, before any of these educational improvements were instituted, children in Ngwe Saung had relatively little hope of attending high school. This recent commitment to investing in education can be seen through the extent of tuition fees that parents pay for their children – spending upwards of 40,000 kyat per month per child, and up to 42 percent of their salaries³¹ to achieve better education and test grades for their children.

Lastly, and perhaps most gripping, are the opportunities in education that have already been availed by the local people and the returns on investment that parents are already experiencing. The amount of children who are in school now, seeking high levels of education (such as high school) is much higher than the level of children seeking those same levels in education just twelve years ago. The best indicator of a change in education and a transformation in understanding the importance of education can be witnessed through comparing the education levels of children today versus their parents. In Chapter Four, this difference was explored, with many children graduating high school and university levels in comparison to their parents' primary and middle school level education. While it has only been twelve years since improvements in education have helped change Ngwe Saung, parents have already witnessed "returns" on their children's education investments, through the form of remittances. A few parents noted that they are now reliant on their children's remittances from their jobs in the hotel industry for financial support. In a way – investing in their children's education is a form of a retirement plan – whereby they invest in their child's education in order for them to get a high-paying job in the tourism industry so that they have enough money to send back to the family and take care of their parents when they are older. The furthering of opportunity, access and

³¹ One interviewed individual spent 50,000 kyat per month on tuition for his child, out of the family's 120,000 kyat per month earnings.

affordability in education was felt by the entire local Ngwe Saung community in a large way.

Similar to education, health and hygiene were largely impacted with the insertion of tourism. Ngwe Saung received its first hospital in 2005-2006 providing affordable and accessible health treatment to local people for the first time. Tourists and local people attend the same hospital and receive the same treatment which is an immeasurable improvement from traditional medicines previously provided by traditional healers. The government donated medicine and treatments to help the local villagers control malaria and dengue so that tourists would not fear traveling to Ngwe Saung due to disease. With the benefits that most hotel staff, guest house employees and restaurant workers receive, villagers are entitled to ongoing treatment and vaccination free-of-charge. With tourism, hotels and migrant workers introduced local people to proper sanitation measures such as toilets, food preparation, and proper personal hygiene. Through tourism, improvements to the right to health and hygiene were implemented, and local people were, for the first time, able to access and afford these treatments.

In addition to education and health and hygiene, there were many other improvements in social human rights that were a product of tourism development. These rights include infrastructure improvements, which prompted an increase to the right to the freedom of movement and affordable transportation, the introduction of electricity and clean water, and the building of pagodas which provided further religious freedom and access. However, there were also several negative influences of tourism recorded – mainly in that with tourism, alcoholism, prostitution and karaoke were introduced to the local community and with increases in disposable income, people had different mindsets and value systems than previously.

In concluding the objective of disclosing and discovering the relationship of tourism on the local social human rights, it is evident that there were many positive increases in possibility, access, and affordability to education, health and hygiene, transportation, communication, access to information, electricity and clean water, and religious practice. While there were a few negative indicators mentioned, these were relatively small in terms of mention and prominence, and as noted by most participants, certainly do not outweigh the positives.

5.5 Defining the Relationship between Tourism, Development, and Human Rights

It is evident from this research that tourism influences both development and human rights, and that there is a relationship between the three.

By returning to the conceptual framework presented in the first chapter of this thesis, further exploration and definition towards the relationship between tourism, development and human rights can be understood. The conceptual framework describes trickle-down of tourism development, and this research substantiates that the trickle-down of tourism development seeps down into livelihood and human rights benefits for the local community in Ngwe Saung and the extent of this seepage is quite impactful.

In the case of Ngwe Saung, it was the government that implemented a tourism development plan, seized and cleared the land, and brought in developers to build the hotels – all within a startling forty days. The government invested money in paving a road from Yangon to Ngwe Saung, brought electricity to the town for the operation of the hotels, and supported the building of water wells for the local people. Investors brought in capital to build the hotels, and migrant workers came to help build-up and prepare the town for tourists. Tourists began to flock to the beaches, spending money on accommodation, meals, and activities in Ngwe Saung. As the level of tourism began to rise, so did the number of people living in Ngwe Saung. The government, with serious financial assistance from the hotels and shrimp companies, invested more into the town, appointing local authorities, a hospital, more education centers, and municipal officers. As more and more money is made off of the young industry, local people began to reinvest their profits to open small restaurants, souvenir shops, and grocery stores.

The increased income benefits of tourism trickle-down from the government and original developers, to the hotel owners, to the hotel staff, entrepreneurs, store owners and fishermen. Job creation allowed many to seek employment for the first time – especially younger generations such as recent high school and university graduates. Noticeable increases in income are felt at every level of the village, although those whose business is within the tourism industry certainly see higher levels of this increase in wages. Increases in wages allow for more purchasing power, and local

people have purchased electricity, televisions, mobile phones, motorbikes and reinvested in their businesses. Surplus wages also allow families the prospect to save – something that has not been experienced in Ngwe Saung before, and can help prevent serious poverty.

The improvements towards human rights as a result of tourism have been largely witnessed by the local people. Most strongly felt through the erection of the sub-township's first high school, examination center and hospital, due to the growing population of migrant workers employed with the hotels and need for a treatment center for tourists. These developments provided access and affordability to education – which was previously not attainable. Furthermore, these newly built education centers with increased accessibility and affordability were able to educate more students – providing for a more-educated local population.

Infrastructure improvements due to tourism were witnessed even in the remote villages, where rope pulley boats and bridges built to connect local people to the main center of town were constructed, and regularly scheduled buses began running in between Yangon, Pathein and Ngwe Saung for the first time. Tourism improved the local villagers' freedom of movement, by improving infrastructure and transportation routes. Villages saw electricity and clean drinking water for the first time undoubtedly due to the government's need to bring electricity and safe drinking water into the hotels suitable for foreign tourists, and donations from hotels helped build pagodas for furthering religious freedoms of the local people.

Results of tourism development are largely witnessed by the local people, and the entire village, and the “run-off” of tourism development is understood to seep down to benefit the local people. An infusion of tourism into the local community has improved livelihood and human rights aspects for all villagers. Tourism can thus be seen as both an effective tool in development improvements and promulgating human rights for local people.

5.6 Poverty Reduction from Tourism Development

In order to understand tourism's relationship to development and poverty reduction for Ngwe Saung's case study, national averages and statistics can be compared to the recent indications and trends arising out of Ngwe Saung.

Currently in Myanmar, it is estimated that 32.7 percent of the population are below the poverty line (CIA, 2012). While poverty is measured in many different ways, measuring income levels is considered to be one standard indicator, and in 2005 the World Bank defined extreme poverty as living on less than \$1.25 US dollars per day and means living on the edge of subsistence (The World Bank, 2010). In 2012, the WHO estimates that Myanmar has a national average income of \$1020 USD per capita per year (World Health Organization, 2012). This averages to approximately \$2.80 USD per day. Taking data collected for each occupational Tier in Ngwe Saung, we can see the change that tourism has made, where prior to tourism's introduction in 2000, nearly all farmers and fishermen fell directly at or below the \$1.25 USD per day extreme poverty line.³² Tier 1 indicated daily wages averaging \$3.85³³ USD per day; Tier 2 averages \$8.56 USD per day, and Tier 3 with \$5.20 USD per day. It is evident that with tourism, individuals on average are making between \$2.60 and \$7.31 USD per day *more* than what they were making before tourism.³⁴ Indicators suggest that the majority of people in Myanmar spend 70 percent of their income on food, "with little left for health care and education for their children" (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2012). Yet it is evident from local Ngwe Saung villagers' expenditures that they not only have enough money for food, education and health care, but they have additional money to save, send in remittance, and reinvest.

In addition to income levels, several other national estimates can be compared with those recorded in Ngwe Saung. Overall, 57 percent of Myanmar's population does not have access to safe drinking water (Human Development Initiative Extension, 2008), with estimates suggesting that this number is further increased to over 78 percent of rural populations who are without access to clean and safe drinking water (PIME Missionaries, 2011). More than 88 percent of the villages in the Ayeyarwady Delta where Ngwe Saung is located rely on unprotected, open ponds for their drinking water (Human Development Initiative Extension, 2008). Yet, as this research confirms, villagers in Ngwe Saung, because of tourism, now have safe access to clean and safe drinking water, as provided through wells funded by both the hotels and the

³² This information is based off of several interviews with farmers and fishermen in Ngwe Saung who stated their monthly earnings prior to tourism in their village.

³³ This number does not include benefits, which are incredibly substantial for this Tier – covering housing, food, and health care.

³⁴ While some dependents and unemployed were interviewed and included in these figures, an exhaustive qualitative analysis was not conducted.

government. Ngwe Saung villagers are amongst the 22 percent of rural populations that have access to clean and safe drinking water.

Similarly, 58 percent of Myanmar's population does not have adequate sanitation and before 2000, Ngwe Saung was part of the country's 20 percent rural population that still practiced open defecation (WHO & UNICEF, 2012). But with the entrée of tourism, migrant workers and hotels brought toilets and proper sanitation methods that largely improved the area. Similarly, electricity was introduced to local villagers in Ngwe Saung with the coming of tourism, and local people became part of the less than 20 percent of the households in Myanmar that have electricity (Johnson, 2012). Myanmar's national education average is 9 years (UNDP, 2011), which equates to graduating middle school. However, because the government does not provide enough funding to schools and the schools charge children many fees, most parents in rural areas cannot afford to send their children to school beyond the primary level. Although 85 percent of children attend primary school in Myanmar, over 40 percent of those children do not continue on to middle school (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2012). While sub-township levels of education were not available, there is strong indication that with Ngwe Saung's recent building of both a high school and matriculation exam center, that more and more students are attending high school and continuing on to university for further studies. The government's Statistical Year Book (2006) indicates that university students only represent one percent of the total population (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2012). This is due to the costly school fees that many parents cannot afford, and also the large number of people who do not value university education. In 2009-2010, only one percent of GDP was allocated to education, while the military budget was over 20 percent of GDP. For the 2011-2012 budget, 4.13 percent of GDP was allotted to education, with about 23.6 percent (\$2 billion) given to defense (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2012).

These drastic changes in poverty reduction due to tourism, witnessed in a mere twelve-year time period, prove a strong relationship between tourism and development.

5.7 Bull's Eye Chart of Comparison

To help detail the varying levels of tourism influence for the local people, the following theory has been presented by the researcher, based on data collection, ethnographic interviews, key informant interviews and observation.

As was noted in the literature review and a summary of previous studies in this similar area of tourism development, there were some parallels found. Mingsarn-Kaosa-ard noted in her research on “Mekong Tourism: Blessings for All?” that “tourism was an important cash source for the poorest families in the villages,” which was also clearly evident from the research conducted in this study. But Kaosa-ard continues to state, “income was not dispersed evenly amongst the poor communities and was concentrated in the hands of the few” (Kaosa-ard, 2007). While there were noticeable differences in income levels for the local people, they were not as drastic or polarized as Kaosa-ard’s figures, and although there were varied levels for income, most villagers saw increases in salaries regardless of occupation and large chance to enter the tourism field, which is very distinguishing in comparison to Kaosa-ard’s Mekong study. But there were varying levels as to the amount of improvement for income, benefits and human rights. These factors were dependent on two things – occupational proximity to tourism, and the physical geographic proximity of business/home in comparison to the center of town. These two important distinguishing factors can be further explained through the two diagrams below.

Figure 32 compares the amount of interaction that each occupation has with tourism. While these occupations were originally divided into three specific Tiers, with the below analysis, additional comparatives reveal further outliers in the data. While the individuals in Tier 1 received the largest combined benefits and income, followed by Tiers 2 and then 3, it is evident that there were some outliers – predominately in Tier 3. Fishermen that received a ten-fold increase in their wages, sold their catch directly to the hotels and restaurants that serve tourists, whereas other fishermen with lower salaries did not sell directly to these tourist markets. Similarly, some merchants and pawn shop owners indicated an increase in income to due to their increased sales to tourism – indicating that they have a much higher level of interaction with the industry than the remainder of occupations in Tier 3. They have been moved closer together on this diagram to reflect this increase of interaction with tourism.

Occupational Interaction with Tourism Compared to Wages

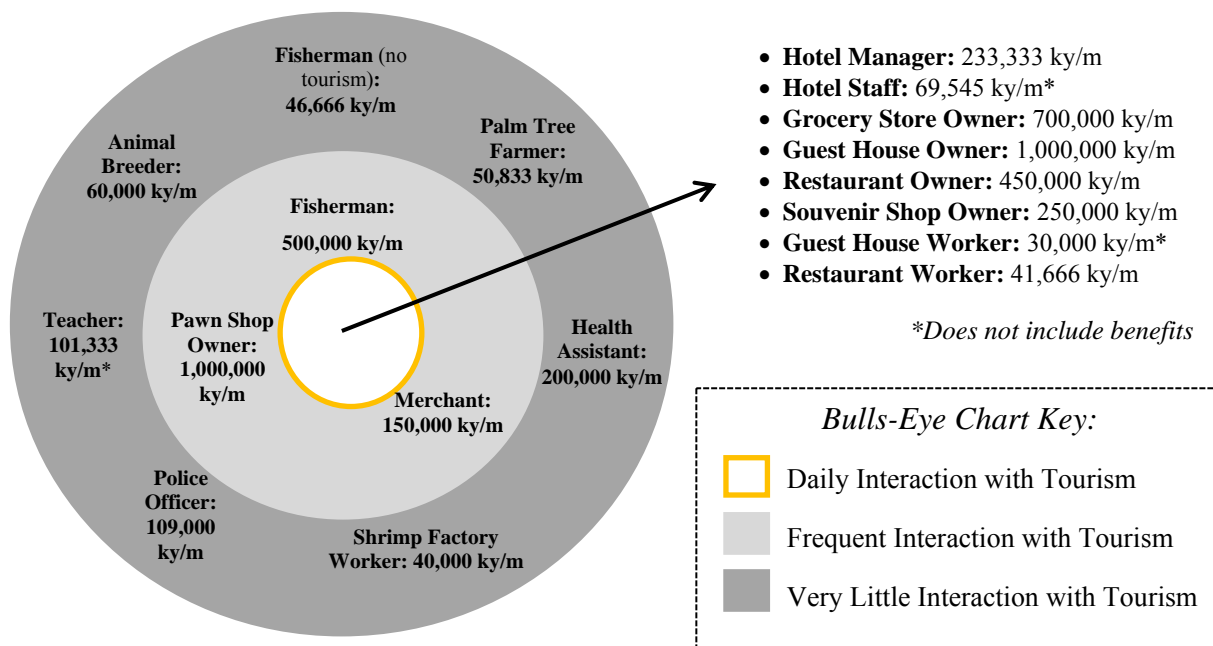


Figure 32: Occupational Interaction with Tourism Compared to Wages

From both charts, simultaneously compared, it is evident that hotel staff and managers in Tier 1 received the largest income, benefits, and human rights improvements. Hotel staff received the most skills and trainings and improvements in employability (such as communication abilities, learning of the English language, food preparation and sanitation). Due to their location, by which they live in the hotels and within the town center of tourism, they also received the largest amount of improvements in human rights. They receive food, housing, clothing (uniforms), electricity, and clean water through contract with their employer, and have the easiest access to transportation as they are in the town center. Hotel staff are located directly within the ward which contains the sub-township’s only high school and examination center, police station, and hospital. Furthermore, they are entitled to free medical treatment (with some hotels extending this benefit to their families as well) based on their employment contracts with the hotels. Similarly, many of the Tier 2 entrepreneurial businesspersons can be seen at the center of both income and location charts. Their business relies on constant interaction with tourism, and they have positioned themselves in a place where they can attain the most profit. Restaurant and guest house workers also receive ample benefits such as food, clean water, housing, and medical care. Due to their position in the center of town, they have had the most drastic improvement of human rights – the same as the hotel staff have felt.

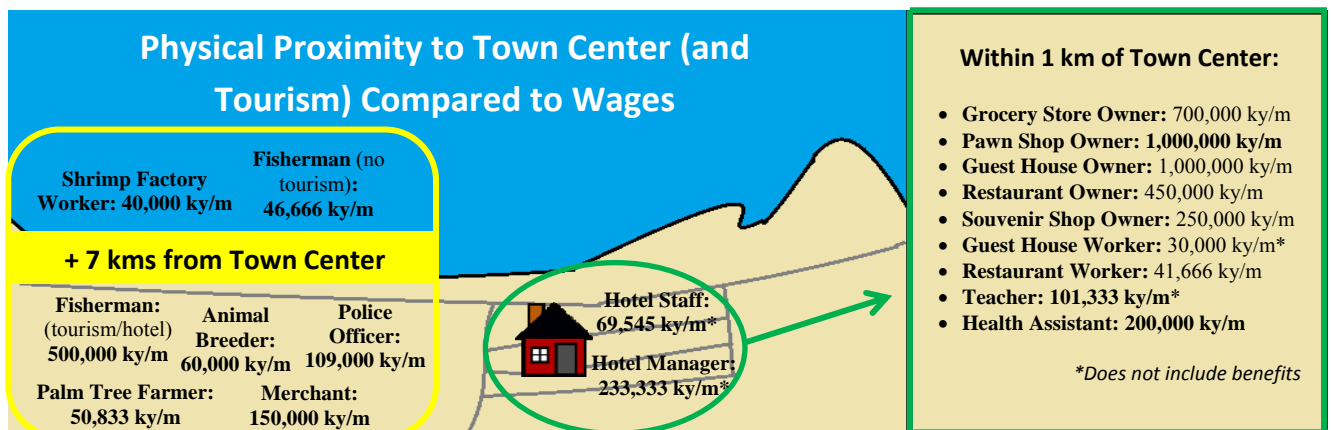


Figure 33: Physical Proximity to Town Center (and Tourism) Compared to Wages

As you leave the center of both diagrams and travel further away from the center of town and further away from the highest wages however, the degree of outcome changes. For fishermen, pawn shop owners, and merchants who all reported having regular interaction with tourists for their business, their wages and profits are still reportedly high, but their location to the center of town is far – and their remote villages did not see as many improvements in human rights as the town center. While their right to education and health improved with the building of a hospital and high school – some live in very remote villages on the shore and still do not have electricity. While there were improvements in remote bridges and transportation routes that improved commutes between the town center and peripheral villages, transportation for these individuals and their families is not as convenient given that they are over fifteen miles from the center of town making access to town improvements in education and health more challenging.

Lastly, the group that felt the smallest effect from tourism and its subsequent livelihood and human rights improvements are the remaining Tier 3 jobs such as palm tree farmers, animal breeders, teachers, police officers, shrimp factory workers, and those fishermen who do not sell their catch to the tourism industry. They had lower levels of income that did not experience as substantial an increase in wages compared to the rest of the community. Furthermore, they were often in remote villages away from the center of town – far removed from the tourism profits that lined the main street and neighboring hotels. As one grocery store owner, who has a shop on the main street in town remarked, “For me, it has been a huge improvement but for others who live outside of the village center and for those who were relocated [from government land grab] away from the center, it has been difficult” (Grocery Store

Owner, Female, 53). Another motorbike driver observed that, “tourism has been very good to people on the main road in town. But people from the back roads – it has not been so good. The tourists don’t come to them, so they have to work harder and come to the tourists. That is why I drive my motorbike – I come to the tourists here in the center of town” (Motorbike driver, Male, 31). Location and closeness to the tourism industry plays a large role in the amount of profits that are received. While their villages experienced aspects of livelihood and human rights improvements such as employment opportunity within the tourism sector, education and health, and transportation and utility, they noted a lesser-value of these improvements than those who lived closer to the center of town.

In conclusion, we can see that unlike most contemporary studies, where the profits from tourism are only felt among the hands of the few – in Ngwe Saung, many local people profited from tourism both in their livelihoods and improvements towards human rights. While these improvements and increases were substantial all together, slight differentiation can be seen as to the level of improvement, based on the individual’s occupational and physical proximity to the tourism industry.

Occupations that had high levels of interaction with the tourism industry with business locations that were nearest the center of town witnessed the highest levels of livelihood and rights improvements. Those who were farther removed from the industry – both occupationally and physically, did not witness as high of improvements in livelihoods and human rights – although there was still substantial progressive change.

5.8 Surprising Outcomes from Government Initiatives and Tourism Development

The most surprising outcome of this research is that most negative impacts of tourism development were not felt or distinctly noticed by the local people in Ngwe Saung. Because there was no substantial foreign investment, economic dependency issues and amassing power structures were not of concern as depicted in comparable research in other tourism development sites. Residents were relatively empowered through the introduction of adequate tourism jobs, contrary to other studies. These new tourism industry jobs provided substantial benefits and incomes to support villagers and their families (allowing some the opportunity to save) – providing for

sustainable and independent occupations. Community initiatives developed, creating the welfare association and council, which in turn supports those in the community who cannot support themselves and offers an outlet for locals to express their interests, concerns and opinions regarding decisions made in town. However, there were negative effects of tourism experienced – most notably the escalated appearance of alcohol and prostitution, which strained social structures. Likewise, some village elders described that the new occupations introduced provided for a different work ethic, which in turn changed traditional practices and affected individuals from celebrating religious holidays because of their working hours. These negative impacts, although small, could become polarizing factors within the community if further aggravated or not addressed. Likewise, the effects of tourism on the environment are largely unknown, as tourism has only been around for twelve years, providing too short a time to reveal ecological or environmental impact.

Given that over 400 households had their land and livelihoods stripped and were forced to move out of their homes and relocate in less than a one-month time period, it was anticipated that there would be a strong negative backlash to the tourism industry; however, surprisingly, this was not felt to the near extreme that was anticipated. While there were some villagers who were angry with the government for their land being taken, and others who were sad to have been forced to leave their homes, every single villager admitted that because of tourism, they had more now than they ever did before – even with their previously larger plots of land and primarily fishing and farming lifestyles. Almost all of the participants noted that tourism has had a positive mark on Ngwe Saung and the local people especially, providing new job opportunities, electricity, and improvements in transportation, health and education. There were two elders who were skeptical to admit that tourism had an overall positive impression, but admitted that because of it, Ngwe Saung has developed into a larger community and now has government offices, a police station, and increases in the price of land – adding value to the local people's properties (Information collected from Village Elder and Head of Village). While these improvements have been explored in detail in preceding chapters, it is astounding that the feedback from all participants of varying ages, occupations, locations and backgrounds, felt that tourism had positively impacted the community – especially given the history of how the industry came to Ngwe Saung.

5.9 Reflections on Tourism in Ngwe Saung

From this research, a few general suggestions have been made to contribute to further research. In the process of writing these observations, it should be noted that the researcher feels strongly that the government land grab in 2000 was against international standard for forced eviction. Tourism in Ngwe Saung boomed despite the influence and intervention from the government, with its evictions and seizure of land. Furthermore, as with any seizure of land, families should be consulted with adequate time and compensated fully for their loss. In the case of Ngwe Saung, not only were families given an inadequate amount of time to relocate, but they were not compensated for their land loss (only for the price of palm trees). To this day, the government continues to seize land without providing compensation to the local people. It was learned during this field research that there were government seizures of beachfront land in Ngwe Saung as recent as May of 2012 in order to prepare for the Southeast Asian Games (SEA Games) in October of next year (Information collected from Restaurant Owner and Hotel Human Resources Manager).

Several parameters must be taken into account before conclusions in observation can be postulated:

1. Ngwe Saung is a unique case study that is largely still premature in its development. Tourism has only been around for twelve years, and some of the negative social impacts may turn into larger more complex issues within the next few years. Similarly, while distribution of benefits has been recorded as wide-spread amongst the villagers, it is not improbable to believe that these benefits could be controlled and dispersed with much less equality over time.
2. While social and economic human rights may have shown improvement from tourism over the past twelve years, this is not to suggest that other areas, rights, and opportunities have increased as well. The scope of this research only covers social and economic human rights, and as a result, cannot account for changes in other rights such as political, security, due process and group rights.
3. As opposed to other development projects and as the conceptual framework postulates, in this research in the case of Ngwe Saung, the Myanmar government did not have a plan for tourism development. Instead, they

evicted families, took their land, and sold it off to independent hotel and business developers. Tourism development in Ngwe Saung worked *in spite* of the government, as opposed to having the support of the government.

4. The scope of this study does not appoint a measurement on the change in Ngwe Saung's moral and social values, which was substantial since the coming of tourism. These expressions, emotions and belief systems were observed within the field research, but not analyzed in this report.

While it is impossible to apply the case study of Ngwe Saung to every tourism development project and location, there are several observations worth noting that contributed to ensuring the positive results in livelihoods and human rights experienced by the local people. While this list of observations is not exhaustive, it serves to show some of the reasons why, at this juncture, Ngwe Saung has been a relative success in tourism development and promulgating livelihoods and human rights of local people.

Observations Aiding Tourism Development in Ngwe Saung:

- The single most important reason for why livelihoods and human rights improved for the local people is because there was an offering of education that paralleled the offering of job possibilities. This is essential. Local people may not have originally had the skillsets and knowledge to work for the hotels and tourism industry, but the appropriate channels to learn these skills were offered – and clearly utilized. In order to engage local participation and empower local people within these new job prospects, chances to further education and improve skill sets must be offered.
- It was apparent throughout this research that while there was initial government control and investment, during the past twelve years since tourism has been introduced to Ngwe Saung, there has been little government or foreign investment intervention. This lack of micro-managing and government influence has allowed the town to thrive on its own with many small souvenir shops, restaurants, and grocery stores opened by locals –

ensuring that money made from tourism is retained locally and not “leaked” back to government or foreign units.³⁵

- There was no divide between the hotels and locals, or between the migrant workers and local workers. This positive relationship allowed migrant people to teach local people improvements in sanitation and hygiene, and allowed local people to enter the tourism industry with little difficulty or resistance.
- By providing benefits to their employees, hotels paved the way for proper employment contracts between their business and their staff. With such large benefits that provide for meals, housing, and health care hotel staff were able to save, reinvest and remit most of their earnings. This was the first time most people experienced the possibility to save – which provided for substantial improvements towards reducing poverty and promoting long-term stability for the local people. The extent to which tourism’s developments, remittances and prevalence went – traced far beyond the township borders of Ngwe Saung, and into other states and divisions in Myanmar
- Ngwe Saung did not experience and would not be able to sustain mass tourism. Tourists have come in small, steady and manageable increments since the opening of the town to tourism in 2000. Should there have been an explosion of tourists to the town at one time, or a drastic decrease at one point – the outcome experienced by Ngwe Saung today would not have been the same.
- There is relatively no visible divide between the “have’s” and “have not’s.” There is little visible distinction between the rich and poor in the community. Levels of income have not reached the value where mansions or expensive cars have visually separated the rich from the poor, and because it is still a small town, all children attend the same schools and there is little option to separate education based on privilege (with the exception of tuition). The community has remained largely small and connected, and there has not been a siphoning or division between families, occupational groups, or villages.

³⁵ There were a few hotels in Ngwe Saung rumored to be owned by “friends of the government.” While this may be the case and was not deeply investigated, the point is that the salaries earned from the local people who worked in those hotels, could still be utilized to support local initiatives, and the amount of money made at these hotels was not a substantial difference from other competing hotels so as it did not disturb the overall profits towards tourism in Ngwe Saung.

- While the research was conducted primarily after adaptations and adjustments to tourism had taken place, it appeared that the people in Ngwe Saung had mastered the art of hospitality long before tourism arrived. Despite political, civil and security confinements to individual rights, tourism blossomed given the villagers' openness to foreigners and outsiders, and willingness to welcome them into the community. Local people in Ngwe Saung adapted to foreign thoughts and conveniences and seized the opportunities that were being offered to them by tourism. This understanding of hospitality and acceptance of foreigners was understood long before tourism came to Ngwe Saung, but worked for fast transition and success of the industry and the individuals within the industry.
- The social innovations that were promulgated by the hotel industry were outstanding. The introduction of benefits for employees initiated by the hotels was adopted by other neighboring industries and became standard for many other labor occupations (not solely the hotels). The welfare system which aimed to provide support for disenfranchised community members was prompted by the hotel association. The building of education centers, health facilities and the sub-township monastery provided further social, educational, health and spiritual opportunities for the local people. And finally, the emergence of environmental education trainings, to raise awareness about the damage tourism can have on coastal landscapes, and how the community can help prevent further destruction of the ecosystem. The hoteliers provided huge visionary guidance on the overall society – providing enormous amounts of leadership and vision. It was observed, from many interactions with hotel owners, that there is an overwhelming amount of self-inflicted guilt by the hotel owners for the way in which their hotels and business was brought to Ngwe Saung. The donations, structures, and opportunities presented by them are their attempt to separate themselves from the government (who seized the land from the locals), and promote a positive impression of tourism in the community. However, it is unlikely to assume that the hoteliers offered these benefits solely out of guilt, and it is assumed that the hoteliers were aware that positive interaction amongst local people and the hotel industry would further promote and bring profits to their business.

- The success of Ngwe Saung was due to a combination of government and business sector improvements – these circumstances would not have been observed had they been done independently by either body. Infrastructure was largely committed by the government, through electricity, land for hotels, and roads connecting the town to larger Myanmar. Only then could these businesses have access to a tourist destination. However, access alone would not have impacted the community without the forward thinking of businesses such as the hotels, which not only conducted business but provided new, innovative social welfare programs which jettisoned the community into financial and educational prospect heretofore unimagined.
- Empowerment versus enablement are two very different concepts often confused in development projects. In the case of Ngwe Saung, the population was not enabled, but empowered to better themselves, their economic situation, and the wellbeing of their family. Enabling strictly consists of offering money and aid, but retains the local people in a place of dependency, where they are reliant on this support. Empowerment on the other hand, offers opportunity for improvement, but requires self-determination and hard work to better one's own situation. In Ngwe Saung, rather than retaining a place of dependency, through tourism, employment opportunities and incentives were created. These increased employment and small business options for the unskilled and semi-skilled not only expanded and improved economic options but gave the locals an opportunity to enhance their skill sets. The community educated and trained themselves academically and vocationally to acquire these new job opportunities, which provided larger salaries and benefits.

These observations are not exhaustive, but instead, seek to isolate some of the determining factors of success in Ngwe Saung's case study.

5.10 Recommendations and Further Research

Often, as is the case with research, what is discovered is how much more research is necessary. This project is no different, and as much research that was successfully collected, there were just as many more suggestions for further research. Some of these subjects might include:

- Analyzing the impact of tourism on any of the other six categories of human rights. Given the recent continuation of government land grab, it is anticipated that other rights, such as political, due process, and group rights, may have stagnating or negative indicators of change.
- Mapping the network of social livelihoods within Ngwe Saung. Noting what formal and informal social relationships have brought about more benefits in tourism, and if there are memberships or exclusions in these social groups.
- Drawing the lines of power and decision-making within the community. While no distinct patterns were observed from this research, it would prove interesting to connect the hierarchy of control of resources and power – possibly shedding further light on political and group rights.
- Assessing the change in moral and social values that took place in Ngwe Saung with the arrival of tourism. How work ethics, social behaviors, and traditional values were affected by tourism.
- Tracing the remittances from the local hotel staff in Ngwe Saung to analyze the level of importance they provide to the families to whom they are sent
- This research, although it did represent a large number of the local population, was primarily conducted with a qualitative focus and therefore, a more quantitative approach in identifying how much tourism has improved the wages and benefits of the local people would be an excellent area of study.
- Exploring the prevalence of the social network of the tourism industry – and how one aspect can provide change for others. An example of this would be the innovative hoteliers who brought significant change to the employment criteria, education and health systems, and religious liberties.

Lastly, although a separate topic, serious research and recommendation needs to be given regarding the education system in Myanmar. The corrupt and underground tuition scheme that was witnessed in Ngwe Saung is standard in most villages and cities in the country, and certainly not unique to this case study. In order to provide quality education with equal access and affordability, the government must stop illegal and costly tuition and seek to provide quality education for all students in the classroom. In order to progress and develop as a nation, educated people are needed. Myanmar will not be able to progress should it not be able to provide substantial and quality education to its citizens.

5.11 Conclusion

While it is still very early to tell the precise impact of tourism on Ngwe Saung, given the data collected at the site's present state, the hypothesis and anticipated results were largely overturned by the overwhelmingly supportive data, suggesting stark change to local people's livelihoods and human rights. The researcher predicted that the people of Myanmar might define and value human rights differently because of their unique culture, however this was again countered by the compelling feedback from villagers. The amount of investment placed in education, the usage of new and well-trained medical doctors, and the amount of personal income that was saved proved that local Ngwe Saung villagers were committed to furthering their education, committed to improving their health and sanitation, and valued the importance of saving for their future. The researcher also supposed that twelve years was not an adequate period of time to see a change or impact, but it is evident from the research that twelve years was ample time to see drastic improvements in the areas of both livelihood and human rights.

The irony of this research is that the basic reason tourism was able to thrive within Ngwe Saung was predicated on the ripping away of a right by the government through the 2000 land grab. While this research highlights most events occurring after this event, it should be noted that this repossession of land created serious difficulties, strife and even death amongst the local people. Land grab can cause internal conflict, worsened and prolonged poverty, and can derail local livelihood sustenance, as witnessed in Ngwe Saung (Oxfam, 2011). The method of land confiscation utilized by the government in Ngwe Saung (where villagers were given little advance notice and no compensation for their land) is not sustainable and is a basic encroachment of human rights.

The most important concept to take away from this research is to break the myth or stereotype that the poor are incapable of helping themselves. Tourism can in fact reduce poverty. The secret ingredient to this recipe for success however, is believing and understanding that the poor can indeed lift themselves out of poverty, and empowering them to do so, *themselves*. "The most passionate actors in projects are the poor. They know what to do – the potential is there. It is simply a matter of how we can unlock it" (Dr. Somsook Boonyabancha, personal communication, August 1,

2012). In the case of Ngwe Saung, transportation, electricity, health and education infrastructures were improved by the government and surrounding businesses (namely hotels and shrimp factories), which enabled the local people to start restaurant, souvenir, and storekeeper businesses on their own. By providing the local people with the access to greater health, education, electricity, water, and job opportunities, they were able to work hard to lift themselves and their families above the poverty line and into a life with more opportunity.

Lead experts Caroline Ashley and H. Goodwin measuring the extent to which tourism development affects impoverished communities remarked in their policy paper titled *Pro-Poor Tourism: What's Gone Right and What's Gone Wrong*, 'We do not know of any destination where the full range of impacts of tourism development on poverty levels has been rigorously assessed.' It is hopeful that this case study research provides a compelling and thorough analysis of the influence of tourism on the local people's livelihoods and human rights and prompts further analysis in similar fields of pro-poor tourism development.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Applicable International Human Rights Law

Articles 6, 7, 11, 12, and 13 from the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

Article 6

1. The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right to work, which includes the right of everyone to the opportunity to gain his living by work which he freely chooses or accepts, and will take appropriate steps to safeguard this right.

2. The steps to be taken by a State Party to the present Covenant to achieve the full realization of this right shall include technical and vocational guidance and training programmes, policies and techniques to achieve steady economic, social and cultural development and full and productive employment under conditions safeguarding fundamental political and economic freedoms to the individual.

Article 7

The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to the enjoyment of just and favourable conditions of work which ensure, in particular:

(a) Remuneration which provides all workers, as a minimum, with:

(i) Fair wages and equal remuneration for work of equal value without distinction of any kind, in particular women being guaranteed conditions of work not inferior to those enjoyed by men, with equal pay for equal work;

(ii) A decent living for themselves and their families in accordance with the provisions of the present Covenant;

(b) Safe and healthy working conditions;

(c) Equal opportunity for everyone to be promoted in his employment to an appropriate higher level, subject to no considerations other than those of seniority and competence;

(d) Rest, leisure and reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay, as well as remuneration for public holidays

Article 11

1. The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions. The

States Parties will take appropriate steps to ensure the realization of this right, recognizing to this effect the essential importance of international co-operation based on free consent.

2. The States Parties to the present Covenant, recognizing the fundamental right of everyone to be free from hunger, shall take, individually and through international co-operation, the measures, including specific programmes, which are needed:

(a) To improve methods of production, conservation and distribution of food by making full use of technical and scientific knowledge, by disseminating knowledge of the principles of nutrition and by developing or reforming agrarian systems in such a way as to achieve the most efficient development and utilization of natural resources;

(b) Taking into account the problems of both food-importing and food-exporting countries, to ensure an equitable distribution of world food supplies in relation to need.

Article 12

1. The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health.

2. The steps to be taken by the States Parties to the present Covenant to achieve the full realization of this right shall include those necessary for:

(a) The provision for the reduction of the stillbirth-rate and of infant mortality and for the healthy development of the child;

(b) The improvement of all aspects of environmental and industrial hygiene;

(c) The prevention, treatment and control of epidemic, endemic, occupational and other diseases;

(d) The creation of conditions which would assure to all medical service and medical attention in the event of sickness.

Article 13

1. The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to education. They agree that education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity, and shall strengthen the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. They further agree that education shall enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society, promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and all racial, ethnic or religious groups, and further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

2. The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize that, with a view to achieving the full realization of this right:

- (a) Primary education shall be compulsory and available free to all;
- (b) Secondary education in its different forms, including technical and vocational secondary education, shall be made generally available and accessible to all by every appropriate means, and in particular by the progressive introduction of free education;
- (c) Higher education shall be made equally accessible to all, on the basis of capacity, by every appropriate means, and in particular by the progressive introduction of free education;
- (d) Fundamental education shall be encouraged or intensified as far as possible for those persons who have not received or completed the whole period of their primary education;
- (e) The development of a system of schools at all levels shall be actively pursued, an adequate fellowship system shall be established, and the material conditions of teaching staff shall be continuously improved.

3. The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to have respect for the liberty of parents and, when applicable, legal guardians to choose for their children schools, other than those established by the public authorities, which conform to such minimum educational standards as may be laid down or approved by the State and to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions.

4. No part of this article shall be construed so as to interfere with the liberty of individuals and bodies to establish and direct educational institutions, subject always to the observance of the principles set forth in paragraph I of this article and to the requirement that the education given in such institutions shall conform to such minimum standards as may be laid down by the State.

APPENDIX B

Semi-Structured Interview Participants Included in Data Analysis

Interviewed from 29 June – 6 July

Occupation	Location	Age	Sex	Migrant /Local
Hotel Cook/Driver	Silver View Resort	35	M	Migrant
Hotel Housekeeping	Silver View Resort	25	M	Migrant
Hotel Housekeeping	Silver View Resort	30	M	Migrant
Hotel Manager	Silver View Resort	53	M	Migrant
Shrimp Co. Manager	Silver View Resort	57	M	Migrant
Tour Guide	Ngwe Saung Main Ward	41	M	Migrant
Hotel Manager	Sunny Paradise Resort	27	M	Migrant
Hotel Receptionist	Sunny Paradise Resort	28	F	Migrant
Hotel Waitress	Sunny Paradise Resort	29	F	Migrant
Hotel Housekeeping	Sunny Paradise Resort	24	F	Local
Shopkeeper	Ngwe Saung Main Ward	51	F	Local
Village Elder	Ngwe Saung Main Ward	61	M	Local
Handicrafts Artist	Ngwe Saung Main Ward	35	M	Migrant
Restaurant Owner	Ngwe Saung Main Ward	42	M	Migrant
Grocery Store Owner	Ngwe Saung Main Ward	53	F	Local
Housewife	Ngwe Saung Main Ward	24	F	Migrant
Village Elder	Ngwe Saung Main Ward	82	M	Local
Animal Breeder	Ngwe Saung Main Ward	45	M	Migrant
Student	Bu Quay Gyi	19	F	Local
Fisherman	Naung Maw	58	M	Migrant
Engineer	Zeehmaw	41	M	Local
Fisherman (owns boat)	Zeehmaw	32	M	Local
Merchant	Ma Gyi Maw	29	M	Local
Merchant	Bu Quay Gyi	60	M	Migrant
Pawn Shop Owner	Ngwe Saung Main Ward	24	M	Migrant
Hotel HR Manager	E.F.R. Resort	29	F	Migrant
Hotel HR Manager	Bay of Bengal Resort	27	F	Migrant
Hotel Food and Beverage	Bay of Bengal Resort	21	F	Local
Hotel Housekeeping	Bay of Bengal Resort	25	F	Migrant
Hotel Technician	Bay of Bengal Resort	34	M	Migrant
Monk	Monastery	53	M	Migrant
Souvenir Shop Owner	Ngwe Saung Main Ward	38	F	Local
Guest House Owner	Ngwe Saung Main Ward	46	F	Local
Motorbike Driver	Ngwe Saung Main Ward	31	M	Migrant
Orchard Tree Farmer	Shauw Chaung	36	M	Local
Palm Tree Farmer	Shauw Chaung	67	M	Local
High School Headmaster	Ngwe Saung Main Ward	59	F	Migrant
Middle School Teacher	Ngwe Saung Main Ward	46	F	Local
High School Teacher	Ngwe Saung Main Ward	55	M	Local
Health Assistant	Ngwe Saung Main Ward	51	M	Migrant
Police Officer	N.Saung Police Station	38	M	Migrant
Police Officer	N.Saung Police Station	36	M	Migrant

APPENDIX C

Participants from Survey Questionnaire

Survey Number	Occupation	Location	Age	Sex	Migrant /Local
1	Fisherman	Cin Ma	32	M	Local
2	Farmer (Orchard)	Bu Quay Gyi	54	M	Local
3	Farmer (Anim. Breeding)	Bu Quay Gyi	42	M	Local
4	Hotel Staff	Bu Quay Gyi	38	M	Local
5	Student	Bu Quay Gyi	18	M	Local
6	Teacher	Bu Quay Gyi	25	M	Local
7	Trader	Bu Quay Gyi	37	F	Migrant
8	Trader	Bu Quay Gyi	54	M	Local
9	Dependent	Bu Quay Gyi	46	F	Local
10	Farmer/Merchant	Bu Quay Gyi	36	M	Local
11	Grocery Store Owner	Bu Quay Gyi	24	F	Local
12	Farmer	Naung Maw	35	M	Local
13	Fisherman	Naung Maw	40	M	Local
14	Tuition Teacher	Naung Maw	19	F	Local
15	Fisherman	Naung Maw	30	M	Local
16	Farmer (Orchard)	Naung Maw	58	F	Local
17	Farmer	Naung Maw	21	M	Local
18	Vendor (Fish)	Ma Gyi Maw	33	F	Local
19	Fisherman	Ma Gyi Maw	28	M	Local
20	Dependent	Ma Gyi Maw	41	F	Local
21	Merchant	Ma Gyi Maw	29	M	Local

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APPENDIX E

Ngwe Saung Local Community Survey Questionnaire – (ENGLISH)

General Questions

1. Age:
2. Sex: Male Female
3. Occupation:
4. How many people do you live with (family):
.....
5. How many people work in your household/earn wages?
6. How many people in your household are working age (16)?
7. How many dependents are there in your household? What are their ages?
.....
.....
.....
8. Individual Place of Origin: From Ngwe Saung (local) Immigrant (Non-local)
9. If you are a migrant, what made you to come to Ngwe Saung? (Please explain)
.....
.....
.....
10. What year did you first arrive in Ngwe Saung?
11. What is your level of education?
 Primary school Secondary School High school University

Measuring Economic Impact of Tourism

12. What is your occupation?
 Farmer
 Fisherman
 Self-Employed (Please specify:.....)
 Other (Please specify.....)
13. Do you have any family member who is working in tourism? Yes No
14. What do other people in your household do?
.....
.....
15. What Languages do you speak?

.....

16. In the past five years (since 2007), have you had any improvements in your business/work as a result of knowing more people from the tourism industry? (Perhaps you made partners, recommendations from neighboring businesses to clients, or received discounts?)

- No
- I don't know
- Yes (mention them

Measuring Livelihoods

Physical Capital

17. Do you own a transport? Yes No

18. What type of transport do you own?

- Car Bus Minivan Truck Motorbike Bicycle

Boat

Other(s) (Please explain.....)

19. Do you own a house? Yes No

20. What type of house do you have?

- Cement block with iron sheet roof
- Wooden house
- Mud with soil/thatch/grass roof
- Other (Please explain.....)

21. Does your house or the one you are living in have some electricity? Yes No

22. Where do you get your drinking water?

- From the Well From the tap River Lake

Other (Please specify.....)

23. Do you own a mobile phone? Yes No

24. If yes – for how long have you owned a mobile phone?

25. Do you have access to internet facilities? Yes No

26. From where do you access internet services?

- Mobile phone
- Internet café

- Connection from my personal computer
- Office where I am working

27. Does your family have any other valuable things? Yes No If yes, what:

Financial Capital

28. What is your individual monthly income? _____ kyat

What is the average range of your individual monthly income?

- Less than 10,000 kyat
- Between 10,000 and 25,000 kyat
- Between 25,000 and 50,000 kyat
- Above 50,000 kyat

29. What is the amount of money your family makes in one month?
_____ kyat

30. What is the average amount of money your family makes in one month?

- Less than 20,000 kyat
- Between 20,000 and 50,000 kyat
- Between 50,000 and 70,000 kyat
- Above 70, 000 kyat

31. Do you save money Yes No

32. If yes, how much do you save per month? _____ kyat

What is the average amount your family saves per month?

- None
- Less than 5,000 kyat
- Between 5,000 and 10,000 kyat
- Above 10, 000 kyat

33. Do you have debt? Yes No

34. If yes how much debt (total)? _____ kyat

- Less than 20,000 kyat
- Between 20,000 and 50,000 kyat
- Between 50,000 and 70,000 kyat
- Above 70, 000 kyat

35. Why do you have debt?

36. How much does your family spend in one month? _____ kyat

- Less than 20,000 kyat
- Between 20,000 and 50,000 kyat
- Between 50,000 and 100,000 kyat
- Above 100, 000 kyat

37. How much of your family income per month is from tourism related activities?

- Less than 2,000 kyat
- Between 2,000 and 5,000 kyat
- Between 5,000 and 7,000 kyat
- Above 7, 000 kyat

38. How much money from the company you work for (or business you own) comes from tourism (domestic and foreign)?

For example: if you own a restaurant, how many customers are tourists, or if you are a fisherman, how much of your industry/catch goes to hotels/restaurants serving tourists, etc.

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> None | <input type="checkbox"/> Some | <input type="checkbox"/> Almost all |
| <input type="checkbox"/> A little | <input type="checkbox"/> A lot | |

39. Is there any other way you can get money or borrow? Yes No
(If yes mention them.....)

40. Can you please identify what your family own and when you purchased the items?

	Purchase in the past 2 years (2012-2010)	Purchased in the past 5 years (2010-2007)	Purchased in the past 10 years (2002-2007)

Comments:

48. Are these tourism jobs desirable? Why are they desirable/not desirable?

Yes No I don't know

Comments:

49. In the past five years, has the level of crime, alcoholism, vandalism, prostitution, etc. increased?

Yes No I don't know

Why or why not?

50. Is it easier to access other places in Myanmar because of tourism? Yes/No/I don't know. Why? In what ways?

51. Before 2000, did you travel? Where?

52. Do you travel now (2012)? Where?

53. I can now access places in Myanmar I couldn't previously due to tourism
Yes/No/I don't know.

54. Have you seen improvements in the roads, bridges and transportation routes?

Yes No I don't know

55. Have you seen improvements in electricity and water distribution and quality?

Yes No I don't know

56. If yes, when? What are these improvements?

Education

57. Do you have children? How many?

58. If yes, how many are in school? If children are not in school - why not?

.....

59. How much does school cost?

.....

60. Are the school facilities in good condition?

.....

61. Do you spend more money now on education than you did before? If so, why?

.....

Health

62. When you get sick, where do you go for treatment?

.....

63. How much does it cost approximately (and ask them what procedure it was for)?

64. Have you always done this when you are ill, or did you used to do somewhere else before?

65. Have there been new medical services brought to the community in the past five years (brand new clinics, equipment, staff)?

66. If yes - do you feel these services are being offered due to the increased number of tourists and the presence of tourism?

BIOGRAPHY



Ashley Pritchard was born and raised in San Mateo, California, near San Francisco. During her childhood, she first began to understand poverty through her volunteer work with Samaritan House delivering meals to those in need, which furthered into her high school dedication to working with the San Francisco homeless in Hemlock Alley.

Ashley graduated in May 2009 with high honors from Lehigh University in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania with a double major in Political Science and Economics, and a minor in Engineering. Her passion to help the disenfranchised matured in her undergraduate work, where she founded Lehigh's Hunger and Homelessness Awareness Week, dedicating a week to raising awareness about poverty and world hunger. Ashley worked as a program coordinator in her university's Community Service Office, founding several other social justice programs, and for her work won the University Service Award in 2009 given to the student with the most dedication to service at Lehigh. Her coursework and her experience in community service exposed Ashley to people and ideas that left a lasting belief in the potential of humanity for good as well as a dedication to helping the impoverished.

Upon graduating from Lehigh, she moved to New York City as a United Nations staff member within the Department of Public Information (DPI) at the UN where she coordinated many of DPI's briefings between panelists, media, and over 1,500 NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations) affiliated with the UN.

Ashley was awarded the Rotary Ambassadorial Scholarship and in late 2011, embarked on her long-held dream of working overseas in humanitarian aid by studying in the MAIDS Program at Chulalongkorn University. She is hopeful that her studies will lead to a meaningful future career in international development work. Upon completion of her degree, Ashley intends to continue working on development issues within the Southeast Asia region.