

**Community-based Tourism in Paharpur, Bangladesh: Its Development and  
Governance from an Actor-Network Theory and a Political Economy  
Perspective**

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## **Declaration**

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Signed: Biplab Roy

Date: 09/06/2025

### ***Dedication***

*To my dearest wife and sons, Jayanti Das Jaya, Anveer Roy Bijoy, and Shouvaggo Roy Shuddho: Your unwavering love, boundless support, and incredible sacrifices have been the foundation of my journey. You are my greatest inspiration, driving me to chase my dreams with relentless passion. I am profoundly grateful for all that you do, and my love for you three knows no limits. Thank you for being my everything.*

## **Abstract**

As one of the fastest-growing industries, tourism has seen tremendous expansion and diversification worldwide. As a consequence, among several forms of tourism development, Community-based Tourism (CBT) has emerged as an alternative niche market. Tourism initiated, developed and managed by the local community for their own benefit can be regarded as CBT. Importantly, this form of tourism is gaining more and more popularity in developing countries as a catalyst for sustainable development. This study aims to explore the development process of CBT in an archaeological heritage site in the Global South by scrutinising the governance mechanism. Notably, this study uses Actor-Network Theory (ANT) and political economy understandings as twin approaches. This study relies on a single-case study research strategy using qualitative data collection methods such as semi-structured interviews and participant observation. The fieldwork was done in the local community of Paharpur, Bangladesh, with institutional representatives, local tourism enterprises and residents, and tourism experts in Bangladesh over a period of four months. The total number of respondents was 83.

The findings demonstrate that CBT development in Paharpur was initiated in a top-down manner, with national and local authorities or agencies taking the initiative. This process involved various steps, including training programmes to encourage residents from the local community to participate in CBT. Authorities also invested in creating CBT products by arranging seminars, conferences, and workshops. They then handed over the responsibility of managing CBT to the local people. However, the local community faced several contestations and challenges with respect to governing CBT. Some of the difficulties included the commodification of their local culture and tradition; the involvement/influence of international actors like UNESCO limits local benefits from tourism; pressure from local elites and the lack of support from the local administration. Importantly, this study also reveals the strategies by local governing authorities to address some of these issues.

This study contributes to the knowledge and literature by incorporating ANT and political economy concepts to study CBT governance. In particular, this study contributes to the theory in several ways, that is 1) applying ANT in the field of CBT where the result is the extension of the translation process - one of the components of ANT; 2) enhancing and extending the ANT literature by addressing and overcoming several criticisms related to ANT with respect to generalised symmetry, reflexivity, Machiavellian orientation, flat ontology and the inclusion and exclusion criteria of actors in a network. Additionally, this study engages with political



economy understandings throughout, exploring the influence of capitalism, globalisation and local power dynamics in the context of CBT governance.

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### List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

CBT	Community-based tourism
ANT	Actor-Network Theory
IPE	International political economy
NTO	National Tourism Organisation
GTO	Government Tourism Organisation
MoCA	Ministry of Cultural Affairs
MoCAT	Ministry of Civil Aviation and Tourism
BTB	Bangladesh Tourism Board
BPC	Bangladesh Parjatan Corporation
DoA	Department of Archaeology
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
BIMSTEC	Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation
ILO	International Labour Organisation
ISC	Industry Skill Council
RAB	Rapid Action Battalion
JP	Journey Plus
OA	Oitijjo Anneshon
DC	District Commissioner
UNO	Upazila Nirbahi Officer
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WHS	World Heritage Site
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization
PATA	Pacific Asia Travel Association
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
ADB	Asian Development Bank
TNCs	Transnational Corporations
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
SATIDP	South Asian Tourism Infrastructure Development Project
TALC	Tourism Area Life Cycle
OPP	Obligatory passage point
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
LBO	Local-Based Organisation
NAO	Network Administrative Organisation
PGN	Participant-Governed Network
LOGN	Lead Organisation-Governed network

## **Chapter 1: Introduction to Thesis**

### **1.1 Introduction**

Tourism is widely recognised as a growing industry with the potential to contribute to a country's development. For example, tourism helps to attract foreign investment and earnings to boost the economy through the multiplier effect and tax revenues (Godovykh and Ridderstaat, 2020). Tourism can further stimulate socio-economic development through infrastructure development and employment creation (Gertner, 2019). In addition, tourism has the potential to contribute to cultural conservation and preservation, political stability, and environmental protection (Alvarez, Bahja and Fyall, 2022; Aydin, 2022). However, the unsustainable development associated with the rise of mass tourism has significant negative consequences in host countries, i.e. the influx of visitors, over-development, unequal development, degradation of the environment, and also cultural commodification/degradation (O'Neill, 2002) while imposing Western values and beliefs on host communities (Cohen and Cohen, 2015). Accordingly, there is an urgent need to focus on alternative forms of tourism development (Mooser et al., 2022).

Community-based tourism (CBT) is regarded as an alternative form of tourism development affording greater benefits to a local community (Dangi and Jamal, 2016; Murphy, 2012). CBT often brings tourists to marginalised and underrepresented people to foster local control over tourism (Ateljevic, Pritchard and Morgan, 2007). In order to ensure greater benefits and equity, the inclusion of marginalised people in tourism development is essential (Biddulph and Scheyvens, 2018). However, the success of CBT largely depends on the governance of tourism in the area (Rocca and Zielinski, 2022). Governance is a process of coordination, collaboration and cooperation among stakeholders, not least to ensure social and environmental outcomes (Islam, Ruhanen and Ritchie, 2018). Importantly, both the CBT and sustainable tourism literature prioritise local stakeholders' active involvement and participation in the CBT governance mechanism (Choi and Murray, 2010; Timur and Getz, 2008). In addition, Bramwell and Lane (2011) also stated that tailored and effective governance can ensure tourism development through democratic processes. This said, tourism governance faces several obstacles (Bramwell, 2011), such as power contestations between tourism stakeholders (Dredge and Jenkins, 2007; Shone and Memon, 2008). This study draws on political economy understandings to contribute to the literature by illustrating how a CBT destination in the Global South is affected by globalisation and how local tourism management and governance are impacted.

## 1.2 The Research Problem

At heritage sites, the host community is considered a significant stakeholder (Boonmeerit, 2017), and there is a noteworthy relationship between the involvement of the local community and cultural-heritage tourism (Chauma and Ngwira, 2022; Esichaikul and Chansawang, 2022). The involvement of communities has the potential to contribute to the protection and conservation of heritage sites (Esichaikul and Chansawang, 2022; UNESCO, 2021), enable the adaptive uses of sites (Gottler and Ripp, 2017), and stimulate community development (Tosun and Timothy, 2003). However, community involvement is not straightforward because of operational, structural, and cultural limitations (Tosun, 2006), including a lack of knowledge and capabilities or skills (Aas, Ladkin and Flecher, 2005; Chauma and Ngwira, 2022).

Although a number of studies have been conducted on CBT in natural heritage sites in countries like Vietnam (Tan et al., 2024), Thailand (Yodsurang et al., 2022), Laos (Harrison and Schipani, 2007), and Indonesia (Hariyadi et al., 2024), CBT at archaeological heritage sites has received limited research attention (Hasan, Sunariyah and Endriyati, 2022; Yodsurang et al., 2022). Archaeological sites like Paharpur are of particular interest since international bodies like UNESCO are intimately involved in guiding how the site should be governed, which in turn creates uneven power dynamics and contestations concerning the benefits of tourism, as this research shows. Moreover, few researchers have focused on tourism governance (Wu, 2021), and even fewer on CBT governance in sites like Paharpur. Various challenges arise when tourism takes place in sensitive cultural and/or natural heritage sites dedicated to the conservation of heritage, species, ecosystems, and landscapes (Islam, Ruhanen and Ritchie, 2018). Tourism governance in these contexts is a complex process impacted by place-based and external dynamics alike.

Governance models supporting both the protected area and the development of tourism are limited (Whitelaw, King and Tolkach, 2014). For instance, a Marine Protected Area Governance Framework (MPAGF) is available for guiding the governance process in these contexts (Cockerell and Jones, 2021). However, there is a clear research gap in the literature vis-à-vis the governance of CBT in archaeological sites. Accordingly, this study focuses on the development and governance of CBT at an UNESCO World Heritage archaeological site, the Paharpur Buddhist Monastery in Bangladesh. Specifically, this study explores the development process of CBT through the analytical lens of Actor-Network Theory (ANT) and, more specifically, through one of its components widely known as the process of translation. While several previous studies have used ANT to examine the development of different types of

tourism, such as wildlife tourism (Rodger, Moore and Newsome, 2009), village tourism (Yuniningsih, Nurcahyanto and Bellastuti, 2021) and volunteer tourism (Tomazos and Murdy, 2023), there are hardly any studies in the context of CBT at archaeological heritage sites. ANT is a valuable tool for tourism researchers because it highlights the roles of different actors who shape tourism development at a destination, the process of relationship-building among these actors, and the factors impacting the stability of these relationships (Tomazos and Murdy, 2023; Van der Duim, Ren and Jóhannesson, 2017).

A political economy perspective is further integrated into this research to explore issues such as cultural commodification, the presence of international actors and local-level power dynamics impacting the governance of CBT in Paharpur. Governance activities are influenced by several factors, such as the unclear roles of the government and private sector, methods of benefits distribution and the socio-environmental costs of tourism (Purdy, 2016). This is further complicated by poor connections between policies and practices, the role of local elites and politics excluding minority groups, the general lack of benefits from tourism for local communities (Leonard, 2017), and the complexity of the stakeholder relationships (Farmaki, 2015; Leonard, 2017). Critical tourism scholars acknowledge the influence of globalisation and global capitalism (Mosedale, 2011). Critical observers have pointed out that researchers usually fail to explain power struggles among different stakeholder groups in the formulation and implementation of tourism policies (Bowen, Zubair and Altinay, 2016). This has led to the emergence of the subdiscipline of political economy approaches in critical tourism studies (Bianchi, 2015; Mosedale, 2011). This said, the theoretical engagement of tourism studies with political economy concepts remains an area requiring further research (Bianchi, 2018). Hence, by incorporating ANT as an analytical tool, this study acknowledges governance as the action of a stable network which is influenced by the different paradigms of political economy while considering who benefits from tourism in specific contexts. While several tourism studies using ANT focus on the spatial processes of rural tourism destinations (Chen and Zhang, 2015; Wang and Wang, 2017; Yang et al., 2018; Zou, Zhou and Pan, 2019), attributes such as the role of actors in tourism development, governance, and political economy considerations have limited research attention.

This study first explores the development process of CBT by using the phases of the process of translation, or, more specifically, the process of creating CBT networks. Later, the researcher analyses the factors that help stabilise the relationship among the actors and power shifts in different stages of network creation. After that, this study denotes governance as the action of

stable CBT networks. In addition, this study adopts a political economy approach concerning ANT to examine the issues associated with governance. The focus is on the governance mechanism by which the governance network deals with factors that create challenging situations in the CBT destination. Lastly, the author's attention turns to considerations about an appropriate governance structure for CBT in a protected archaeological site. The process followed is based on the conceptual framework that the researcher developed in the initial stage of this study.

### 1.3 The Research Objectives and Questions

The research objectives and questions of this study are outlined in Table 1.1.

**Table 1.1: The research objectives and research questions of this study**

Research Objectives	Research Questions
1. To explain the development process of CBT at the archaeological heritage site of Paharpur.	<i>1. How do actors form CBT networks at the archaeological heritage site of Paharpur?</i>
2. To examine the factors that affect the stability of established CBT networks in Paharpur.	<i>2. What factors impact the stability of the established CBT networks in Paharpur?</i>
3. To explore CBT governance challenges for ensuring the destination's long-term continuation.	<i>3. As an action of CBT networks, how is the CBT governance mechanism influenced by the different contemporary issues (human and non-human actors) impacting the smooth continuation of the destination?</i>
4. To scrutinise the proper mechanisms for overcoming the CBT governance challenges.	<i>4. How should CBT governance concerns be addressed to enhance sustainable CBT in Paharpur?</i>

Source: Author

### 1.4 Research Setting

This study employs a case study research strategy and, more specifically, a holistic single-case study design (see details in Chapter Four) to generate in-depth knowledge about the determined set of questions and test the study's developed conceptual framework. In addition, a holistic single-case study design requires a setting and a case unit within the setting. Correspondingly,

in this research, the North Bengal of Bangladesh is denoted as the setting, and Paharpur village, with its archaeological site, is the case unit (see the study context provided in Chapter Five).

Bangladesh is a country in Southern Asia. Although this country has a huge potential for tourism because of its natural, cultural, and historical resources, it is still in the early stage of tourism development. North Bengal is known as the capital of archaeological sites because this region has the highest number of cultural and historical archaeological sites in Bangladesh. North Bengal has many resources for tourism development including natural, cultural, and historical resources, hospitable communities, well-developed infrastructure, and scope for regional connectivity with neighbouring countries. However, this region faces several difficulties, such as over-dependency on agricultural activities and threats of natural calamities, i.e., floods and food insecurity. In view of this, tourism has the potential to bring development to the region and contribute to the preservation and conservation of its cultural heritage, including its archaeological sites.

The case site Paharpur is located in North Bengal and is known for its ancient Buddhist Monastery. This site is unique in the context of Bangladesh because it is the only archaeological World Heritage Site (WHS) in Bangladesh where CBT was developed. Besides this, a number of national and international organisations such as Bangladesh Tourism Board (BTB), Bangladesh Parjatan Corporation (BPC), Department of Archaeology (DoA), units of local government, NGOs, research organisations, UNESCO and Asian Development Bank (ADB) are actively involved in CBT development at Paharpur. In Paharpur, both the Bengali and an ethnic group named the Orao community live together, which is uncommon in Bangladesh. The Orao community has a rich culture. Besides this, there are also various cultural groups in Paharpur. Paharpur is home to the first homestay programme initiative in Bangladesh. Hence, the presence of all these actors makes Paharpur a complex and unique case.

### **1.5 The Contributions of this Study**

This study contributes to several aspects of ANT as a theory and method by drawing on political economy concepts. Specifically, this study contributes to ANT by adding power as a component, identifying human and non-human actors of CBT, extending the process of translation as a key component of ANT, identifying key factors that impact the stabilisation of actor-networks, and addressing several criticisms of ANT.

Furthermore, this research enriches the existing literature on the political economy of tourism by examining the place-based dynamics of CBT. CBT in an archaeological site provides a

unique context for study, particularly when strong international actors like UNESCO are involved. The analysis is conducted through the lens of fundamental components of political economy, that is, considering issues associated with capitalism, globalisation, power dynamics, and who benefits from tourism. With respect to the impacts of capitalism, this study emphasises the commodification of local culture and traditions. It also explores the effects of globalisation, particularly the impact of global actors like UNESCO on tourist destinations and their management, while critiquing the local-level power dynamics with respect to the governance of CBT.

## **1.6 Structure of the Thesis**

This thesis consists of nine chapters. Chapters Two and Three review relevant literature by considering the findings and discussions of other studies, which also address the determined research questions. Overall, the main focus of these two chapters is to build the foundation of the conceptual framework. Therefore, Chapter Two first explains the applied theory, namely ANT, which includes its background, definitions, and applied fields. Beyond this, this chapter addresses the weak points of the ANT and describes how this research will fill the gaps. In brief, the initial section of this chapter focuses on an in-depth understanding of the ANT. Later, this chapter introduces the concept of CBT.

Chapter Three initially explains the political economy concept, historical background and its essence. In addition, this chapter describes several approaches to political economy, ranging from classical political economy to modern political economy. Chapter Three further describes the key components of the political economy which significantly influence CBT governance. Beyond this, a section was dedicated to unpacking the political economy understanding in tourism studies. Later, this chapter focuses on the concept and significance of tourism governance. Importantly, power dynamics are discussed based on two lenses: ANT and political economy. Finally, the chapter ends with the creation of a conceptual framework and its description.

Chapter Four presents the research methodology and outlines the related issues in this study. This chapter starts with the philosophical assumptions underscoring this research, that is, relativist ontology and social constructivism. In addition, a single-case study research design was employed to conduct the study, and qualitative methods such as participant observation and semi-structured interviews were used. Besides this, this chapter covers data analysis techniques, ethical considerations and reflexivity issues.

Chapter Five provides contextual information about the setting of the study in the North Bengal zone of Bangladesh and the case study area of Paharpur.

Chapters Six and Seven report the study findings. Chapter six flows according to the conceptual framework and contains several sections, such as actors, the process of translations, power dynamics, and modes of ordering. Chapter Seven describes the broader prospects of capitalism, globalisation, and power issues concerning tourism governance. This chapter unpacks the challenges faced by the governing entity and the strategies through which they overcome these. This chapter also describes the existing and expected structure of CBT governance to continue tourism in Paharpur.

Chapter Eight discusses the findings of this study in relation to the literature. While this research's specific findings match previous findings, this thesis also presents new findings to contribute to the literature on CBT and tourism governance.

Finally, Chapter Nine concludes the thesis by revisiting the conceptual framework, summarising the findings and aligning these with the research questions, outlining the contribution of this research, and offering suggestions for future studies.



## **Chapter 2: Application of Actor-Network Theory to Community-based Tourism**

### **Development: A Perspective of Network Creation**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter aims to establish a common understanding of Actor-Network Theory (ANT) and consider the suitability of using ANT as a theoretical lens in this study. Therefore, this chapter starts with a background to ANT. It then describes the principles of ANT, applications of ANT in tourism studies, existing criticisms of ANT as a theory and the ways this research addresses these criticisms. Later, the focus shifts to the details of different components of ANT in alignment with the determined research questions. Specifically, this chapter describes the actors, the translation process, and the actor-network and network action. In addition, this chapter highlights the concept of community-based tourism (CBT). After that, the focus is on describing factors that impact the stability of established networks.

#### **2.2 Background to Actor-Network Theory**

In the past, social researchers have conducted human-focused research, situating human versus non-human and nature versus social factors. However, it is increasingly recognised that the natural world consists of different elements that are intertwined with human activity rather than separate from it, leading to new modes of studying nature and society (Walsham, 1997). The development of such a new theory, like ANT, resulted from such thinking. ANT emerged from the work of Latour and Woolgar in 1979 (Bencherki, 2017) and was developed further by Latour (1987). ANT was proposed by Latour as a theoretical method to help explain the construction and reconstruction of space (Murdoch, 1998). The value of this theoretical method is evident in its application, from the sociology of science and technology and (rural) development sociology and to the field of tourism research more recently (Van der Duim, 2005).

ANT authors like Latour, Callon, Law, Murdoch, and Jakku (Bencherki, 2017) stressed that human and non-human actors are an inseparable part of society, and it is crucial to derive knowledge locally by considering both the human and non-human actors. Significantly, this observation is also attributed to the philosophical shift from realism to constructivism (Murdoch, 1997). Both according to ANT and social constructivism, social reality is complex and consists of different types of actors, each with a different and significant role to play (Jóhannesson and Bærenholdt, 2009). Beyond this, knowledge can be derived from a particular context through connection and interaction between the researcher and the researched.

Therefore, both the theory and philosophy prioritise every single actor in the social reality. That renders the significance of individual thinking of every actor to construct knowledge based on interpretation.

### **2.3 Actor-Network Theory Definitions and Overview**

ANT is considered both a methodological and a theoretical approach. As a theoretical lens, ANT describes the processes of social change by identifying the heterogeneous relationships and connections between different actors in a ‘real world’ setting (Beard, Scarles and Tribe, 2016; Bilodeau and Potvin, 2018) in creating a network and its maintenance (Luoma-aho and Paloviita, 2010). ANT further examines how one actor influences other actors, mechanisms for building and continuing relationships, and stabilisation of relationships (Van der Duim, Ampumuza and Ahebwa, 2014; Van der Duim, Ren and Jóhannesson, 2013). ANT is also popularly known as the sociology of translation because it gives scope to understand the processes of making the relationship among the actors (Povilanskas and Armaitiene, 2011).

By bringing ANT to the study of tourism, Van der Duim, Ren and Jóhannesson (2012) describe ANT as a translation tool that “provides means to move around, make connections and follow relations between seemingly opposed positions or dualisms” (p. 4). ANT also explains how relationships emerge through performance and negotiation (Urry and Larsen, 2011), with an emphasis on relational factors such as associations (Arnaboldi and Spiller, 2011), which are fluid and sometimes unpredictable (Law, 1994). Similarly, ANT does not prioritise seeing the relationship among actors; instead, researchers should value the nature of networking among actors and how actions lead to determining the functions of others (Deason, Seekamp and Barbieri, 2021). Overall, ANT explains the dynamic relationships between actors.

**Table 2.1: Summary of the concepts of ANT**

Author (s)	Year	Concepts of Actor-Network Theory (ANT)
Latour	1986	ANT is a theory that describes the network creation process and its stabilisation.
Callon	1986a	ANT is a method that explains and interprets particular issues without differentiating between the actors.
Law	1992	The process by which network actors come together and maintain relationships among themselves.
Law	1994	ANT is popularly known as the sociology of ordering.
Latour	1999	As a theory, ANT can explain the actors in a subjective manner.
Tatnall and Burgess	2002	ANT is a theory that helps to explain the relationship between actors of the same network or different networks.
Jóhannesson	2005	ANT plays a crucial role in illuminating the complexities of various social context situations.
Van der Duim	2007	ANT examines the process of creating and stabilising a network, which is comprised of different human and non-human actors.
Couldry	2008	ANT focuses on social order based on a network of connections.
Rhodes	2009	ANT, as a theory, explains that the set of actors determines the actions of a network.
Alcadipani and Hassard	2010	ANT conducts a comprehensive analysis of the diversified social situation, taking into account the features of relational aspects.
Wang and Xiao	2020	ANT is popularly known for one of its components, namely, the process of translation.
Deason, Seekamp and Barbieri	2021	ANT is instrumental in understanding the actions of actors and the translation process, which in turn create relationships and define the roles of each actor within and between the network.

Source: Compiled by the Author

Within such arrangements, ANT is characterised by multiplicity, relationality, and heterogeneity with an emphasis on translation, ordering, and performativity (Ren, Jóhannesson and Van der Duim, 2012). Moreover, ANT has four components: actors, the relationship between the actors, the network, and action. Actors act and form an actor network (Tatnall and Burgess, 2002), where an actor may be an individual, object, material, technology, idea, or indeed other animal (Dolwick, 2009). In addition, the second component of ANT is the relationships, which include creating relationships among the actors through the formation of networks (Timur and Getz, 2008). The third component is the network, an entity of different actors, such as individuals or a group of objects. In turn, action refers to the network's activities (Dolwick, 2009). In this sense, action leads to the outcome of network formation, where the network consists of various types of actors (Van der Duim, 2007).

When applied, ANT challenges traditional views regarding the social versus material value of actors and structure versus agency. ANT differs from the other theories because it holds that human and non-human actors should be considered equally important (Murdoch, 1998). Moreover, social structure is unstable, and ANT proposes that the social and material must be analysed together (Law, 1992). Similarly, ANT explains materiality and diverse relations

between actors in an established network (Ren, 2010). Under the application of ANT, the researcher cannot assume or predetermine anything, such as who the most influential actors or key relationships are. The actor and network cannot be defined separately in ANT because reducing actor-network to an actor or network is difficult (Van der Duim, 2007). Therefore, an actor network is simultaneously an individual whose activity is networking heterogeneous elements and a network that can redefine and change what it is made of (Cordella and Shaikh, 2003). ANT does not subscribe to the traditional structuralism of spatially fixed and human-centred interpretation of networks, so it is only possible to get the answer to all questions after analysing actor-network relations (Jóhannesson, 2005). This indicates, the post-structuralist viewpoint largely influences the concept of ANT. Besides this, post-structuralism believes structures are unstable, and realities are constructed through complex relationships. Therefore, meaning is not fixed, whereas power dynamics depend on the relationship between actors (Latour, 2005). Hence, some of the key concepts of ANT are that a network consists of both human and non-human actors, when the network structure is not fixed, realities are complex, meaning they are not stable, and power dynamics do not lie in structure but rather in a network of relationships which are also the key understanding of post-structuralism. Furthermore, it does not concentrate on the why questions; instead, it focuses on the how questions and tries to figure out how social arrangements emerge and stabilise (Latour, 1986). In the process, it explores the answers to the following questions:

- a) How does a network form, or what is the network formation process?
- b) Who is involved in the network?
- c) How do they come together to form the network?
- d) How do they maintain a network?
- e) How does one network compete with another network?
- f) What are the factors that influence the success or failure of a network?
- g) How do some actors influence other actors to join the network? and why this is sometimes unsuccessful (Latour, 1996b).

Importantly, social constructivism also focuses on knowledge generation, which deals with issues like how knowledge is generated from complex social contexts and how different actors play a role in creating knowledge to understand the meaning of a social phenomenon. ANT's focus also aligns with the focus of case study research design because both usually deal with the how questions and consider social reality as context. Therefore, it can be argued that there is an excellent alignment between social constructivism as a philosophy, ANT as a theoretical

perspective, and the nature of the research questions of this study. However, to understand ANT, it is crucial to unpack its principles, known as ANT's pillars.

## **2.4 Actor-Network Theory Principles**

ANT is underpinned by a set of principles as described by different authors. Farias (2009) discusses three key tenets:

- a) relationships between elements,
- b) generalised symmetry, and
- c) associations between actors.

Vital to using ANT is the 'agnosticism' principle, describing that actors in the network should be treated impartially, and descriptions about them should be unbiased (Callon, 1986b). Conversely, the 'generalised symmetry' principle explains that human and non-human actors involved in the network are equally important (Callon, 1986a; McLean and Hassard, 2004). However, this principle of treating all the actors equally faces criticism (Huxford, 2010; Tatnall and Lepa, 2003). The third principle, 'free association', claims that heterogeneous actors can be connected through different conceptual divisions. For instance, cultural, social, or natural. The world is made of hybrid elements where the nature of the relationship is complex, and no entity is purely social or natural (Burgess, Clark and Harrison, 2000). As per this principle, it is not possible to assume differences between human and non-human actors in advance (Callon, 1986a). So, it can be said that actor networks are made up based on the relationship between heterogeneous actors.

## **2.5 Applications of Actor-Network Theory in Tourism Studies**

In addition to being used in sociology and the field of technology, ANT has also been applied to tourism studies (Jørgensen, 2017). For instance, researchers use it from different perspectives; Yan and Hee (2020) used ANT as an approach to health tourism; Wang and Zhu (2020) employed ANT to analyse tourism destination development; and Tomazos and Murdy (2023) applied to the context of volunteer tourism experience at children's home. Importantly, in a tourism context, scholars have applied ANT to study the interactions of stakeholders (Van der Duim, Ren and Jóhannesson, 2013) and strategic management (Bryson, Crosby and Bryson, 2009). In addition, ANT has increasingly been featured in the methodology of the study of tourism (Franklin, 2012).

**Table 2.2: Summary of the uses of ANT in different studies**

Author (s)	Year	Outcome of the Research
Van der Duim	2005	This study used ANT from the perspective of sustainable tourism development and, more specifically, to describe the tourismscales.
Van der Duim	2007	This research was conducted to study the cultural context of different countries and, more specifically, the tourismscales for performing tourism in Africa.
Van der Duim and Caalders	2008	This discourse focused on the role of multidimensionality in developing tourism in a particular place, and it is also applicable to pro-poor tourism.
Rodger, Moore and Newsome	2009	This study used ANT to describe the probable impacts of tourist-wildlife interactions and the complex role and positioning of science in wildlife tourism.
Ren, Pritchard and Morgan	2010	This study described knowledge creation through tourism research, and its findings suggested that knowledge is the outcome of the relational effect.
Paget, Dimanche and Mounet	2010	The central perspective was innovation, which significantly impacts the creation of a tourism network.
Hu and Bao	2016	The study's findings demonstrated that decision-makers need to consider power relations among the actors who reside in rural areas in order to develop rural tourism.
Dedeke	2017	This study analysed the scope of developing tourism organisations in the protected area through the lens of ANT.
Nguyen, Young and Johnson	2019	This study contributed to achieving the SDGs. Specifically, goal number seventeen, based on the concept of tourism capes from the perspective of ANT.
Yan and Hee	2020	The study's findings shed light on the crucial role of various actors in the network for the development of health tourism. This understanding is key to the successful and sustainable growth of the industry.
Wang and Xiao	2020	This study figured out that changes in tourism destinations, or more specifically, reconstruction of world heritage sites, also change actor networks.
Wang and Zhu	2020	This study used ANT to describe tourism development in the town and the formation of a network.
Gürsoy	2021	This study analysed bread's position in the slow food tourism network, which consists of both human and non-human actors.
Cai and McKenna	2021	Study findings contributed to understanding digital-free tourism by unpacking the complex power relations between humans and technology.
Chen and Wu	2021	This study approached to study the transformation of postmodern tourist attractions where different heterogeneous actors reside in a relational network.
Deason, Seekamp and Barbieri	2021	This study's particular focus was on analysing the impact of climate change on Community-based Tourism organisations and ways to mitigate its negative impact.

Source: Compiled by the Author

## 2.6 Criticisms of Actor-Network Theory

ANT has been criticised for several reasons, such as being too light on theory, managerialist, unclear, inconsistent, and incorporating material agency (Cohen and Cohen, 2012). Some

researchers suggested that future scholars should identify and address these issues in their research, although other authors put these issues down to misunderstandings. Four identified controversies of the ANT are related to the...

- a) principle of generalised symmetry;
- b) the risk of adopting an objective and un-reflexive stance when using ANT;
- c) the Machiavellian orientation of ANT, and
- d) the flat ontology of the approach (Gad and Jensen, 2010).

The concept of generalised symmetry stresses that human and non-human actors have similar significance in the network. Collins and Yearley (1992), however, claimed that if both the human and non-human actors get the same amount of importance, then the significance of human actors is reduced (Whittle and Spicer, 2008), as well as the unique richness of human agency. Another criticism is that when tourism is being studied based on tourismscapes, ANT gives more priority to the non-human actors such as things, objects, materiality, nature, and wildlife (Simoni, 2015). In such cases, ANT only focuses on the tangible elements and ignores intangible elements such as values and norms (Cressman, 2009), emotion, memory, language, metaphors, and other intangible phenomena (Murdoch, 1997); and it overemphasises the material semiotics (Giddens, 1984). To address this criticism, this research focuses on the influence of human and non-human actors on the network's creation and the actions of the network.

The second criticism is associated with the reflexive approach of ANT - this can be broken down into two types of criticisms. The first criticism is related to the objective stance, where it is assumed that the description of the vocabulary ANT provides does not match the description of the participants (Murdoch, 2001). Thus, the best way to deal with this criticism is for the researcher to use ANT as a theoretical lens and then to interpret participants' views (Whittle and Spicer, 2008). The second criticism here relates to the translation process, in which researchers may think that these stages are universally valid, and interpretations are the absolute truth. Most importantly, to face these criticisms, the researcher accepts that there is no absolute truth in view of multiple potential interpretations. Hence, in this study, the researcher does not test but rather explores the ANT-related phenomena under investigation. In turn, the result is the extension of the ANT as a theory.

The third criticism of ANT is that it pays the most attention to describing how things become aligned and centred (Calas and Smircich, 1999), known as Machiavellian orientation

(Amsterdamska, 1990). This indicates the over-emphasis on control and management and gives priority to the powerful actors who create a more robust network, rejecting the other options for creating a network. This also indicates that those with power, usually human actors, stay at the centre of the network, although ANT believes that power is the effect of the network rather than the actors. To face this criticism, researchers can maintain 'sensitivity to complexity' (Gad and Jensen, 2010, p. 59). In this regard, two models are available: the diffusion and translation models. This research applies the translation model to examine the nature of power shifting in different translation stages. Lastly, criticism is related to its 'flat ontology' (Reed, 1997), meaning that ANT neglects the social structure's influence on local. However, a broader social structure greatly influences the locals. Accordingly, Walsham (1997) recommended using other social theories and approaches along with the ANT to face this criticism. Consequently, this research uses a political economy approach and the ANT to overcome this criticism.

Related to the abovementioned considerations, the fifth criticism is that ANT does not pay enough attention to power-related issues - important concerning inequality and injustice - and fails to describe the dynamics of network formation (Bencherki, 2017). While authors like Kendall (2004) showed some interest in this issue, there is significant scope for future researchers to work on power relations within the network through the lens of ANT. Moreover, ANT needs to differentiate between structure, agency, and intentionality (Whittle and Spicer, 2008). The researcher added power dynamics in the ANT process to address these issues. Another ANT-related criticism is determining both inclusion and exclusion criteria for the actors. It raises questions about the boundaries of networks. Although Latour (1996a) recommended following the actors, McLean and Hassard (2004) added that researchers cannot follow the actors everywhere. De Munck (2017) made a few suggestions to overcome this issue, such as using one's judgment to select actors. Besides this, a study can identify the key actors in the initial stage and then follow the actors over time. In this study, the researcher first identifies the principal actor by visiting the study site directly and later uses recommendations from the other actors to expand the network of participants. In addition, though other networks influence one network, it is very difficult to explain the complexity of the network. Furthermore, one of the controversies against ANT is that it cannot bring something new to the discussion (Michael, 2017).

Although there are several criticisms of the ANT, this can be faced by acknowledging the criticisms and describing the researchers' position in the study. While scholars like Gad and Jensen (2010) intensively criticised the ANT, they also firmly indicate that ANT is a valuable



tool for understanding how actors create networks and organise themselves. This study addresses several criticisms of the ANT as a theory and employs a CBT perspective. The CBT literature is discussed in the next section.

## **2.7 Concept of Community-based Tourism**

Before discussing CBT, it is crucial to understand the notion of community. According to Willmott (1986), the term community refers to a group of people with something common among them, and the elements of commonality are place, interest, and attachment. According to Mayaka, Croy and Cox (2017), a community is made of people who live together in a particular place, have ties or bonds with one another and are involved with one another in different ways at varying levels of commitment. Although the term community has been used widely in tourism literature, there are conceptual difficulties, and researchers use different definitions of communities.

CBT is a popular approach in developing countries (Birendra, 2021). It is one of the paradigms within the sustainable tourism umbrella that aims to promote development and encourage self-reliance and the empowerment of communities. Mowforth and Munt (2015) define CBT as a type of tourism where local people have greater scope to actively participate in tourism activities for the sake of their economic, social, and cultural well-being. However, the concept of CBT is not fixed, and some authors consider the concept too abstract (Ruiz-Ballesteros and Caceres-Feria, 2016). In essence, CBT is often seen as an alternative form of tourism development, which includes community-owned and managed tourism businesses to create and maximise scopes and benefits for the local community (Curcija, Breakey and Driml, 2019).

There are four central contextual factors of CBT, i.e., tourism resources, local organisations and participation, management, and learning (Nagarjuna, 2015). Tourism resources include environmental and cultural uniqueness found in a community, such as historical sites, ancient remains, indigenous knowledge, folk wisdom, and the specific competencies of villagers. Local organisations and participation include stakeholder cooperation, community management, community participation, and evaluation. Management refers to reasonable benefit allocation, the learning process among villagers and visitors, a mindset conscious of environmental protection, and managing all tourism facilities and infrastructure. Lastly, learning focuses on the analysis of location, management patterns, and participation in developing tourism activities to provide tourists with an understanding of traditions and cultures. Most importantly, the four contexts must work together for sustainable CBT development. Hence, the following

section will describe some of the CBT models and approaches and provide a rationale for using ANT to study CBT.

### **2.7.1 Community-based Tourism Development Processes**

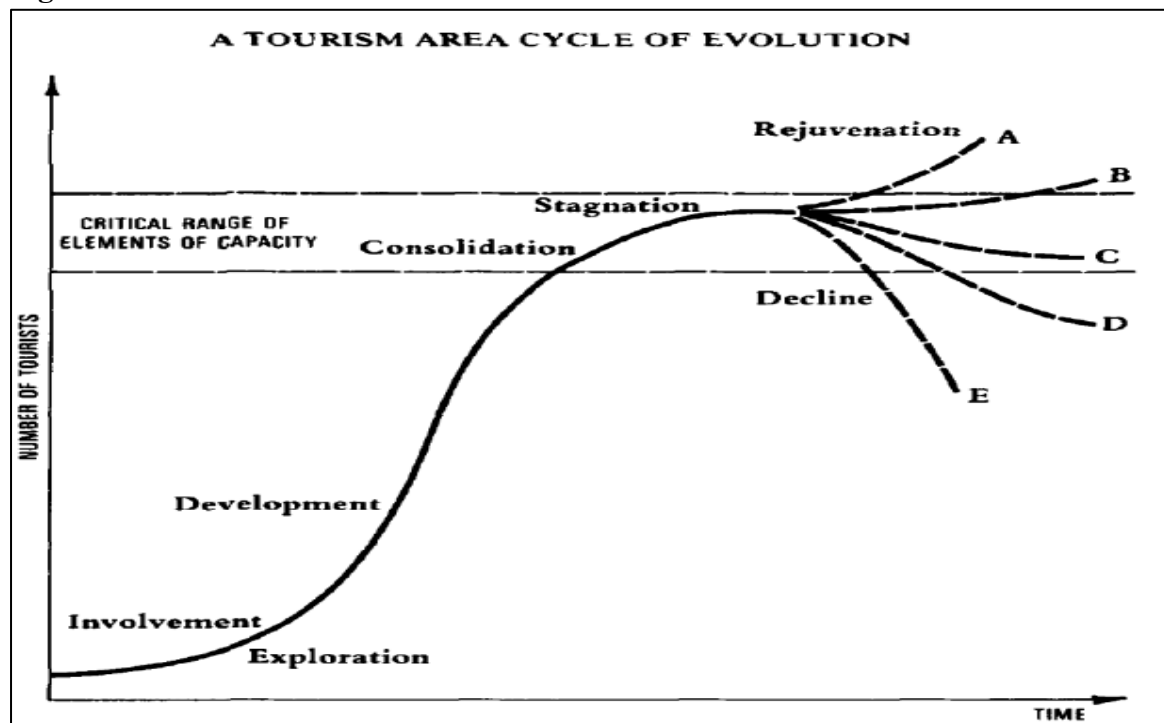
There are two main approaches to the development of CBT: the top-down approach and the bottom-up approach. Both the top-down and bottom-up approaches have different features. On the one hand, the bottom-up approach focuses on an entrepreneurship model. In other words, the local community provides funds and resources, and control of tourism stays in the hands of locals. On the other hand, the top-down approach usually adopts a government-led tourism planning and development process. In a top-down approach, communities are typically excluded from the decision-making process, and it ultimately is counterproductive from a local empowerment perspective, i.e., it does not necessarily lead to greater community ownership, participation, or equitable distribution of tourism benefits (Curcija, Breakey and Driml, 2019). The top-down approach also fails to build capacity in communities, which leads to dependency on the external agency. Indeed, most of the top-down CBT sites are founded by external stakeholders whose focus is mainly on the international market, and these sites strongly depend on the support of mediator organisations such as NGOs, consultancies, and donor organisations (Müllera, Hucka and Markovab, 2020).

In contrast, in a bottom-up approach, local communities take the initiative to start CBT activities, set their own aims, make decisions regarding their resources for future use, protect their cultural heritage, build infrastructure and landscapes, and other development activities (Müllera, Hucka and Markovab, 2020). In the bottom-up approach, the local people initiate the decision-making process without being overly dependent on the other external actors (Theerapappisit, 2012). This approach of CBT is concerned not only with economic development but also empowerment and self-reliance of communities (Sharpley, 2009). Therefore, bottom-up community participation in tourism development should be prioritised, with external partners facilitating community planning and providing support (Theerapappisit, 2012). Nevertheless, it typically experiences technological difficulties and issues with diversification, quality, seasonality, profitability, carrying capacity, and limited resources. CBT can often not flourish in communities with the bottom-up approach because it needs the support of external partners (Mtapuri and Giampiccoli, 2016), where the role of government is to provide fundamental support, such as capacity-building initiatives. Giampiccoli and Saayman (2016) mentioned that the role of government is the formulation of policy, community empowerment, and overall capacity building. Ultimately, balancing these two

approaches could be ideal in running CBT projects; a proper policy can ensure the integration for the long-term success of CBT (Birendra, 2021).

The section below considers how understanding the evolution of tourism destinations corresponds with CBT development. To examine the development process of a particular tourism destination, one of the most widely used frameworks is the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC), which Butler formulated in 1980 (Zhong, Deng and Xiang, 2008). The TALC model has several stages: exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation, and post-stagnation (Butler, 1980). In the exploration stage, only a few adventurous tourists visit the destination. In contrast, in the involvement stage, the number of tourists increases, although there is little interaction between the host and tourists. In addition, the development stage sees an increase in tourists and leads to the consolidation stage, where the destination peaks in the number of tourists. In the stagnation stage, the destination loses its attractiveness, which leads to a decline. However, some destinations can again gain popularity through several attractive initiatives (Bojanic, 2005). Specifically, the central theme of this model is to examine the evolution of tourism destinations and the factors that influence this development (Williams, 1993).

**Figure 2.1: The TALC model**



Source: (Butler, 1980, p. 7, Figure 1)

Besides this, various models of CBT have been developed over time (Mtapuri and Giampiccoli, 2016), and the CBT model includes collaboration, power redistribution, and social capital

building, which lead to community participation and empowerment (Okazaki, 2008). In addition, various models of CBT initiatives exist, ranging from public to private sector partnerships and joint ventures. Several theoretical models that have been used in the CBT literature are the livelihoods framework by Zapata et al. (2011), the empowerment framework by Novelli and Gebhardt (2007), and the typology of community participation by Scheyvens (2002) and Tosun (2006). In addition, there are two evolutionary models of CBT development (Mayaka, Croy and Cox, 2019); one involves the community in traditional tourism practices (Murphy, 2012), and the other is community development through tourism (Giampiccoli and Saayman, 2016). Among these two, the appropriate one depends on the context (Mayaka, Croy and Cox, 2019).

While several models have been developed to describe CBT and its essence (Okazaki, 2008), both the existing approaches and models related to CBT fail to describe the in-depth process of CBT development, identification of agents and their roles, formation of a network among the agents and stakeholders, inclusion and exclusion of agents and stakeholders from the network, power distribution and shift of power from one agent to another agent in the different stages of CBT development. Moreover, existing models pay minimal attention to the factors that can make the network unstable and, more specifically, ignore the factors that can create challenges to continuing the relationship among the network agents. Therefore, as a theoretical and methodological lens, ANT is a fitting approach to interrogate these issues because ANT discusses the process of bringing agents together to form relationships through creating a network and the importance of relationships among the agents to continue the stable network (Farias, 2009). This study uses ANT as a theoretical perspective to describe the CBT development process, the role of stakeholders in the network, the power relationship among the agents within the network, and the impact of human and non-human actors to continue the actor-networks. The following sections will discuss these issues through the perspective of ANT and, more specifically, through the lens of components of ANT, such as actors, the process of translation, actor-networks, and actions in alignment with the determined research questions of this study.

## **2.8 Identified Components of Actor-Network Theory for Studying Community-based Tourism**

### **2.8.1 Actors**

The starting point of ANT is the identification of actors who have resources; these actors then set up a relationship with other actors, creating a network (Lestari et al., 2020). An actor is “any element which bends space around itself, makes other elements dependent upon itself and translates their will into a language of its own. It defines space and its organisation, sizes and their measures, values and standards, the stakes and rules of the game” (Callon and Latour, 1981, p. 286). Actors include both humans and non-humans who have different interests and behaviours. In this regard, human actors are the main stakeholders directly and indirectly involved in tourism activities. Notably, the network’s permanency greatly relies on the consistent alteration and alignment of the interests of these human actors (Li et al., 2021). Conversely, non-human actors can be different tangible and intangible elements and objects. However, non-human actors cannot act like human actors; they can mediate in the network and participate in the action to ensure the network’s continuity.

Ultimately, non-human actors make association possible by linking the actors under an umbrella and ensuring the significance of the network (Paget, Dimanche and Mounet, 2010). By creating a heterogeneous relationship between the actors, some actors play the role of translators. From a stable network, it is clear which actors play a prime role, from where power derives, and who sets the role for others (Jóhannesson, 2005). ANT argues that it is impossible to know the principal actors in the tourism network, although we know the roles of different actors in advance. It could be governments, tourists, host communities, and other stakeholders. Instead, it believes that only we can fully understand the actors if we know the relationship among them and the network practices from which tourism has developed, because actors emerge and depart in different stages of tourism development. Hence, this is the point why the process of translation needs to be considered for further study. In addition, several researchers said that tourism analysis should follow the heterogeneous actors who create a network through the process of translation.

### **2.8.2 The Process of Translation**

The concept of translation emerged in Latour’s work, but Callon first coined the term. Callon (1986a, pp. 25–26) described translation as: “Translation builds an actor-world from entities. It attaches characteristics to them and establishes more or less stable relationships. The

translation is a definition and the delineation of a scenario.” The translation process consists of discussion, illustration, and movement between actors and places. It is used to identify other related actors, convince them, and set their roles (Van der Duim and Caalders, 2008). It drives the actors to act according to the network’s demand, which helps to maintain the network (Van der Duim and Van Marwijk, 2006). It aligns heterogeneous actors while keeping their differences. If the alignment is strong in the network, then this network becomes stable, whereas weak alignment demands frequent negotiations (Paget, Dimanche and Mounet, 2010). Therefore, the translation process creates connections and alliances (Brown, 2002). Moreover, it is also known as the consolidator of the actors’ interests (Latour, 1987). It exploits the strength of other actors for the greater interest of all actors (Simandan, 2012). Sometimes, new actors join the network, and current actors leave and depart from the network. This situation means the translation process is ongoing, and the actor-network is dynamic and not necessarily permanent.

Callon (1986a) outlined four phases of translation initially: problematisation, interessement, enrolment, and mobilisation, and later Rodger, Moore and Newsome (2009) identified two separate phases under the problematisation, such as obligatory passage point (OPP) and problematisation and added ‘black-box’ as the last phase. It is noted that tourism researchers tend to use the six-phase translation process (Dedeke, 2017). However, Ren, Jóhannesson and Van der Duim (2012) said that there are no single and unique ways of the translation process. Therefore, this research adopts six phases of the process of translation: problematisation, obligatory passage point, interessement, enrolment, mobilisation, and ‘black-box’. A detailed description of these phases is given below.

### **A. Problematisation**

When the actors face any obstacle or problems to attain their intention, it is called problematisation (Wang and Xiao, 2020). Problematisation is the first step towards network formation, where the principal or focal actor describes a situation, figures out the problems, suggests solutions to the problems, and finds out both human and non-human actors who have similar interests and motivation to work together to solve the identified problems and reaching the goal (Huxford, 2010). The three key elements of the problematisation phase are the principal actor, the nature of the problems, and other actors (Tang, Chen and Chiu, 2018). Different actors have different motivations and interests to work in the network. So, the principal actor must define the problem so that other actors agree to solve the problem.

## **B. Obligatory passage point (OPP)**

The second phase is the obligatory passage point (OPP), which describes the actor's non-negotiable aspects of the vision to solve the problem. The common issue by which actors can solve problems is known as OPP (Tang, Chen and Chiu, 2018). Possible network actors have probably some problems which they bring to the OPP and reach a consensus to obtain the expected benefits (Liu and Wang, 2013). When the actors reach a shared understanding, it is known as the OPP stage (Davies, 2003). It has been asserted that OPP is like a knot that is a mediator between actors, networks, and its components. If it can control the actors' resources and ensure the network's success, then it can be said that OPP is strong (Martin, 2000). Therefore, to attain a stable relationship among the actors and the goals of the project, an actor needs to set an OPP so that the goal of every actor is directed in a way.

## **C. Interessement**

In this stage, negotiation occurs between principal actors and other actors so that everybody can fulfil their interests (Tang, Chen and Chiu, 2018). Interessement is the moment of translation where other actors are convinced to get involved in solving the prescribed problems (Huxford, 2010). This is the crucial phase for creating an actor-network where the principal actor motivates other actors to get involved in the network by mentioning the benefits of joining the network and the disadvantages of not joining the network (Rodger, Moore and Newsome, 2009). The interessement stage determines the various roles of the actors, which were determined through several actions and strategies (Liu and Wang, 2013), and this stage is used as a technical means to ensure the stability of the interests of different actors (Zhao, 2011). In the interessement stage, the principal actor shares the solutions to the problems with the potential actors and tries to convince the other actors. On the same note, this stage can bring positive and negative outcomes (Dedeke, 2017). For instance, "Each entity enlisted by the problematisation can submit to being integrated into the initial plan, or inversely, refuse the transaction by defining its identity, its goals, projects, orientations, motivations, or interests in another manner" (Callon, 1986b, p. 207). Most crucially, this is the stage where other actors can voice their demands and expectations from the project.

## **D. Enrolment**

ANT is also known as the enrolment theory because it includes actors in the network through the process of translation (Crawford, 2005). If interessement is successful, it goes to the next enrolment stage. In this stage, the principal actor sets the roles for other actors (Callon, 1986b).

Actors may accept the roles defined by the principal actor (Rodger, Moore and Newsome, 2009). This stage is critical because actor-networks' success largely depends on the factors that help to build the relationship between and within networks. In the enrolment phase, actors include other actors in the network relationships (Callon, 1991). In the enrolment steps, various methods are used by the heterogeneous actors to enter into the network. Latour (1987) researched the enrolment component of the translation process, describing how the principal actor convinced others to join the network. In the enrolment stage, potential actors give consent to be involved in the project with a principal actor. Here, the negotiation occurs between prime and potential actors on how combined they can achieve the vision, which was determined by the principal actor in the OPP (Dedeke, 2017).

### **E. Mobilisation**

The fifth stage of the translation phase is a stage where the actors widely accept the prescribed solution to the identified problems, and the result is the creation of a more extensive network. Moreover, some actors act as spokespersons on behalf of other actors. A leader creates a series of links to maintain the network during this stage (Ibrahim, 2009). In this stage, various actors get their responsibilities within the network. Moreover, during the mobilisation phase, a network forms between the actors, and this is the starting point of the execution of actions. Furthermore, in the mobilisation phase, the network becomes stabilised (Pinto, Cruz and Gonçalves, 2011), and this stabilisation of the network through the translation process is known as 'ordering', or 'modes of ordering' (Ren, Jóhannesson and Van der Duim, 2012). Ordering in ANT includes the subject of investigation, the way the network is created, the identification of roles and responsibilities of the actors, and the ways of stabilising the network (Murdoch, 1997). Alternatively, it can be said that a network is successful if it reaches the mobilisation phase.

However, Huxford (2010) explains that it is challenging to reach the mobilisation phase, which is sometimes never reached. Reaching the mobilisation phase and ensuring the network's durability is challenging because of the several complex issues of the heterogeneous network (Davies, 2003). Therefore, the role of a principal actor is crucial because the principal actor manages the network. Wang and Xiao (2020) assert that in many instances, failure to move in the mobilisation phase leads the network to the previous stages. In that situation, the authorities can make new plans and take the initiative to move out of this situation (Aguilo, Alegre and Sard, 2005). Hence, there is scope for new networks to emerge or connect the broken ones.



## **F. Black-box**

The last stage of the translation process is the ‘black-box’, where the network institutionalises and formalises practices and actions that help create an identity and ensure network performance (Fountain, 1999). If the network is institutionalised, then it takes less effort and concern to move forward with the established network. The same can be true for the tourism network, as when a network is well established, it does not need to focus on resolving negative network issues. Then, the authority can focus only on dealing with tourists and the progression of tourism. So, opening the black-box to identify the appropriate mechanisms to provide direction in network is vital. Furthermore, the factors that keep the actors of the network together and maintain relationships among themselves are called black-boxes.

In summary, the translation process helps to explain the process of developing a project or tourism. One of the aims of this study is to discuss the development process of CBT in a heritage site through the lens of ANT. In this regard, particular focus is on how CBT initiates, who takes the first initiative, how other actors are selected, what is the common ground of interest, how they are being motivated to join the network, what procedures to follow for forming the network and what are the mechanisms to keep them in the network. However, when a project reaches the black-box phase, it indicates the creation of a network or several networks. Later, the focus shifts to the continuation of the established relationship among agents in the networks by ensuring the stability of the network. In general, several factors play a crucial role in making the network stable and unstable, which is the next point of discussion.

### **2.8.3 Actor-Networks on the Community Level**

One of the main concepts of the ANT is the network (Latour, 2005). Usually, a network is defined as the medium for communicating messages, but in ANT, the network concept is something else. According to the ANT, a network is a series of transformations that helps actors build relationships (Latour, 1999). These transformations create ordering effects, and the analysis of the ordering process and the related struggles are the main focus points of the ANT (Law, 1994). Moreover, a network is a relationship structure where various heterogeneous actors interact with one another and feel that everyone has a vital role in the network and space itself (Law and Mol, 2001).

In general, ANT helps to understand the process of creating relationships between actors, its negotiation process, and its maintenance, whereas an ANT network seems like a method. In ANT, the relationship seems stable, but in practice, because of uncertainties and ambivalence,

the relationship is not stable (Law and Mol, 2001). After the formation of the network, it may become unstable, and it can only become strong and durable if the bonding between the actors is strong. Hence, a strong relationship needs to be maintained to ensure the network's existence; otherwise, the network can be broken, and the actors can create other networks. Therefore, the relationship's stability is crucial because it influences the action, but this stability can change at any time (Callon, 1989). The instability of networks is a common scenario because of the involvement of dynamic and heterogeneous actors and structures (Simandan, 2012). Importantly, this network concept can be applied to the tourism perspective, where the relationship between host communities or between host communities and local stakeholders can be coined as tight ties, and relationships between local communities and non-local stakeholders can be defined as loose ties.

It is well proven that tourism networks are more diverse than other traditional industrial networks, as there is a direct relation between stages of tourism development and the complexity of the tourism networks (Hjalager, 2000). Therefore, to ensure the smooth continuation of the networks, it is crucial to focus on the stability of the relationships among the agents in the networks, although it is not straightforward. For instance, the relationship is complex because most destinations and their communities have multiple and competing groups of stakeholders (Larson and Poudyal, 2012). As the development of tourism on the community level progresses, more stakeholders become involved in tourism. Hence, the involvement of many stakeholders creates a complex nature of relationships among themselves. This leads to a lack of cooperation and coordination among the stakeholders, a lack of collective actions, and conflict over the resources (Bramwell, 2011). Additionally, the stability of the actor-networks largely depends on the development status of a particular destination.

Worldwide, tourism destinations face the challenge of ensuring and maintaining stable and good relationships among the actors within and between the networks (Snyman and Bricker, 2019) because the development and progress of the destination influence this relationship. At the same time, development and progress create some difficult situations, such as dealing with a broader number of stakeholders. Thus, the following section describes some of the emerging issues related to CBT and the stability of the actor-networks, such as the participation of the community in tourism activities, community participation in the decision-making process, equitable distribution of benefits, and, in some cases, issues of land acquisition. All these issues are directly and significantly related to the status of tourism development in a particular destination, which significantly impacts the stability of networks.

The discussion of the relationship between tourism and community participation gained attention in the tourism and development literature (Jones, 2005). Moreover, various models of community participation have been used in tourism research, such as the ladder of empowerment and the ladder of citizenship (Okazaki, 2008). However, meaningful community participation is still challenging (Setokoe and Ramukumba, 2020). The heterogeneous nature of communities regarding class, gender, and ethical factors negatively affects the intention of community participation (Lo and Janta, 2020). Community participation in CBT is hindered by operational, structural, and cultural limitations, particularly in developing countries. Additionally, socio-cultural, economic, and political situations determine the community's participation level in tourism activities (Brohman, 1996). In addition, lack of financial resources, lower level of education, unequal distribution of benefits, insufficient skilled human resources, central decision-making, lack of coordination, and several other conflicts further hinder active community participation in CBT (Bello, Lovelock and Carr, 2017). To overcome the challenge of community participation and involvement, researchers are encouraged to focus on capacity building (Lamers et al., 2015). Several other ways to ensure community participation in CBT are partnership and cooperation (Budeanu, 2005). Further studies are needed to identify tailored strategies for facilitating community participation in the CBT activities of developing countries (Bello, Lovelock and Carr, 2017). Consequently, when the community is not involved in the tourism network, it creates problems and destabilises the existing network (Wang, Zhang and Qiu, 2022). In addition, Tosun (2006) and Akama (1996) said that networks become vulnerable due to a lack of local involvement in the decision-making process. So, it is crucial to ensure local people's active involvement in decision-making to ensure the stability of the CBT network.

Snyman and Bricker (2019) highlighted the significance of equitable distribution of benefits for continuing network stability, specifically in the context of protected areas. However, distributing benefits equitably is challenging and not straightforward (Björk, 2007). For example, many CBT destinations in South Africa face challenges related to equitable benefit distribution (Phun and Obadire, 2023). Consequently, the lack of equitable distribution of benefits leads to intra- and inter-community conflicts. Conflict leads to the instability of the existing networks (Soliev et al., 2021). To ensure tourism development, conservation, and preservation of heritage sites, many people lose their land and must relocate to other places every year. This is mostly common in the protected areas (Agrawal and Redford, 2009). There is a close and direct relationship between heritage and community because, in most cases,

communities live in and around the heritage (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1990). Therefore, land acquisition for tourism development creates conflict, and local people often oppose tourism development (Sharma, Messerli and Lin, 2023). It is challenging for decision-makers to ensure tourism development and preservation of the site without compromising community improvement. In addition, land use and acquisition issues force actors to leave the network and create uncertainties among themselves. The existing literature fails to provide an in-depth understanding of these issues concerning CBT actor networks and stability in relationships among the actors. Therefore, this research aims to fill the literature gap by discussing the scope of CBT development in depth and its actor networks. Finally, all of these factors are closely linked to choices and actions taken by actors to ensure stability and continuation of the network.

#### **2.8.4 Action: Mechanism for Continuation of Established Networks**

Actions result from relationships between actors in the network (Latour, 2005). In addition, the network's activities are known as actions. According to Tomazos and Murdy (2023), the nature of tourism is largely influenced by the actions and interests of the actors in a network, like as the nature of volunteer tourism. A stable network performs different kinds of activities or actions. For instance, CBT networks' actions include participation in tourism business activities like producing and selling handicraft products, running shops, tour guiding, performing cultural activities in front of tourists, providing hospitality services, and participating in transportation services. However, sometimes it becomes difficult to analyse and interpret networks' actions because of networks' heterogeneous nature (Kaghan and Bowker, 2001). The actions of heterogeneous networks are also affected by social structures and facts such as people, material, natural objects, and many other invisible factors (Bloor and Edge, 2000). Importantly, earlier studies show that the scope of choice to participate or not in tourism activities, or more specifically, to join the network or not, creates an unambiguous situation, ultimately leading to instability, which can, in turn, result in the breakdown of the network. Consequently, there is a need for mechanisms to positively guide the agents and their actions to contribute to the CBT network and its stability. Therefore, this study adopted governance as the action to direct the activities of agents who are or will be part of CBT networks. The following chapter (Chapter Three) is going to describe CBT governance in more depth and the factors that influence CBT governance through the lens of political economy.

## **2.9 Summary of the Chapter**

ANT, as a theoretical lens, is gaining traction in various disciplines such as technology, economics, accounting, sociology, geography, education, and urban studies. Its recent foray into the tourism field is particularly intriguing. One of its key strengths is its ability to identify and analyse the actors in a network, a term that encompasses both human and non-human entities, and the process of relationship-building among these actors. This unique perspective also aids in understanding the factors that contribute to the stability and instability of networks. A stabilised network, in turn, engages in various activities, known as action, to achieve desired outcomes. In this study, focus was given on the governance mechanism as the action of networks, which is influenced by both human and non-human actors.

This study chooses CBT as a context, in its ideal form, developed, owned, and managed by a local community. It has different products such as attractions, local culture and heritage, homestays, traditional activities, local tourism businesses, and sightseeing and roaming opportunities. This type of tourism often flourishes in rural areas. In addition, there are two approaches to CBT development: top-down and bottom-up. Moreover, the development of CBT can be explained through the lens of the process of translation, where different phases of the translation process are problematisation, obligatory passage point (OPP), interessement, enrolment, mobilisation and 'black-box'. Furthermore, stabilising the established network largely depends on the different social forces related to the stage of tourism development. Finally, stable networks perform different activities, and governance is one of these, whereas different contemporary issues influence governance activities.

## **Chapter 3: The Political Economy of Tourism with reference to Community-based Tourism**

### **3.1 Introduction**

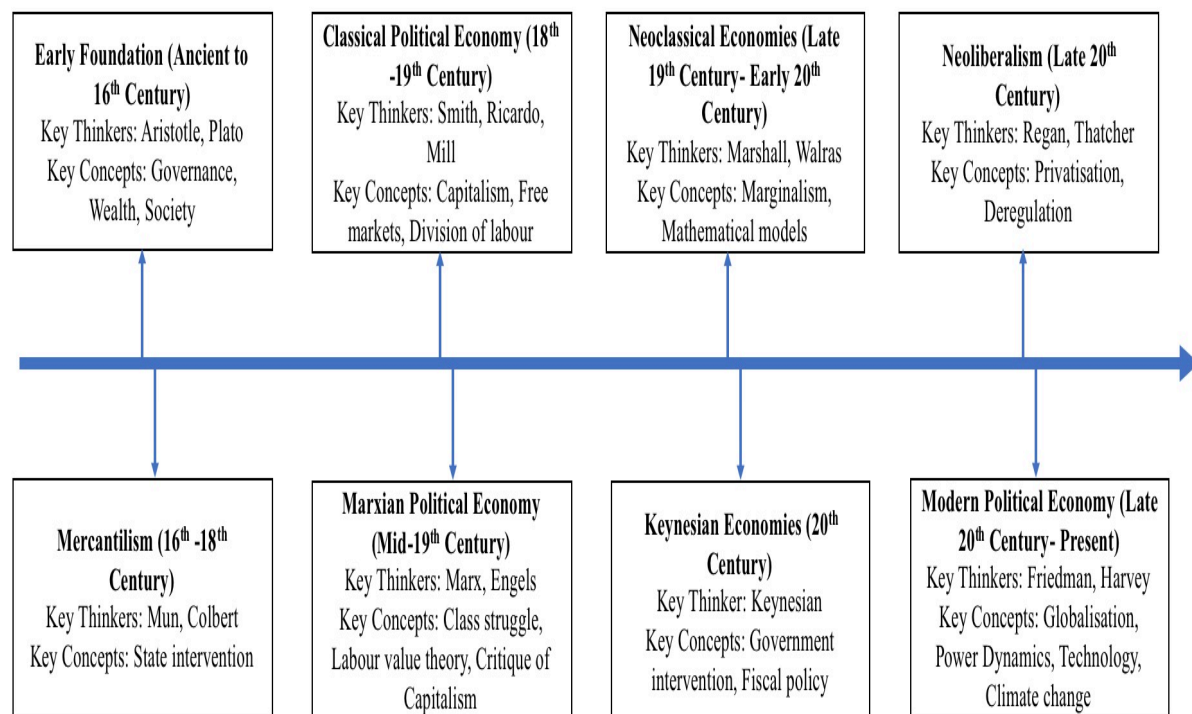
This chapter aims to lay a theoretical groundwork for political economy and its link to tourism governance. It starts by examining the notion of political economy, followed by a definition and exploration of its history and various approaches, ranging from classical political economy to post-colonial political economy. A thorough comparative analysis of key political economy elements, such as capitalism, globalisation, and power, reveals their significant impact on tourism governance. Importantly, a dedicated section investigates the interplay between political economy and tourism studies. The chapter further addresses the concept of tourism governance, its associated challenges, and how it relates to the elements of political economy. In conclusion, the chapter develops a conceptual framework for the study that integrates Actor-Network Theory (ANT) and political economy, illustrating how these theories can work together to examine new dimensions of existing issues or situations.

### **3.2 A Historical Economic Perspectives**

Antoine de Montchrestien introduced the idea of political economy in 1615, aiming to explain and describe the social relations between proletarians and capitalists (Groenwegen, 2008). The concept was further enriched by French physiocrats (Steiner, 2003) followed by classical thinkers, such as Smith, Ricardo, and Mill, who studied capitalist relations within industrial societies by focusing on highlighting the influence of capitalism, the production and accumulation of wealth (i.e., economy), and its subsequent distribution (the political dimension) (Bianchi, 2018). Later, the concern of political economy shifted from production to the distribution of resources across social classes, as noted by Marx and Engels (Gunjan, 2020). Notably, the basis of Marxist political economy was the analysis of capitalism or, more specifically, the power of capitalism and its criticisms. Marx contributed significantly to the field of political economy through the introduction of historical materialism and the labour theory of value concepts (Harvey, 2005). However, the limitations of Marxist political economy opened the door for the emergence of neo-Marxists such as Althusser, Gramsci, and others (Au, 2014) who believed that mainstream approaches of political economy cannot examine the state-market relation together. Hence, some of the common issues in political economy discussed by neo-Marxists include materialism, class conflict, commodification and alienation of labour, and the state-market relationship (Dölek, 2014).

Subsequently, neoclassical economic theory advanced due to the contributions of marginalists, who examined how individuals and companies meet their objectives in efficiently operating markets (Larrain, 1989). Conversely, Keynesian Welfarism emerged as a pivotal political economy doctrine with tangible implications. It clarified that governments' monetary and fiscal programmes help safeguard against market failures by boosting business activity and enhancing employment. However, in the late 1930s, discussions began to surface regarding neoliberalism as an alternative to Keynesianism, with the emergence of neoliberalism aligning with the financial crisis of the 1970s (Mosedale, 2016). The central tenet of the neoliberal ideology asserted that to foster economic growth, markets ought to operate without regulation and reduce the role of the state (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). Key attributes of neoliberalism encompass asset privatisation, the commercialisation of the public sector, the creation of new markets, regulation and deregulation, strategies to mitigate the adverse effects of neoliberalism, and a focus on empowered individuals (Castree, 2010). Understanding political economy today is chiefly informed by modern political economy frameworks, emphasising international political economy, which explores globalisation's effect on state sovereignty as well as addressing various contemporary challenges, including inequality, technological influence, power dynamics, and socio-economic marginalisation.

**Figure 3.1: Timeline of political economy development**



Source: Author

### **3.3 Political Economy Approaches**

#### **A. Classical Political Economy**

From the history of classical political economy, it has been evident that Adam Smith was the pioneer of the classical political economy, and Ricardo followed in the footsteps of Smith (Milonakis and Fine, 2008). The main concern of classical political economy lies in the nations' wealth and distribution of products and services to the people through private ownership, which reflects that it gives more attention to production and distribution without giving attention to consumption (Mosedale, 2011). It also focuses on the state's role in regulating economic and political systems (Bramwell, 2011). In this regard, several contributors to the classical political economy described the state as having four roles: to ensure the support of the rule, to protect society from individuals opposed to the market, to maintain public infrastructure, and to ensure justice. Some of the major theories related to classical political economy are the division of labour, the labour theory of value, the role of the state, and the free market theory. Contributors to classical political economy demonstrated a great concern for the nature and causes of nations' wealth and its distribution to different social classes.

#### **B. Marxist Political Economy**

While heavily influenced by classical political economy, Marx made significant departures from it. He established an alternative system known as Marxist political economy (Milonakis and Fine, 2008). At its core, Marxist political economy analyses capitalism through the perspectives of power dynamics and class struggle. Notably, Marx expanded upon the labour theory of value and critiqued capitalism itself (Milonakis and Fine, 2008). This political economic framework emphasises the importance of power relations, connecting power dynamics to the capitalist mode of production. Marx articulated a contentious relationship between capital and labour that stems from varying power structures (Bianchi, 2002). Additionally, Marx's historical methodology elucidated how humans developed their ability to exploit their environment for survival, leading to the emergence of distinct social classes (Callinicos, 1989). The capitalist class exploits the labour class through the production process, generating surplus. Marx pointed out the antagonistic relationship between capital and labour, resulting in a division into the 'bourgeoisie' (capitalist class) and 'proletariat' (working class), with the capitalist class exerting complete control over production (Bianchi, 2011). Thus, Marx and his followers sought to explain the link between production and class relations as a source of inequality. Nevertheless, the Marxist political economy faces two primary critiques: an



excessive focus on superstructure and materiality, and a disregard for cultural factors (Mosedale, 2011).

### **C. Neoclassical Economics**

The main focus of this approach is individual decision-making (Caporaso and Levine, 2012). Specifically, this political economy approach is about studying individual economic behaviour (Bianchi, 2015) and indicates that individualism is the key aspect of the neoclassical political economy. In this regard, individualism refers to the belief that individuals should be free to make their own economic decisions and that external factors should not unduly influence these decisions. As per this concept, a person in society determines how much they will buy from the market based on their marginal utility (Mavroudeas, 2006). Moreover, the state has a limited role to play in economic development, as economic outcomes are largely determined by individual choices (Srinivasan, 1985). However, the significance of the neoclassical political economy is reduced because this approach gives lesser priority to the fundamental concepts of political economy, such as the importance of production, value theory, and social classes, in favour of prioritising the theory of prices and an economics-of-exchange perspective.

### **D. Keynesianism Economics**

Keynesian economics deals with various macroeconomic theories, primarily focusing on the analysis of aggregate demand's impact on economic output. It also explains that fiscal and monetary policies are not just tools, but the key to unlocking full employment (Bortis, 2023). In addition, governments' monetary and fiscal programmes help to protect against market failures by stimulating business activity and increasing employment (Shone and Memon, 2008). Therefore, the government's intervention in regulating economic activities is expected to manage the country's economic system better. Specifically, during times of economic downturn or recession, government intervention can improve a country's economic situation (Arthur, 2003). In this political economy approach, the government works as a coordinator when a decentralised market cannot control individual behaviour (Clower, 1967). Moreover, the prime concern of this approach is to ensure economic stabilisation, and the emphasis is on short-term policies rather than long-term government action. Overall, this approach describes the role of government in an economic crisis.

### **E. Feminist Political Economy**

The feminist political economy approach is a powerful tool in challenging and dismantling patriarchal structures that perpetuate gender inequality. It is a theoretical framework that examines the intersection of gender, race, and class in economic systems. This approach to political economy suggests that sometimes people face discrimination and disadvantage based on gender, such as women getting lower wages and salaries compared to men (Armstrong and Armstrong, 2010). It is also seen that people sometimes believe that women should participate in unskilled jobs and that these should be low-paid jobs. It also describes the economic realities based on gender, specifically for women (Peterson, 2016). This political economy approach also highlights the contradictions and complexities of daily life and the way oppositional gender groups ignore it (Marchand and Runyan, 2020).

### **F. Critical Political Economy**

Critical political economy covers various strands such as the development of translational power relations (Ougaard, 2016), continuous formulation and change of foreign policy and shift of capitalism from one type to another (McDonough, Reich and Kotz, 2010). This diverse field is underpinned by a range of theoretical frameworks, including regulation theory (Bieling, Jäger and Ryner, 2016), the social structures of accumulation approach (McDonough, Reich and Kotz, 2010) and transnational historical materialism (Overbeek, 2013). Briefly, several focal points of critical political economy are the power and power relations, class struggles and conflicts, and historical analysis of power and the relationship between countries.

### **G. International Political Economy**

International political economy (IPE) emerged to analyse the new dimensions of the world economy and its relation to the political aspects. IPE aimed to describe the relationship among actors at the national and international levels. It describes the impact of the global economy on politics and the impact of global politics on economies. In this regard, the main focus of this approach is to explain the role of different actors such as nation states, international organisations, multinational corporations, transnational companies and global companies to shape the international economic system, where different organisations have different levels of power (Oatley, 2019). Hence, international trade and finance are one of the core focal points of discussion under the concept of IPE (Layna and Andrew, 2009). Some other key areas of discussion are globalisation, a process that involves the increasing interconnectedness and interdependence of economies and societies on a global scale, power, capitalism and

governance (Oatley, 2019). For instance, international political economists describe regulatory structures and the trade relationships between nation-states respectively (Gibson-Graham, 2006). In addition, market liberalisation, financial deregulation, and technological change lead towards greater globalisation and reconfigure the power relations within the IPE (Bianchi, 2002). Besides this, the main actors of the discussion are international organisations, multinational corporations and sovereign states. IPE also tends to describe international relationships in the aspect of economic welfare, where the main aim is to ensure the reduction of economic tension. Moreover, the IPE approach extended political economy study from the role of the state in a country's economic development to the role of the state in the world economy (Wallen, 1996). Notably, three theoretical approaches of IPE are liberalism which describes the significance of free market for better economic development (Marlin-Bennett and Johnson, 2017), mercantilism which explain that relationship between states helps to ensure economic stability and structuralism which elucidates the importance of social classes and socio-economic hierarchy in the build-up of national and international economic trends (Oatley, 2019).

## **H. Post-Colonial Political Economy**

The examination of the cultural, political, and economic effects of foreign group exploitation (colonialism) and the ongoing dominance over others (imperialism) is referred to as post-colonial political economy (Veracini, 2015). Originally prevalent in cultural studies, this framework has since expanded into various disciplines, including geography, political science, and sociology. Post-colonialism also highlights issues of gender inequality, racism, colonial culture, and agency (Grosfoguel, 2011). A key focus of the political economy perspective is to critically analyse and understand how colonial discourse has influenced the contemporary behaviours and thoughts of individuals in regions that experienced colonial rule (Rao, 2000). This approach also addresses the enduring effects of colonialism and critiques the Global North's dominance over the Global South. However, some scholars argue that this perspective overly emphasises cultural studies while overlooking economic research (Brennan, 2002).

Based on the discussions above, Table 3.1 provides a summary of political economy approaches. It should be stressed that these approaches are not mutually exclusive, and, to some extent, one approach overlaps with another.

**Table 3.1: Comparative summary of political economy approaches**

	Core Assumptions	Theoretical Foundation	Key Concepts	Components of Political Economy		
				Views on Capitalism	Views on Globalisation	Views on Power Dynamics
<b>Classical Political Economy</b>	Free markets, minimal government intervention.	Labour theory of value.	Wealth, invisible hand, comparative advantage, economic liberalism.	Capitalism helps to create wealth and allocate resources efficiently.	It helps to expand the market, economic growth and welfare.	Power is distributed through market mechanisms where the market is self-regulated.
<b>Marxist Political Economy</b>	Class conflict, exploitation, process of economic evolution.	Labour theory of value, historical materialism, critique of capitalism.	Surplus value, class struggle, capitalist accumulation.	Criticisms are that capitalism creates inequalities and it is exploitative.	Global inequality and labour exploitation are the negative sides of globalisation.	Power depends on class relations, and capital owners have more power than labourers.
<b>Neoclassical Economics</b>	Rational choice theory, maximisation of individual utility, marginal utility of goods.	Marginal utility theory, mathematical models.	Marginalism, maximum utility, opportunity cost.	This has a favourable view regarding capitalism because it helps to ensure efficient outcomes.	Globalisation brings several advantages, such as economic integration and resource allocation.	Limited focus on power as power is segregated in the competitive market and ignores power imbalance.
<b>Keynesianism Economics</b>	Market failure tends, significance of government intervention.	Macroeconomic theories and models such as aggregate demand.	Fiscal policy, monetary policy, government intervention.	Capitalism has both positive and negative sides, and government intervention is needed.	Demand for regulated globalisation with state intervention, at least in the crisis period.	Considers that government intervention helps to ensure a power balance.
<b>Feminist Political Economy</b>	Economic analysis based on gender, traditional economies ignore the contribution of marginalised women.	Feminist critique of mainstream economics.	Gender inequality, social reproduction, unpaid labour.	Negative view regarding capitalism because it creates gender inequality and undervalues women's contributions.	Globalisation creates scope for gender inequality by focusing on the utilisation of cheap women's labour around the world.	Power is distributed unequally between genders and lies in both economic and social structures.
<b>Critical Political Economy</b>	Power dynamics, structural inequalities.	Regulation theory, the social structures of accumulation	Power relation, class struggle, hegemony.	Capitalism creates power imbalances,	Criticise globalisation because of its	Criticise the power dynamics because it believes that power

		approach, transnational historical materialism.		structural inequality and social injustice.	corporate interests, threat to state sovereignty and promoting inequalities.	stays in the hands of the elite and multinational organisations.
<b>International Political Economy</b>	Global level interaction of politics and economics.	Liberalism, globalisation theory, dependency theory.	Globalisation, international trade, global institutions, global governance.	Promote development globally as well as create global inequality and dependency.	Globalisation helps to ensure a power balance between states, although it creates dependency.	This approach believes that power structure shapes international economic relations.
<b>Post-Colonial Political Economy</b>	Legacy of colonialism, critique of western dominance, impact of neo-colonialism on the global South.	Post-colonial theory, dependency theory, cultural political economy.	Colonialism, neo- colonialism, dependency.	Negative views regarding capitalism because it helps to expand colonial power.	Through economic and cultural dominance, globalisation assists in continuing colonial power.	Post-colonial researchers argue that power lies in the hands of Western countries as the symbol of the historical legacies of colonialism.

Source: Author

The above description highlights various aspects of its development. Notably, these approaches have evolved and developed based on different interrelated concepts and components such as capitalism, globalisation, and power. These components are considered the pillars of political economy approaches. Understanding their interconnections and relationships is crucial. Hence, the following section will provide a brief explanation of these components to strengthen the theoretical foundation of political economy.

### **3.4 Key Components of Political Economy**

#### **A. Capitalism**

The term ‘capitalism’ was first utilised in the 1850s by Blanc, although the concept of capitalist practice was present in the book ‘The Wealth of Nations’ by Smith in 1776. In this regard, capitalism is “a social system based on individual rights where goods and services are produced and exchanged with minimal government interference” (Fletcher et al., 2018, p. 615). Capitalism also emphasises power relations between owners and labourers (Bianchi, 2011). However, the foundation of capitalist development and society is private property, a concept of immense significance within the system. It is through private property that the capitalist class alienates labour from the products. The capitalist class controls decisions regarding the division of labour, the items of production, the methods of production, and the amounts of production (Bianchi, 2011).

The concept of capitalism is primarily linked to classical political economy, where classical thinkers explored production, distribution, and consumption in capitalist systems and their impact on society. In a capitalist society, the monopolisation of ownership allows the capitalist class to control the division of labour in production. They make key decisions regarding what to produce, how to produce it, and how much to produce. From a Marxist perspective, capitalists own private enterprises and establish social relationships through wage-based labour. In this system, prices are determined by supply and demand, and capital owners receive the surplus generated (Mosedale, 2011). Furthermore, capitalism is characterised by a significant class struggle between two main social groups: labour and capitalists. Labourers work for capitalists, who often seek to exploit them. This exploitation leads to considerable economic inequality, manifested in a significant wealth gap between the working class and the capitalist class, as well as limited access to basic resources for workers (Giampiccoli and Saayman, 2016). Interestingly, in his early writings, Marx actually expressed some positive views about capitalism. He argued that the expansion of free trade and capitalist production

methods could allow underdeveloped societies to fully benefit from increased production (Marx, 1977).

## **B. Globalisation**

Globalisation is a “process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organisation of social relations and transactions - assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity, and impact - generating transcontinental or inter-regional flows and networks of activity” (David et al., 1999, p. 16). In addition, globalisation can also be defined as a process that assists in interaction and integration with different people, organisations and governments of different states around the world (Dayananda, 2019). Moreover, globalisation is a mechanism for fostering economic, social and political interdependencies on a global scale (Song, Li and Cao, 2018). Notably, globalisation helps to decentralise the decision-making process. It has three approaches to theorising: the hyperglobalist approach, the sceptical approach, and the transformational approach (Held et al., 1999). The hyperglobalist approach posits that global capitalism has a significant influence on the economic system, whereas the sceptical approach argues that the concept of globalisation is not unique and does not bring about any meaningful change in the world. Conversely, the transformational perspective holds that it has both positive and negative aspects and adopts a more balanced stance toward globalisation. For instance, some of the positive sides of globalisation are wider dissemination of knowledge and information, broader movement of products and services, openness to trade and foreign investment, and creating environmental awareness (Bhagwati, 2005; Dwyer, 2015; O’Neill, 2002). However, some of the negative sides of globalisation are income inequality (Chiu and Lee, 2019), the dependence of one country on another country (Mowforth and Munt, 2015) and acute coemption at the national and global levels (O’Neill, 2002). Furthermore, some of the common phenomena of globalisation are international trade, international, transnational and multinational organisations, global transportation networks, and intergovernmental support and cooperation. All of these indicators of globalisation help to spread ideas, products, technologies, information, jobs, and cultures across national borders (Al-Rodhan and Stoudmann, 2006).

## **C. Power**

There is a direct relationship between power and political economy, with power as the central focus of the political economy (Coles and Church, 2007). The ability to impose one’s preferences on others is known as power (Monvoisin and Rochon, 2006). Acceptance of a

firm's authority is also considered power (Ozanne, 2016). Moreover, power can be defined as the relationship between individuals and organisations that influence policy direction (Hall, 1994). Bowen, Zubair and Altinay (2016) argued that there is no universal definition of power, but it encompasses some well-known themes. The nature of power can be formal or informal, working in multiple directions and at various levels. Power has several key characteristics: it is more fluid; power and knowledge are inextricably linked; power is omnipresent; and it results from social interaction (Haugaard, 2002). In a network of relations, power depends on one's position within the network; it is a gaze, and its interpretations vary (Cheong and Miller, 2000). Power is the product of social interaction (Haugaard, 2002), and this interaction can occur among network actors or between networks. These features closely align with Foucault's concept of power. Furthermore, understanding power is challenging without considering Foucault's analysis of power (Mathewman, 2013). Additionally, Foucault emphasises that power is a relational practice (Huxford, 2010) and should be viewed as an effect rather than a cause, and as a strategy rather than a possession.

The components of political economy discussed above are not mutually exclusive, but rather interconnected. For instance, capitalism not only describes the economic system but also describes power dynamics such as power inequalities and power imbalances. Conversely, globalisation focuses on the impact of global capitalism, such as the influence of one country over other countries in terms of capital accumulation and economic disparities among the countries of the world. Besides this, globalisation also explores the position of power relations in the global context. Furthermore, power describes how capitalism and globalisation create a particular situation where power is held and exercised by a few actors. It also explains the role of power in capitalism and the global system. Hence, Table 3.2 summarises the interconnectedness of crucial components of political economy.



**Table 3.2: Integrated summary of components of political economy**

	<b>Capitalism</b>	<b>Globalisation</b>	<b>Power</b>
<b>Capitalism</b>		Free markets, private ownership, and profit maximisation are key concepts of capitalism, which play a driving force in expanding globalisation.	Capitalism causes exploitation and class struggle, which has a direct impact on the power structure.
<b>Globalisation</b>	Globalisation accelerates capitalism by focusing on market integration, free trade, and the spread of capitalist ideologies.		Globalisation reshapes the global power structure. For instance, power is now exercised by one country over other countries, foreign organisations influence other countries' governments and organisations, and local and national governance shifts to global governance.
<b>Power</b>	The power structure significantly impacts the distribution of economic resources, determination of beneficiaries and market functionality.	The decisions of powerful actors such as nations and international organisations determine the course of economic actions and regulate global trade and finance, carrying immense weight and influence.	

Source: Author

### **3.5 Tourism Studies and Political Economy Perspectives**

#### **3.5.1 Marxist Political Economy of Tourism Studies**

Tourism studies' political economy is mainly recognised as Marxist (Mosedale, 2011). The Marxist political economy focuses on the power relations generated by the capitalist mode of production, leading to a hostile relationship between capital and labour (Bianchi, 2015). Hence, Marxist thinking has a promising future for the political economy of tourism (Bianchi, 2018). For instance, the world witnessed the emergence of several theories in Marxist political economy of tourism, such as underdevelopment and dependency theories, to better explain the relationship between countries from a tourism perspective. In this regard, the underdevelopment and dependency theories make significant contributions by highlighting uneven development and core-periphery inequalities (Bianchi, 2011). The result of the dependency of less developed countries on metropolitan centres is the underdevelopment in the Global South (Sharpley, 2009). Dependency theorists analyse the power relationship

between developed and developing countries with respect to tourism development. Dependency theorists also claimed that the entrance of political capital leads to the destruction of the local economies of the Global South. Conversely, metropolitan states sustain themselves by collecting economic surpluses from the Third World, leading to a dependency relationship that ultimately results in underdevelopment (Bianchi, 2011). The Marxist political economy of tourism broadly critiques capitalism, addressing issues such as class struggle, alienation, and the commodification of labour. It also examines the commodification of local culture and traditions, the exploitation of tourism sites, the dependency of one country on another, the role of the state, and the significance of alternative forms of tourism development (Bianchi, 2018; Harvey, 2005). However, several gaps remain, necessitating further investigation. Some examples of these gaps include the impacts of tourism development on the commodification of local culture and traditions, the role of informal labour and their strategies for negotiating power within a capitalist structure, the displacement of local populations due to tourism growth, the effects of global capital flows on local economies, and recovery strategies to mitigate inequalities (Bianchi and Man, 2021; Fletcher, 2011). Therefore, this study aims to address some of these research gaps by focusing on issues related to the commodification of local culture and tradition (Sonjai et al., 2021).

Since the 1980s, tourism scholars have started to discuss the role of tourism in capitalist production and consumption systems from the perspectives of political economy (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004). In this regard, Bryden and de Kadt are considered the earliest researchers to introduce political economy into tourism development studies (Bianchi, 2018). Their main focus was to analyse the advantages and disadvantages of tourism from the perspective of development and dependency theory. However, the political economy of tourism is best related to Britton (Bianchi, 2002). Britton first recognised the significance of political economy in tourism, aiming to expose the capitalist structure that shaped tourism development and perpetuated inequalities through uneven development (Mosedale, 2011). To better understand the work of Britton and to get an in-depth historical scenario of tourism development, we need to go back to understand the various forms of colonial or imperialist domination by European mercantilism and then capitalism. In the capitalist system, core countries imposed various forms of sovereignty on peripheral countries to meet the economic and political requirements of the colonial powers (Britton, 1982). Mirroring the above, the enclave model of tourism development in the Global South saw monopolistic control by multinational tourism organisations and a disproportionate share of income from tourism (Britton, 1982). Through

the enclave model of Global South tourism, Britton tried to explain the social and economic inequalities between the core and periphery (Bianchi, 2002). In this regard, colonial domination creates the structural relations of inequality in the international tourist industry (Britton, 1982). Initially, European colonialism and post-colonial development significantly influenced the global development of tourism (Oppermann, 1993). The world saw the neo-colonial forms of tourism development in the form of enclave resorts, especially in the Caribbean and Pacific (Mbaiwa, 2005). Local people here got a chance to work only as wage earners, which created unequal economic and cultural relations (Bianchi, 2002). The tourism and hospitality industry typically exploits the workers by offering low wages and demanding extended working days (Adler and Adler, 2004). Although numerous studies have been conducted on the relationship between capitalism and tourism, several areas require further research, such as examining the impact of tourism development on local culture, traditions, heritage, and heritage products (Scheyvens, 2002). It is also essential to explore the process of wealth distribution in post-pandemic tourism economies (Bianchi, 2020). Researchers should also consider the consequences of the Global South's dependency on foreign direct investment for tourism development (Lew, 2006) and the effects of technological advancements, such as AI technology

### **3.5.2 International Political Economy of Tourism Studies**

International political economy and tourism examine how global political and economic factors shape local tourism. This field of study often focuses on the power dynamics between global and local actors, the role of international financial institutions in developing tourism infrastructure, and the impact of global capitalism on the commodification of local culture (Hall, 2011a; Mosedale, 2016). While numerous studies have explored the relationship between tourism and international political economy, several areas remain underexplored. For instance, most research has been conducted from a Western perspective, with limited engagement with the Global South (Phillips, 2017). Additionally, there has been an overemphasis on the influence of states and market forces on governance, often neglecting non-state and international actors (Mosedale, 2011).

Several studies have been conducted on the perspective of international political economy through the lens of globalisation. For instance, to better understand the connection between globalisation and tourism, researchers have employed various approaches, including theoretical analyses, descriptive analyses, and surveys (Dwyer, 2015). The findings suggest that the relationships between various actors at different levels shape the globalisation of

tourism (Mosedale, 2011). Additionally, there are four stages of the globalisation of tourism: the publicity of tourism destinations globally, the scope of cross-border tourism investment, the distribution of tourism products and services across borders through outsourcing, and the creation of a new global value chain (Nowak, Petit and Sahil, 2010). This indicates that diversification of tourism products and innovation are feasible for tourism organisations, assisting in mitigating the risks of the tourism business by establishing and developing contractual relationships with global suppliers (Bianchi, 2002).

Several other studies from the international political economy and globalisation perspective show that globalisation is a catalyst for opening the door to transnational tourism organisations (Bianchi, 2015), which dominate and apply structural power at a global level (Bianchi, 2002). These international tourism organisations can be viewed as a three-tiered hierarchy. For instance, the top structures are metropolitan market countries where the headquarters of these tourism companies are situated. At the middle level, the branches of tourism organisations in metropolitan countries work with their local tourism counterparts. At the bottom level, small-scale companies lie and are dependent on international companies (Britton, 1982). More specifically, transnational corporations (TNCs) have several roles in tourism, such as the development of tourism, a significant creation of employment, maximisation of the use of technology, creation of scope for foreign investment and cross-border mobilisation of tourists (Dwyer, 2024). In addition, TNCs help with infrastructure development and economic growth in the destination countries. However, it is also seen that TNCs dominate destination countries' local markets and benefit the home countries instead of the destination countries (Britton, 1982). Furthermore, TNCs control the market significantly through vertical and horizontal integration of different companies in different countries which reside in the global value chain (Mowforth and Munt, 2015). Besides this, TNCs help to ensure the global standard of tourism products and services. Several researchers have also applied a political economy perspective to determine the influence of globalisation, mainly in developing countries (Zhao and Li, 2006). For instance, many communities are enhancing marketing and promotional activities, spreading technical awareness, establishing and expanding transportation and infrastructure, diversifying tourism products and increasing employment opportunities (Dwyer, 2015); making travel and mobility easier, tightening the safety and security, creating awareness about new destinations and helping to eradicate poverty (Dayananda, 2019); developing new tourist destinations, increasing foreign direct investment and earnings from tourism (Zhao and Li, 2006); breaking down the cross-border barriers for capital mobilisation (Daher, 2007);

developing luxury resorts and other tourism superstructure in foreign countries by corporate investors (Levy and Scott-Clark, 2008). However, globalisation is also responsible for bringing several negative consequences (Dayananda, 2019) such as income inequality (Chiu and Lee, 2019); depending tendency of developing countries on developed countries (Mowforth and Munt, 2015); exploitation of resources by other countries (O'Neill, 2002); tourism production, distribution, and exchange are becoming more complicated (Bianchi, 2015); small-scale local firms are losing control to participate in wider tourism-related business activities (Britton, 1982); increasing number of tourists and making negative consequences on others' life, privatisation of public lands, displacement of people, commodification of local culture and exploitation of labour (Bianchi, 2009). In summary, globalisation significantly influences tourism across economic, social, cultural, and environmental contexts. Consequently, researchers recommend further investigation into the relationship between tourism and globalisation. This research aims to enhance existing literature by investigating the role of foreign actors in shaping local tourism.

### **3.5.3 Critical Political Economy of Tourism Studies**

The critical political economy of tourism primarily examines power relations, class struggles, and social inequalities. This approach typically analyses macro-level structures from a Western perspective (Jessop, 2010). However, there are several gaps that future research needs to address. For example, more attention should be given to micro-level structures from the Global South, power imbalances within local communities, relationships among local actors, and the role of the state in governance (Bianchi, 2018; Mosedale, 2011; Scheyvens, 2011). Therefore, this study partially aligns with the critical political economy approach, as one of its primary objectives is to explore local power dynamics, a core concept in critical political economy.

Broadly, neoliberal globalisation has transformed the process of capital accumulation and created a need for a more profound and rigorous examination of power relations within tourism (Bianchi, 2011). Unfortunately, in the past, power issues were not recognised as a central aspect of understanding in tourism, despite power being one of the core concepts in the social sciences (Hall, 2006). However, the situation is changing, and power issues are increasingly acknowledged in tourism studies. For instance, the significance of studying power gained traction in the mid-1990s, partly initiated by Urry's work. The publication of *The Tourist Gaze* (Urry, 1990) is regarded as one of the most significant turning points in tourism studies, drawing on Foucauldian thought concerning the relationship between power and knowledge. Subsequently, many researchers shifted their focus to examining power in relation to tourism.

For example, studies are being conducted regarding tourism planning, development, and promotion, analysing the social and cultural relations of power in tourism, explaining the relationship between power structures and inequalities, and scrutinising tourism planning and policies (Mura and Wijesinghe, 2021), as well as investigating the economic and political relations of power (Bianchi, 2009). There are three distinct areas of research concerning tourism and power: public policy and planning analyses (Stevenson, Airey and Miller, 2008), political economy and development studies (Nunkoo and Smith, 2015), and the relationship between political stability and tourism (Saha and Yap, 2014). However, original tourism studies often concentrate on cultural, aesthetic, and economic dimensions without considering the power dynamics, although power is an integral part of all human interactions (Gunjan, 2020).

Bowen, Zubair and Altinay (2016) argued that evaluating stakeholders' power and power relations in politics and tourism studies is vital. As power allocation between different stakeholder groups has consequences for them, those with less power and influence usually receive fewer benefits from tourism (Beritelli, Bieger and Laesser, 2014). Therefore, the distribution of power influences the allocation of resources, decision-making processes, and the development of policies (Sofield, 2003). For instance, power relations and public policy are interconnected. In contrast, individuals, organisations, and agencies attempt to influence the direction of policies and behaviours in decision-making according to their interests, based on power (Bowen, Zubair and Altinay, 2016).

This power inequality leads to material inequality. For instance, various tourist destinations are experiencing manipulative working environments and substandard living conditions (Nopiyani and Wirawan, 2021). Tourism scholars have failed to describe the impacts of power on shaping the ideologies and values in the tourism industry (Coles and Church, 2007; Mura and Wijesinghe, 2021). Further research should focus on investigating the hierarchical relations of power, which create a dilemma between different networks of local, regional, national, and transnational tourism actors (Bianchi, 2002), as well as on political-economic volatility (Gibson, 2021). Future research should also focus on explaining the impacts of power relations on CBT rather than just identifying the dimensions of power (Reed, 1997). Research can enrich tourism studies if it is conducted from the lens of a critical political economy point of view by giving primary attention and priority to local-level power structures and inequalities. Overall, tourism researchers must engage with the major themes and theoretical debates related to capitalism, processes of globalisation, and structural power (Bianchi, 2011) because tourism's

political economy has yet to establish itself as a discrete field of inquiry (Bramwell, 2011; Yrigoy, 2021).

### **3.5.4 Community-based Tourism and Political Economy Perspectives**

This study specifically examines community-based tourism (CBT) in relation to political economy, as the intersection of these two discourses is a critical area of study. Key features of their relationship include governance, capitalism, globalisation, and power structures, all of which significantly influence tourism development at the community level.

Several studies have been conducted on CBT in relation to political economy. For instance, research on tourism policies has shown that such policies often create favourable conditions for local elites while discouraging marginalised communities from participating in tourism activities (Hall, 1994). Additionally, another study found that while CBT aims to empower local communities, the governance structures associated with CBT can act as barriers to this empowerment (Scheyvens, 2002). This challenge is exacerbated by the presence and influence of external actors, including governments, agencies, and NGOs (Goodwin and Santilli, 2009). Research has also explored the influence of neoliberalism on CBT. Although CBT was introduced to benefit local communities, it has become increasingly focused on generating profits (Duffy, 2008). In many cases, local elites exploit marginalised communities by involving them in tourism activities for lower wages (Bianchi, 2009). Moreover, in developing countries, most CBT sites primarily target foreign tourists and depend heavily on global supply chains to attract and receive visitors. This reliance leads to a loss of local control as these sites become integrated into global tourism networks (Zapata et al., 2011).

Studies have investigated the influence of political dimensions on various aspects of CBT development, such as community participation in CBT activities, community empowerment, addressing power imbalances, the significance of community-level planning, and local management (Giampiccoli and Mtapuri, 2015). Furthermore, research has also been carried out on the economic factors related to CBT, including income generation, socio-economic impacts, equitable benefit distribution, investment in CBT infrastructure, and market demand (Habiba, 2024). Overall, the existing literature indicates that while many studies on CBT have focused on political and economic dimensions, few have employed a political economy lens. In addition, few studies have focused on CBT governance, and even fewer have concentrated on governance and political economy components. Hence, this study aims to address this research gap by focusing on the influence of political economy components, such as capitalism,

globalisation, and power structure, on CBT governance from the perspective of a developing country.

**Table 3.3: Summary of uses of political economy perspective in tourism studies**

Author (s)	Year	Focus of the Research
Britton	1982	The study, conducted to elucidate the profound influence of global tourism on developing countries, sheds light on crucial inequalities and dependencies, employing the concept of core-periphery.
Jenkins	1982	This research underscored that the development of tourism on a larger scale often has far-reaching implications for the marginalised people of the local community.
Urry	1990	The discourse used the term tourist gaze to describe the impact of power dynamics in tourism through the lens of the Foucauldian concept of power.
Britton	1991	The study enriched Britton's previous research, which focused on analysing the impact of global capitalism on local cultures and economies.
Aitchison	2001	This research discussed the relationship between power and gender studies in tourism by adopting post-structural and postcolonial feminist voices, specifically the complexity of tourism and gender relations.
Bianchi	2002	This discourse introduced novel dimensions to tourism studies through the lens of political economy. The study innovatively used the concepts of capitalism, globalisation, and power structure to construct a new political economy framework.
Harrison	2003	This research explored the impact of tourism on developing countries through the lens of tourism policy and tourism governance.
Hall	2004	This study highlighted that the government's role in formulating tourism policies and guidelines is crucial for managing tourism properly.
Williams	2004	This study focused on tourism commodification, market relationships, and the link between tourism and regulation theory.
Mowforth and Munt	2015	This book examined the relationship between globalisation, tourism development and sustainability.
Bianchi	2009	This research highlighted the significance of critical tourism studies for challenging traditional tourism models by focusing on power, politics and inequality.
Bramwell	2011	The study's findings suggested that research on tourism governance and sustainability will greatly benefit from using social theories such as political economy.
Mosedale	2011	This edited book focused on the different theoretical perspectives of political economy related to tourism studies.
Bianchi	2015	This study prioritised examining the impact of tourism policies on local communities.
Hall and Page	2014	This research described the interrelationship between tourism development and economic and political forces.
Duffy	2014	This discourse tried to determine the nature of the contradiction between achieving sustainability goals and economic goals under neoliberal ideologies.
Niewiadomski	2016	Through the global production networks (GPN) theoretical perspective, this study aimed to explain the impact of globalisation and emerging capitalist forces on the hotel industry.
Bianchi	2018	This study used several aspects of political economy, such as approaches, themes, and concepts, to study the relationship between political economy and tourism.
Chiu, Zhang and Ding	2021	The study's findings revealed that globalisation significantly impacts international tourism.



Niewiadomski	2022	This discourse focused on the impact of deregulation and liberalisation on tourism, specifically on air transport in the context of a small tourist market.
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Source: Author (Snapshot of previous studies)

### 3.6 Concept of Tourism Governance

The term governance has gained popularity over the last three decades. Since the early 1990s, the concept of governance has begun to dominate the discourse on local, national, and international development (Williams et al., 2018). In this context, governance can be defined as the exercise of political, economic, and administrative authority necessary to manage the state's affairs. Furthermore, governance constitutes a process of coordination, collaboration, and cooperation among stakeholders to ensure social and environmental development (Pulido-Fernandez and Pulido-Fernandez, 2018). Additionally, governance refers to the methods by which societies are governed, ruled, or steered (Bulkeley, 2005). Specifically, governance embodies the summation of norms, processes, and behaviours in exercising power from the positions of openness, participation, accountability, effectiveness, and coherence (CEC, 2001). It can be stated that governance encompasses not only the act of governing or activities related to the formal institution of governance (Castelnovo, Misuraca and Savoldelli, 2016) but also involves establishing relationships and networks among stakeholders (Hall, 2011a). However, governance is not clearly defined, even though it serves as a popular buzzword in policy and research articles (Farmaki, 2015). The concept of governance is not new; however, since the 1990s, it has been extensively applied in tourism studies and other fields. In this respect, tourism governance can be understood as a network of interactions with interdependent stakeholders who must cooperate to manage resources and tourism destinations while ensuring the social and environmental development of tourism (Siakwah, Musavengane and Leonard, 2020). The role of these stakeholders, including states, the private sector, and civil society, is crucial to the collaborative nature of governance within the tourism sector. Consequently, tourism scholars investigate several themes related to tourism governance, including the distinction between public and private governance, the significance of knowledge and empowerment in CBT (Moscardo, 2011a), and the importance of network governance (Baggio, Scott and Cooper, 2010). Well-structured tourism governance positively influences the destination (Nordin and Svensson, 2007), while poorly planned tourism governance structures result in crises within a destination (Graci, 2013). However, tourism governance faces several challenges due to the government's role, the private sector's role, the distribution of benefits, and the social and environmental costs of the sector. Although effective governance is central

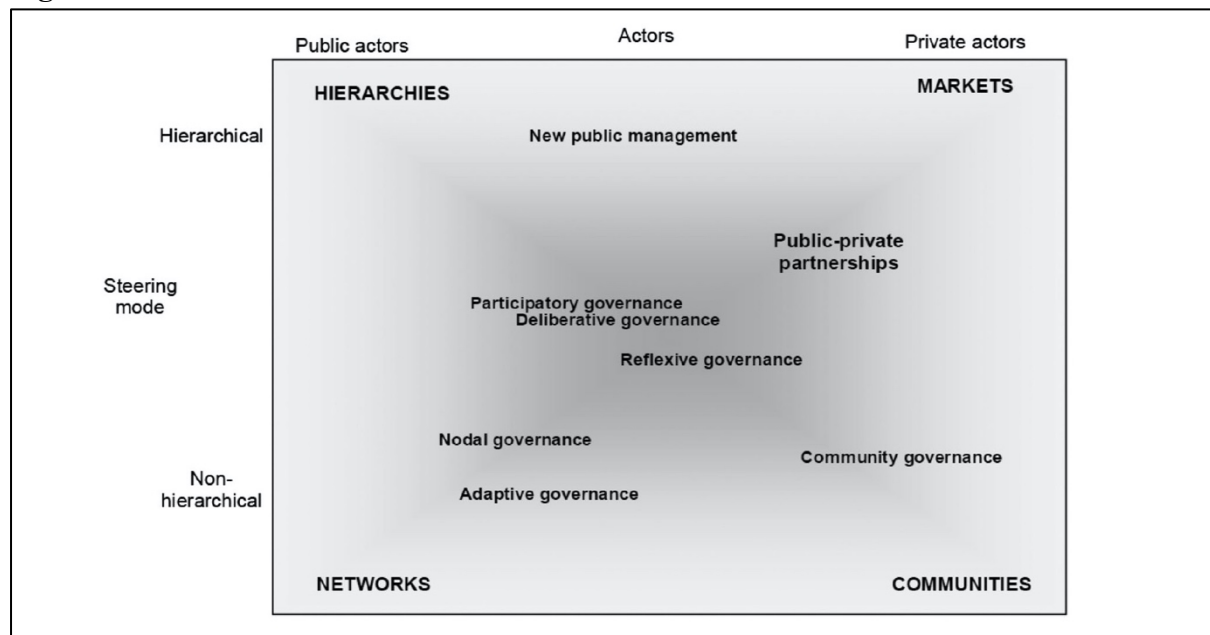
to the sustainable development of tourist destinations, the concept of governance has received less attention in the tourism literature (Anjos and Kennell, 2019). In this regard, Jones and Burgess (2005) suggested that neither higher-level nor local-level institutions work independently to achieve more significant goals; rather, collaborative management can yield more fruitful results. The importance of favourable community participation and connectivity among networks is further emphasised (Wu, 2021).

To achieve inclusive growth and sustainable development of the tourism destination, tourism governance requires strengthening partnerships and collaboration among stakeholders, such as civil society, the private sector, and the government, along with other national and international actors (Roxas, Rivera and Gutierrez, 2020; Vernon et al., 2005). Therefore, interactions among tourism stakeholders who participate in governance are crucial for sharing tourism benefits (Heslinga, Groote and Vanclay, 2019). It is essential to establish an effective and sustainable governance structure that is inclusive and ensures the participation of stakeholders at all levels (Çakar and Uzut, 2020). A more proactive, inclusive ethic of care-oriented tourism governance is critical for ensuring sustainable tourism destination development (Dangi and Petrick, 2021).

Broadly, governance is considered a top-down approach when states or supranational organisations conduct all tourism governance-related activities (Yuksel, Bramwell and Yuksel, 2005). However, bottom-up governance involves local communities governing the destination with limited, if any, help from the state (Vernon et al., 2005). There is also soft and hard governance. Hard governance refers to the state playing a major role in governing the destination, whereas soft governance is a form of participatory and democratic governance (Çakar and Uzut, 2020).

In terms of governance frameworks, Frances et al. (1991) identified three different coordination models (see Figure 3.2 below): hierarchies, markets, and networks, while Pierre and Peters (2000) added a fourth, common governance for the community. The mode of governance depends on the context of the destination's development (Beritelli, Bieger and Laesser, 2007).

**Figure 3.2: Governance frameworks**



Source: Amore and Hall (2016, p. 112, Figure: 1)

In the field of environmental management, a body of studies examines hierarchical governance (Korda, Hills and Gray, 2008). Hierarchical governance occurs when the state plays a role in international relations and helps to develop institutions that impose international and supranational law (Russell, Lafferty and Loudon, 2008). A hierarchical network mode of governance is a typical choice for governing heritage sites and tourism destinations (Jessop, 2010). Conversely, markets as a governance mechanism explain the corporatisation and privatisation of tourism functions previously done by the state (Hall, 2008). This type of governance is closely associated with neoliberal political philosophy (Harvey, 2005). In the markets, as a governance mechanism, the state attempts to influence the market through financial incentives, education, or persuasion to steer it in a particular direction, rather than imposing regulatory mechanisms (Hall, 2011a).

Network governance occupies a middle position between hierarchical and market approaches to tourism governance (Scott, Baggio and Cooper, 2008). The network mode of governance is a kind of governance process where the government and local communities cooperate, and researchers analyse the horizontal and vertical relationships (Kimbu and Ngoasong, 2013). However, many researchers believe that the participation of local people in governance still requires more attention. Studies conducted by Baggio, Scott and Cooper (2010) found that several tourist destinations have adopted network governance approaches, pointing to a shift from hierarchical to more network-based processes (Salskov-Iversen, Hansen and Bislev, 2000). Network governance gives several benefits, such as the involvement of local residents,

local control over their resources, and active participation by the local community in the decision-making process. Trust among actors is vital (Mahadiansar, Wijaya and Wanto, 2021). To solve complex issues, it is crucial to form network governance because it provides a flexible and responsive approach to addressing these problems (Jenkins and Dredge, 2016).

Network governance mechanisms face several challenges; for instance, power inequalities among members, the lack of voices from members, criteria of inclusion and exclusion, the absence of social capital such as trust, and the high cost of networks play opposing roles in network governance (Bramwell and Lane, 2000). Moreover, the need for more structure and formal regulations is a weak side of network governance (Vargas, 2020). Importantly, managerial and regulatory tools are crucial for coordinating network relations. However, in most cases, these are missing because of the informality of the network governance structure. The institutionalisation of social relationships is crucial for the long-term survival of network governance (Mahadiansar, Wijaya and Wanto, 2021). Leadership, information sharing, communication, participatory decision-making, and accountability are further critical dimensions of network governance (Kapucu and Hu, 2020).

Communities as a form of governance are influenced by communitarianism, which emphasises the more direct involvement of the community in governance. However, due to a lack of tourism knowledge, host communities are often excluded from the tourism planning and governance process (Moscardo, 2011a). As a consequence, community-led governance processes fail when social capital is low (Costa, Panyik and Buhalis, 2013). Therefore, it is time to think in new ways about them and their relationship with tourism, destinations, and sustainable development (Matteucci, Nawijn and von Zumbusch, 2021). In this regard, to better understand about governance frameworks several scholars further categorised this based on other dynamics. Hence, next section is going to describe about governance frameworks based on geographical scales.

The different geographical scales where tourism governance occurs are transnational, national, regional, or local, and these scales are interconnected rather than separate (Hall, 2008). Hence, there are four levels of tourism governance: global, national, regional, and local (Wu, 2021). However, Peck and Tickell (2002) identify five levels of tourism governance: global, supranational, national, regional, and local. Alternatively, the level of tourism governance can be divided into three levels: macro, meso and micro level governance (Hall, 2011b).

Generally, global governance differs from national governance in that power and authority are exercised by different actors, such as international institutions, private companies, NGOs, and community-based organisations, rather than just states (Weiss, 2009). Global governance is vital for governing heritage resources (Duffy and Moore, 2011). Additionally, global scales sometimes need to be considered because some problems, such as climate change, require a global approach (Schmitt, 2015). Sofield and Li (2011) explored the regime of tourism governance for sustainable development at the national scale (the study area was China), adopting a holistic and multidisciplinary political economy perspective. They explained that the macro-level perspective enables them to appreciate how the governance of tourism and sustainable development in China reflects the complex interactions between the nation's socio-political environment, economic structures, political institutions, and cultural and philosophical heritage.

Zahra (2011) explored regional-scale tourism governance, suggesting that if national organisations fail to govern appropriately, regional tourism organisations can step forward and participate in the governance process. Regional-level tourism governance can bring host communities, local governments, and industry stakeholders together (Zahra, 2011). Notably, Murphy (1983) said that governance power needs to move from the centre to the community. Involving the poor and marginalised people fairly and equitably in decision-making is the prerequisite of good governance (United Nations, 2005). Therefore, Beaumont and Dredge (2010) described the local level of tourism governance, although only a few studies have explored the effectiveness of local tourism governance networks.

Notably, the three operating modes of local tourism governance are participant-governed networks (PGN), lead organisation-governed networks (LOGN), and network administrative organisations (NAO) (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010). In the lead organisation-governed network, a central organisation, mainly the local government organisation, coordinates all the tourism activities, and power is centralised. In the participant-governed network, all the stakeholders participate in the governance process collaboratively. Lastly, in the case of a network-administrative organisation, one separate entity is created and takes governance activities.

**Table 3.4: Summary of different types of local-level tourism governance networks**

<b>Participant-Governed Network</b>	<b>Lead Organisation-Governed Network</b>	<b>Network Administrative Organisation</b>
Informal	Informal	Formal
Bottom-up managed networks	Top-down managed networks	Top-down managed networks
Decentralised	Centralised	Centralised
Horizontal relationship	Vertical relationship	Vertical relationship
Weak network connection	Medium network connection	Structured network connection
Lack of powerful actor	Presence of powerful actors	Leader has full power
High flexibility	Medium flexibility	Low flexibility
The aim is to present network to outside stakeholders	The aim is to coordinate and act as gatekeeper	The aim is to facilitate stakeholder relationships and connect to external parties

Source: Author

A democratic governance approach is necessary for the long-term success of a tourist destination (Gill and Williams, 2014). Additionally, democratic governance can flourish through multi-stakeholder collaboration, engagement, and transparency to examine the gainers and losers (Bramwell, 2010). To improve tourism governance, it is necessary to include trust, justice, social capital, and participation in tourism development (Scheyvens and Hughes, 2019). Furthermore, it is necessary to establish an effective and democratic governance structure that will be inclusive and ensure the participation of stakeholders at all levels (Çakar and Uzut, 2020).

### **3.7 Scrutinising Tourism Governance**

Tourism governance at destinations is complex due to the presence of multiple, often competing stakeholders (Larson and Poudyal, 2012). This complexity in stakeholder relationships poses significant barriers to effective governance and development (Farmaki, 2015). Furthermore, tourism governance becomes even more challenging when it involves important natural and cultural heritage sites dedicated to conserving species, ecosystems, and landscapes (Islam, Ruhanen and Ritchie, 2018). Research has shown that tourism development in protected areas and sites within developing countries is often hindered by inadequate tourism governance systems. Effective management, frequent institutional changes, and the influence of global organisations on local tourism, economies, and societies contribute to the complexity of governance mechanisms. These intricate circumstances lead to shifts in governance modes, which have become a focal point in tourism governance literature.

Importantly, to study tourism governance, political economy focuses on different issues such as theoretical frameworks for policy recommendations, consideration of governance at different geographical scales and their relationship, temporal dimensions of governance, relations to trade-offs, policy failures, learning processes, adaptive management, the public sphere and the principle of subsidiarity (Bramwell and Lane, 2011). However, earlier studies regarding governance in relation to political economy focused on the state's role in regulating economic and political systems (Bramwell, 2011). In this aspect, governments play two roles broadly in society: necessary and optional. Essential tasks, such as security, protection, and taxation, where everything else is considered optional. Importantly, the government should prioritise protecting people from various forms of harm. They should ensure the freedom of others to pursue their happiness without restrictions. This capitalist economic system suggests that the state's primary role is to focus on economic activities that produce wealth (Jessop, 2008). More recently, an advanced style of neoliberalism has emerged. Under this ideology, the government's new role in the deregulated capitalist market is to ensure the proper investment environment for business. As a consequence, the governance structure has also been restructured in neoliberalism, as the government has shifted its role from regulating economies to facilitating economic opportunities. Now, the governance process emphasises public-private partnerships, and sub-national scales are gaining more responsibility (Mosedale, 2016). Conversely, governance is essentially about power because power arrangements are vital in analysing the political dimensions of tourism. After all, individuals, organisations, and agencies try to influence the policy. Hence, there is an important power relation around governance because some groups of society have more influence than others on policy-making (Dredge and Jenkins, 2007). To further enrich the tourism governance and political economy literature, this discourse also uses a political economy lens for exploring CBT governance-related challenges from the perspective of the Global South. Hence, the following sections describe these challenges through the lens of components and sub-components of political economy, such as commodification, globalisation, and power dynamics.

### **3.7.1 The Commodification of Host Cultures**

Changing certain elements to create economic value is known as commodification (Gleick, 2002). In addition, "Commodification is one of the forms of global capitalism accumulating capitals, and commodification has commercially transformed use value into exchange value" (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1979, p. 12). Notably, this study focuses on the commodification of the host society, specifically the commodification of local culture and products for tourism

development due to the influence of capitalism. Touristic consumption can lead to the commodification of local products, relationships, and social dynamics, which negatively impacts the authenticity of the host culture (Tomazos, 2020). More specifically, cultural commodification reflects the process of transforming culture and cultural artefacts into products, with tourists serving as the primary customers of these products (Cole, 2007). Examples include the promotion of yoga in India (Bowers and Cheer, 2017) and the shift in music in China (Su, 2019). Several scholars observe that for the sake of economic benefits from tourism, it is not uncommon to commodify the unique and authentic aspects of cultures (Young and Markham, 2020).

Furthermore, in this age of globalisation, tourists' demand for authentic experiences is also increasing. Tourism authorities often seek to attract tourists to their destination in response to tourist demand to stimulate local economic development. Often, local people do not pay sufficient attention to preserving authentic culture in many parts of the world, as their primary concern is earning a living rather than preserving the culture (Bowers and Cheer, 2017). They think of their authenticity as a commodity and a resource for earning money.

Hence, commodification brings several negative impacts, such as eroding the local identity of communities and forcing locals to abandon traditional livelihood activities (Halewood and Hannam, 2001; Zhuang, Yao and Li, 2019), as well as destroying the authenticity of cultural heritage (Ballengee-Morris, 2002). However, commodification also has positive impacts since it brings some economic benefits (Bowers and Cheer, 2017). Therefore, it is essential to strike a balance between the positive and negative impacts (Pratheep, 2017). In this vein, governance comes into action to make these balances (Harrison, 2021). However, governance authorities face burning challenges because, on the one hand, they need to protect their heritage. On the other hand, they must create value by earning money from tourism by using their culture, tradition, and heritage (Hughes and Carlsen, 2010).

To address the commodification of cultural issues, authorities must consider several key factors, including carrying capacity, rules and regulations, diverse policies, and effective control mechanisms. However, dealing with these issues is not straightforward (Cimnaghi and Mussini, 2015). A local authority involved in tourism governance needs to involve different key stakeholders, balance power and relationship among themselves, and balance authenticity and commodification (Ghirardello et al., 2022) while also creating awareness among tourists and putting measures in place to ensure local benefits and protections from harm (Holmes, Grimwood and King, 2016). Sometimes conflicts arise between tourists and local communities,



between community people, different levels of government, private tourism organisations, and other stakeholders (Mbaiwa, 2011). Dealing with the commodification issue is more challenging when few stakeholders believe that commodification destroys culture, while others believe that commodification creates opportunities for earning money and is not inherently destructive (Cole, 2007). Most importantly, cultural heritage sites always face the threat of commodification and authorities need to give extra attention to managing, governing and regulating the sites (Powell et al., 2016). Moreover, for the cultural heritage site, the government formulates new guidelines frequently to ensure better preservation and conservation. That means the authority needs to adopt these guidelines properly (Barr, 2018). Furthermore, cultural heritage sites face the threats of changes which make governance of the site more challenging (Frame et al., 2022). Consequently, governance faces tension and dilemma in dealing with cultural-heritage sites because change is inevitable in the interest of tourism development and promotion. This reflects that commodification adds extra pressure on the governance process, and more precisely, in the case of cultural heritage destinations. Hence, “governance related to safeguarding, protecting and managing cultural heritage sites within tourist destinations requires a holistic set of integrated plans, policies, regulations and practices that embrace but go beyond conservation planning” (ICOMOS, 2014, p. 4). By doing so, different international organisations, such as UNESCO, UNWTO, and WTO, are involved in tourism destinations in different countries, and the inclusion of these organisations complicates the governance process further. The following section describes the influence of global organisations on tourism governance.

### **3.7.2 Global Actors, Tourism Governance and Power Dynamics**

Global institutions significantly influence tourism and conservation governance processes. For instance, to safeguard cultural heritage, UNESCO has strict guidelines and conventions (Park, Muangasame and Kim, 2023). These conventions and guidelines of UNESCO serve as an international legal instrument, and all designated destinations must adhere to and ensure the same standards to uphold universal values. Additionally, they must adhere to the same processes, decision-making procedures, and institutional framework as the World Heritage framework (Bernecker and Franceschini, 2022). That means UNESCO, as a global institution, gives priority to the standardisation and uniformity of the destination in the form of processes, procedures, and methods, which ultimately drives the commodification of the site (Turtinen, 2000). Therefore, local governance authorities need to deal with commodification issues which are created by UNESCO. As a consequence, power has been shifted to different foreign

organisations because of globalisation (Bianchi, 2015). Therefore, globalisation creates the scope for outside stakeholders to exercise power, such as international regulatory organisations, private companies, NGOs, and other states. For example, in the case of the World Heritage site, UNESCO can be treated as a centre of power (Held et al., 1999). Since destinations must adhere to the UNESCO convention to maintain their status as World Heritage sites, it appears that UNESCO exercises its influence over the destination authority. Sometimes, this application of power works as a catalyst for conflict (Bernecker and Franceschini, 2022). The local government can lose control, authority, and power. That means global actors can apply their power, although they are not directly part of the existing network. It is acknowledged in the tourism literature that for the sake of tourism development, and the conservation and preservation of heritage sites, local people often lose the land on which they resided for generations (Vanclay, 2017). Consequently, these power-related issues can complicate governance (Duffy and Moore, 2011). Moreover, UNESCO's status instigates the marketing of the site as an attractive tourist destination to the outside world. This helps to brand the destination and serves as a marketing tool to attract more domestic and international tourists to the destination (Park, Muangasame and Kim, 2023). Therefore, the destination governance authority needs to add facilities and amenities to serve tourists, and by doing this, the destination can lose its unique features (Caust and Vecco, 2017).

Based on this discussion, it is argued that globalisation influences the governance processes. However, tourism researchers rarely incorporate the impact of globalisation into an empirical study of tourism (Javid and Katircioglu, 2017). Notably, globalisation remains understudied in tourism (Wijesinghe, Mura and Culala, 2019). Future research is needed to investigate the relationship between tourism and globalisation more closely, given its complexity in the context of globalisation (Chiu, Zhang and Ding, 2021). This study incorporates issues of globalisation in the CBT governance study in a UNESCO World Heritage site, contributing to the tourism and globalisation literature by bringing all the above-discussed issues.

### **3.7.3 Local Actors, Tourism Governance and Power Dynamics**

It is crucial to study the roles and activities of the state that affect tourism governance and sustainable development in destinations. Among several stakeholder groups, the government is considered the most influential stakeholder in tourism planning and development (Bowen, Zubair and Altinay, 2016). Bianchi (2002) suggests that the state has the scope to guide and regulate tourism development processes. Furthermore, the government directly and indirectly influences the tourism industry through legislation and regulation. In correspondence,

Williams (2004) employs the concept of regulatory theory to determine the role of states. However, the governance structure underwent restructuring during neoliberalism, as the government shifted its role from regulating economies to facilitating economic opportunities (Mosedale, 2016).

Local governments are responsible for expanding their roles to protect the community's well-being (Dredge and Jenkins, 2007). However, in most cases, CBT in the Global South, particularly in rural areas, struggle to get the attention of local governments and administrative support from local officials (Timothy and White, 1999) because there is a complex relationship between different levels of government and power relation among various government organisations, and characteristically a lack of financial resources and competencies (Jones, 1993). A lack of cooperation and consultation among different government levels is a significant obstacle to ensuring good destination governance (Black, Paradise and O'Connell, 1993). Moreover, it is evident that the government sometimes fails to consider the best interests of society; instead, it focuses on its own goals and even attempts to protect the elite members of society. This works as a hindrance to CBT governance (Saufi, O'Brien and Wilkins, 2014). A study conducted by Nunkoo and Smith (2015) in the Niagara Region, Canada, found that local government could not manage power imbalance and inequalities. Furthermore, the lack of an appropriate policy from the central level regarding CBT makes it difficult for local governments to achieve good governance.

Besides this local governments, a lack of political support hinders the CBT governance process (Saufi, O'Brien and Wilkins, 2014). In addition, Zielinski et al. (2020b) argued that political will and commitment are essential for efficient governance. The political structure of the area also influences the determination of appropriate strategies for governing a CBT site. Moreover, developing countries often face political instability (Tosun, 2006). Political forces sometimes cannot accept that local marginal people should participate in tourism development and governance because they claim that by electing them, local people give authority to make decisions on their behalf. Therefore, political barriers limit the participation of local people in tourism (Timothy and Tosun, 2003). Disempowered communities with limited involvement in local decision-making result in long-term local dissatisfaction (Hall, 2006; Zubair, Bowen and Elwin, 2011). The literature shows that level of power of local communities depend on one or more assets, including legitimacy, economic resources, political power, skills, and access to information (Zielinski et al., 2020a), knowledge (Moscardo, 2011a), financial resources, skills and technical expertise, political influence, control over land and resources, community

cohesion, involvement in local planning and management, unequal distribution of resources, level of income, age, gender and member of a particular social group (Arts and Van Tatenhove, 2005), experience in dealing with tourists (Leksakundilok and Hirsch, 2008).

What exacerbates matters is the influence of elite groups who raise their voice and interests above the interests and well-being of (marginalised) communities (Jamal and Higham, 2021). Local elites tend to monopolise the benefits of CBT and exclude marginal groups from the CBT structure (Brohman, 1996; Mowforth and Munt, 2015; Zapata et al., 2011). In this regard, local people's dependence on others allows the elite to exercise control over them. It is also observed that when bonding among marginal groups is weak, the local elite become more dominant and influential (Knight and Cottrell, 2016). In addition, the marginalisation of local people's access to information allows elite individuals to dominate others and capture the maximum benefits, as they have access to this information. However, to ensure more significant benefits for the local community, it is crucial to reduce and, if possible, avoid domination by the local elites (Mtapuri and Giampiccoli, 2016). Unequal power distribution between powerful elite groups and local communities makes the governance process of CBT very challenging (Trakolis, 2001). This also leads to lacking collaboration and coordination among stakeholders, which are crucial for successfully governing tourism destinations (Wang and Fesenmaier, 2007).

In this environment, power studies through the lens of political economy fail to analyse several aspects, such as the relationship between power and network. In this regard, power studies through the lens of ANT can be considered a valuable tool because power is the product of social interaction (Haugaard, 2002), and this interaction can occur among the network actors or between networks.

#### **3.7.4 Actor-Network Theory and Power Dynamics**

One criticism of ANT is that it overlooks power relations, as it tends to downplay power-related issues and inequalities (Whittle and Spicer, 2008). Therefore, it does not cater to the voice of less powerful social groups (Winner, 1993). Therefore, it is useful to incorporate Foucault's analysis of power into ANT approaches (Kendall, 2004). Materials have a powerful effect, so the Foucauldian concept of materiality and the ANT concept of relational materiality can be analysed to determine their impact. Therefore, Foucault's power analysis can enrich and complement ANT (Mathewman, 2013) as power is not something static; rather, power varies from context to context and situation to situation (Kohonen, 2012).

From an ANT perspective, power does not belong to any particular actor; instead, it resides in the network of actors and depends on the actions of others (Latour, 1986). In addition, power is not positional; rather, it becomes meaningful when assigned to networks (Wearing and McDonald, 2002). In ANT, powerful actors initiate the creation of the network and gather resources to create it (Dicken et al., 2002). This network is also known as the relational effect of power. In some cases, powerful actors may have little influence, as powerless actors can become empowered when they reside within the network (Heeks, 2013). As a relational approach, ANT can be used to study the development process where power emanates from the network relations, not from the personal traits of individual actors (Jóhannesson, 2005).

Power relations between heterogeneous actors are ever-evolving, with different forms of power relations frequently emerging and disappearing. Relationships between the actors within the network can change frequently (Law and Mol, 2001). When new actors are introduced into the network, they are compelled to alter the existing network and relationships among the actors, ultimately leading to adjustments in the power relations. Noticeably, the sites that fall under World Heritage sites see the more complex interest, power relations, and interactions among the actors because of the involvement of the local, regional, national, and global level actors (Wang and Xiao, 2020). As different actors from various levels form networks, it is worthwhile to explore the relational aspect of power.

Power emerges through the process of translation, although this translation process is uncertain and unpredictable. The translation model describes how power is transferred from one actor to another and how power itself separates from potential power. In ANT, some actors gain the power to act and speak on behalf of others due to the formation of relationships through translation. This study adopts Kashmeery's (2016) notion of ANT-Foucault to describe the power-related issues arising from ANT answering their call for applying the ANT-Foucault concept in future research to develop new theoretical frameworks for power analysis. In this study, the emphasis is on the impact of power relations on implementing the CBT project and the influence of relational aspects of power on tourism governance.

### **3.8 Development of Conceptual Framework of the Study**

While ANT has been applied in various tourism contexts to describe the nature of complexity within tourism networks (Dredge, 2015), there is limited research on the process of CBT development. This study aims to contribute to this research gap by applying ANT to explain the development process of CBT and extend the theory by applying ANT as a theoretical

approach. In this study, ANT has been used to explore the development process of CBT, including the identification of a list of actors and their roles, the process of translation to trace one actor's interaction with other actors for creating and continuing network relationship; CBT actor-networks to examine the factors of networks' stability and to explain the factors that influence the actions of stabilised CBT networks.

Firstly, identifying actors, including both human and non-human, in ANT is crucial because it helps to understand the complexity of networks (Latour, 2005). In addition, identifying actors helps to understand the process of network creation (Callon, 1986a) and its stabilisation (Law, 1992). Notably, this research also aims to contribute to the literature by identifying unique actors in the context of CBT in developing countries. Besides this, particular focus was given to the process through which actors in CBT come under a network to build relationships. This discourse aims to contribute by examining the suitability of using the translation process in the context of CBT, and more specifically, to identify the mechanisms of every phase of the translation process through which one actor selects, motivates, and prepares other actors to join the network. Later, focus was given to another component of ANT, namely actor-networks. The aim in this regard was to establish that several factors influence the stability of networks, and broadly, stability depends on the social forces related to the stages of tourism development.

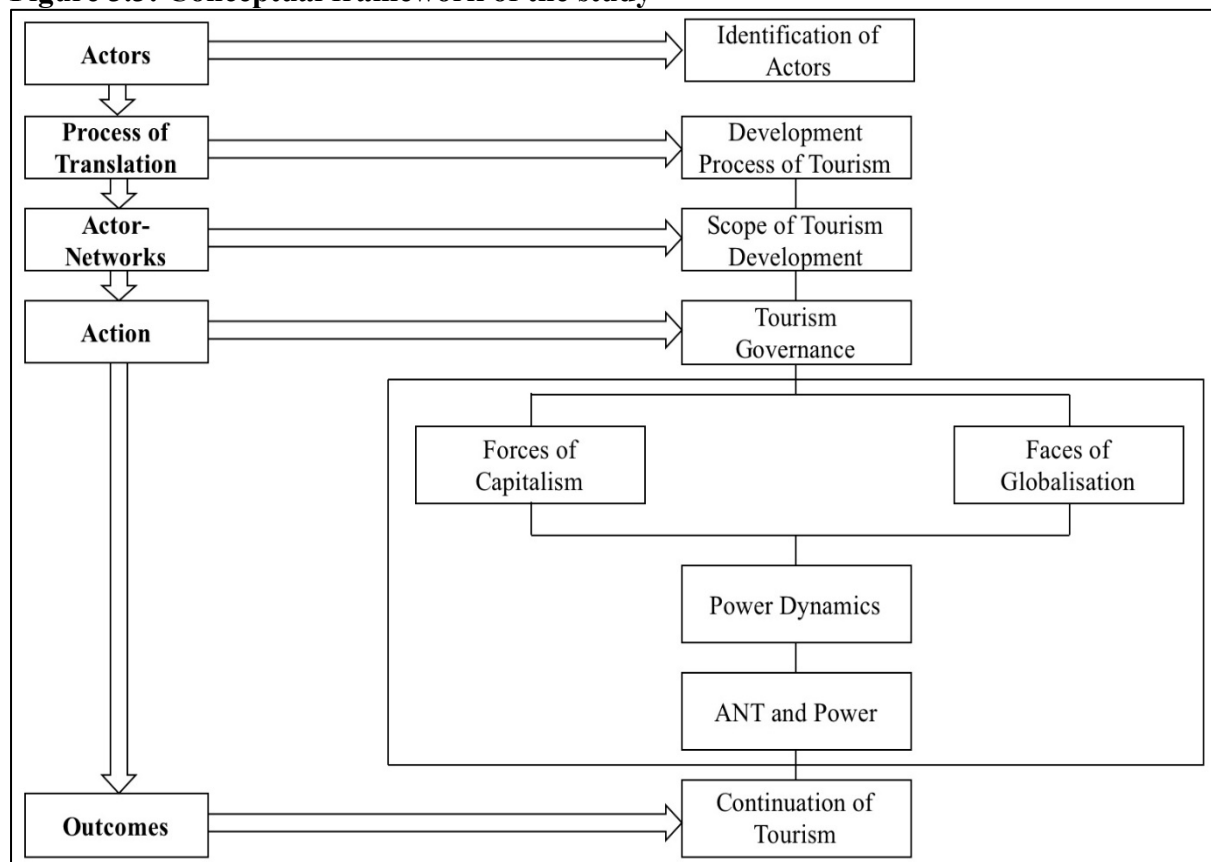
Action is another vital component of ANT. In this study, governance is defined as the action of stable networks, which is influenced by various contemporary issues. Notably, tourism researchers are now conducting studies from a critical perspective, such as an analysis of the political economy of tourism (Gibson, 2021). Hence, this study also contributes to the existing knowledge by incorporating political economy understandings into CBT governance considerations.

Briefly, this research contributes to the existing knowledge and literature by adopting Actor-Network Theory (ANT) and political economy as theoretical lenses to examine the development of CBT and its governance mechanisms. Notably, combining these two approaches creates a more robust and inclusive analytical framework. For instance, political economy establishes connections between its forces, such as capitalism, globalisation, and power dynamics, while ANT considers the roles of both human and non-human actors in forging connections among the forces of political economy. Moreover, the combination of these two approaches enhances understanding of the interconnectedness of global economic and political dimensions. Furthermore, ANT posits that power is an effect of a network, whereas political economy contends that power relates to socio-economic forces. Therefore,

the combined study uncovers insights into power dynamics more rigorously (Latour, 2005). Additionally, ANT focuses on micro-level issues, such as the formation of networks at the local level, while political economy emphasises macro-level factors, such as capitalism and globalisation. Overall, the integration of these two theories leads to a better understanding of macro-level factors locally and identifies the link between local and global levels (Callon, 1998).

Figure 3.3 demonstrates that the initial focus is to identify the actors and the development process of CBT through the lens of the translation process. Later, the focus shifts to the factors within actor-networks that instigate the stability of established CBT networks. Notably, this study denotes CBT governance as an action of established networks. Therefore, another main focus is to describe factors such as the forces of capitalism, the faces of globalisation, and power issues that have significant impacts on the attainment of outcomes in CBT governance. Lastly, the focus shifts to the governance mechanism through which governance authority can continue CBT development.

**Figure 3.3: Conceptual framework of the study**



Source: Author

### **3.9 Summary of the Chapter**

In this chapter author built a theoretical bridge between political economy, power and the use of ANT power. In the process, different political economy approaches were considered, ranging from classical political economy to modern political economy. This study views tourism governance as a decision-making process which is influenced by several factors, such as the forces of capitalism, globalisation, and power dynamics, which are part and parcel of the political economy perspective and subsequent dilemmas and trade-offs. Consequently, the governance process needs to balance authenticity and commodification. This is more challenging, especially for cultural heritage sites, where the presence of different global organisations can instigate commodification. Global organisations like UNESCO play a significant role in the local governance of heritage sites, adding a layer of complexity and interconnectedness to the issue. That means local governance needs to face the problems of global governance locally, owing to power imbalances among the stakeholders. These power relations can be described through the lens of ANT and political economy, whereas ANT describes relational aspects of power, and political economy describes other issues of power dynamics, such as traits of different stakeholders in power application. Good governance should ensure the balance of power among stakeholders. This chapter concludes with the development of a conceptual framework that integrates two theoretical perspectives: ANT and political economy. The next chapter (Chapter Four) will provide an in-depth discussion of methodological issues, covering topics from philosophical assumptions to data analysis and findings.



## **Chapter 4: Research Methodology**

### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter aims to explain the research process, which starts from the philosophical assumptions to the analysis of the data. Therefore, this chapter begins with research philosophy and its features. The research paradigm was social constructivism because of the nature of the context and its reality. Later, this chapter emphasises the significance of qualitative research methodology; whereas the research strategy was a single-case (holistic) study design, the selected setting was North Bengal of Bangladesh, and the case was Paharpur. Importantly, this chapter also describes the appropriateness of the chosen methods, such as semi-structured interviews and participant observation. Finally, the ethical considerations of this research and reflexivity are discussed.

### **4.2 Research Philosophy**

Notably, Burrell and Morgan (1979) stated that the researcher needs to make several assumptions at every stage of the research process. Therefore, the research assumptions influence the nature of the research questions, the selection of the methods for the research, and the description of the research outcomes (Crotty, 1998). In this regard, researchers make assumptions about the nature and complexity of social reality, known as an ontological assumption. In turn, assumptions about the system of knowledge creation, known as the epistemology assumption, also need to be considered for the researcher to position their values and ethics in research, which is known as the axiological assumption (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2009). Researchers need to select an appropriate research paradigm to ensure the alignment among different steps of conducting the study (Mills, Bonner and Francis, 2006). Therefore, several factors need to be considered before selecting a paradigm, such as research questions and the nature of the study site.

Social constructivism has been selected as a paradigm for this study based on the nature of the research questions and the study context, and it is one of the niche segments of interpretivism that is widely used as a research paradigm (Giddens, 1979). Noticeably, this paradigm is preferred among those interested in understanding socially constructed knowledge and meaning (Crotty, 1998). It also takes into consideration that the viewpoint of the people can vary from person to person (Bauer and Gaskell, 2000). Therefore, interpretations are not rigid but complex, where knowledge is generated through inductive reasoning (Easterby-Smith et al., 2008). Within such an arrangement, the experience of the individual to derive meaning and

make sense of the research findings is the central point of constructivism, and constructivism prioritises the learning of individual people, the result of interactions within a social context. Therefore, the social environment plays a vital role in constructing knowledge (Liu and Matthews, 2005), and constructed knowledge is context and situation-specific.

Social constructivism is appropriate for studying tourism-related issues, as tourism is considered a social phenomenon (Paris, 2011). The interpretive philosophical approach considers different conditions in the tourism industry and attempts to get in-depth knowledge about social reality (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004). It is possible to study tourism more extensively through the social constructivism paradigm because this paradigm holds that knowledge is the outcome of a social process and because tourism is a social phenomenon, it is constructed socially (Au, 1998). Therefore, this approach is appropriate to use in a context-specific study where realities are complex and multiple, and there are no absolute truths (Hollinshead, 2006). From a philosophical viewpoint, both ANT and social constructivism are similar in that both view reality as constructed by multiple actors, where interaction is vital for constructing reality and creating understanding (Cordella and Shaikh, 2003). The selected paradigm is crucial for this study because this research emphasises the understanding of the complex social realities. Additionally, an understanding of the realities needs to be reached by interpreting the meaning that the members of the context generate. Moreover, this research's determined questions and the context's nature support the application of interpretivism, specifically, social constructivism as a research paradigm.

#### **4.3 Rationale for Qualitative Research Methodology**

Qualitative research aims to interpret social phenomena in-depth, generate new concepts and theories (Viswambharan and Priya, 2016). The qualitative approach is mostly used in studying tourist destinations, tourism organisations, owners of travel agencies, tour operators, stakeholders, and employees (Çakar and Aykol, 2021). Advantages of qualitative studies include their flexibility, scope for in-depth analysis, allowing the researcher to explore the opinion of a homogeneous and diverse group of people in the community, recommending the cause-and-effect relationship, helping to build creative and innovate explanatory framework and consider the object as subject. In this study, the selection of qualitative research methodology fulfils several purposes. It gives scope to gain in-depth knowledge about the CBT in Paharpur and unveil the current governance issues towards smooth continuation and the relationship among the actors in networks. Consequently, it helps to gain new insights into the complexity and challenges of governance issues aligned with the relevant political economy

factors. Moreover, it allows testing the conceptual framework, including ANT, governance, and political economy approaches within real-world contexts. Overall, this study sets a guideline to examine the CBT governance issues in other related contexts.

#### **4.4 Research Strategy: Single Case Study Approach**

The research strategy is the overall plan for answering the research questions (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2009). Among different research strategies, one of the most popular research designs for the qualitative researcher is the case study research design (Baškarada, 2014). A case study research design is suitable when an in-depth and holistic investigation is required to understand complex social realities (Feagin, Orum and Sjoberg, 1991). For instance, it is prominently used in community-based contexts (Johnson, 2006) and in many areas of social science, including tourism research (Jennings, 2010). A case study research strategy depends on three factors: the nature of research questions, the researcher's control over behavioural events, and the degree of focus on contemporary issues (Yin, 2014). It helps to answer the questions related to how and why, and gives flexibility to conduct the study (Yin, 2014). When the borders between social reality and context are not evident, the case study research design is mainly applied (Yin, 2014). The advantages of case study research are that it gives scope for researchers to act more rigorously and is flexible because of its adaptability (McNabb, 2004), as the case study research design is compatible with the philosophical positioning. Importantly, the literature shows that ANT-based tourism studies mostly used a case study research design (Beard, Scarles and Tribe, 2016).

This research chooses a case study design to explore the comprehensive knowledge of the CBT development process and its governance issues. In addition, the nature of research questions, such as how CBT developed and how different factors influence governance issues, drives the choice of case study as a research design. Ultimately, it focuses on generating knowledge of contemporary issues such as tourism governance and sustainable development. In this regard, the case study research strategy is appropriate from the perspective of complex social reality. This type of research design allows the researcher to collect data from multiple sources by applying several qualitative data collection methods, such as semi-structured interviews and participant observation. Besides this, although ANT has been used as a theoretical lens in this study, it has also been accommodated as a method. Because ANT can be treated as a method (Gad and Jensen, 2010) or methodological toolkit (Van der Duim, Ren and Jóhannesson, 2012).

ANT, as a method, focuses on the inclusive understanding of the actors and, more specifically, the relationship between the actors. As a method, ANT gives scope for in-depth research and helps trace the connection between human and non-human actors through participant observation, interviews, and analysis of documents (Dankert, 2012). It also drives field-generated data by connecting closely with actors. Importantly, ANT allows the researcher to follow the actors and their relationships. Furthermore, “ANT is a method that enables one to give actors voice and to learn from them without pre-judging their activities” (Gad and Jensen, 2010, p. 62). This study aimed to build, test, and extend theory using a case study research strategy. The type of case study used was descriptive because descriptive research is more appropriate for understanding the present status of the social phenomenon (Bass, Beecham and Noll, 2018).

## **4.5 Data Collection Techniques and Analysis**

### **4.5.1 Sampling Techniques**

In this study, the researcher uses purposive and snowball sampling. A sampling approach where the researcher selects participants who are knowledgeable about the phenomenon is known as purposive sampling, and it is the most commonly used sampling method in qualitative research. The researcher firstly communicated with the local community leader to gather initial knowledge and information about the existing situation of the CBT in Paharpur before collecting lists of participants who took part in CBT training provided by different organisations such as Bangladesh Tourism Board (BTB), Bangladesh Parjatan Corporation (BPC) and Department of Archaeology (DoA). Later, the researcher tried to reach them based on the lists, and initial interviews were conducted purposefully based on the list. Besides this, the researcher applied the snowball technique. Participants from the study site recommended to the researcher other persons involved with tourism, who were then approached for interviews. Most of the respondents were reached based on the recommendations of others.

### **4.5.2 Sample Size**

The sample size in qualitative research is often small but focused on obtaining in-depth insights. The appropriate sample size depends on the context and research paradigm (Boddy, 2016). One of the most typical issues is data saturation, which ensures the rigour, validity, quality, and credibility of the qualitative research approach (Hennink, Kaiser and Weber, 2019). When the data collection process does not generate new or related data, it is called saturation. In this study, the sample size was 83, although Vasileiou et al. (2018) suggest that

qualitative research usually does not involve more than 50 participants. However, in this study, the researcher was able to build a good rapport with stakeholders in the community, and because many of the villagers were willing to talk about the issues at hand, a larger sample was achieved. Besides this, not all the people were aware of all the issues; rather, they could cover a certain portion of the questions. This led to a higher number of participants before reaching data saturation.

#### **4.5.3 Participants of this Study**

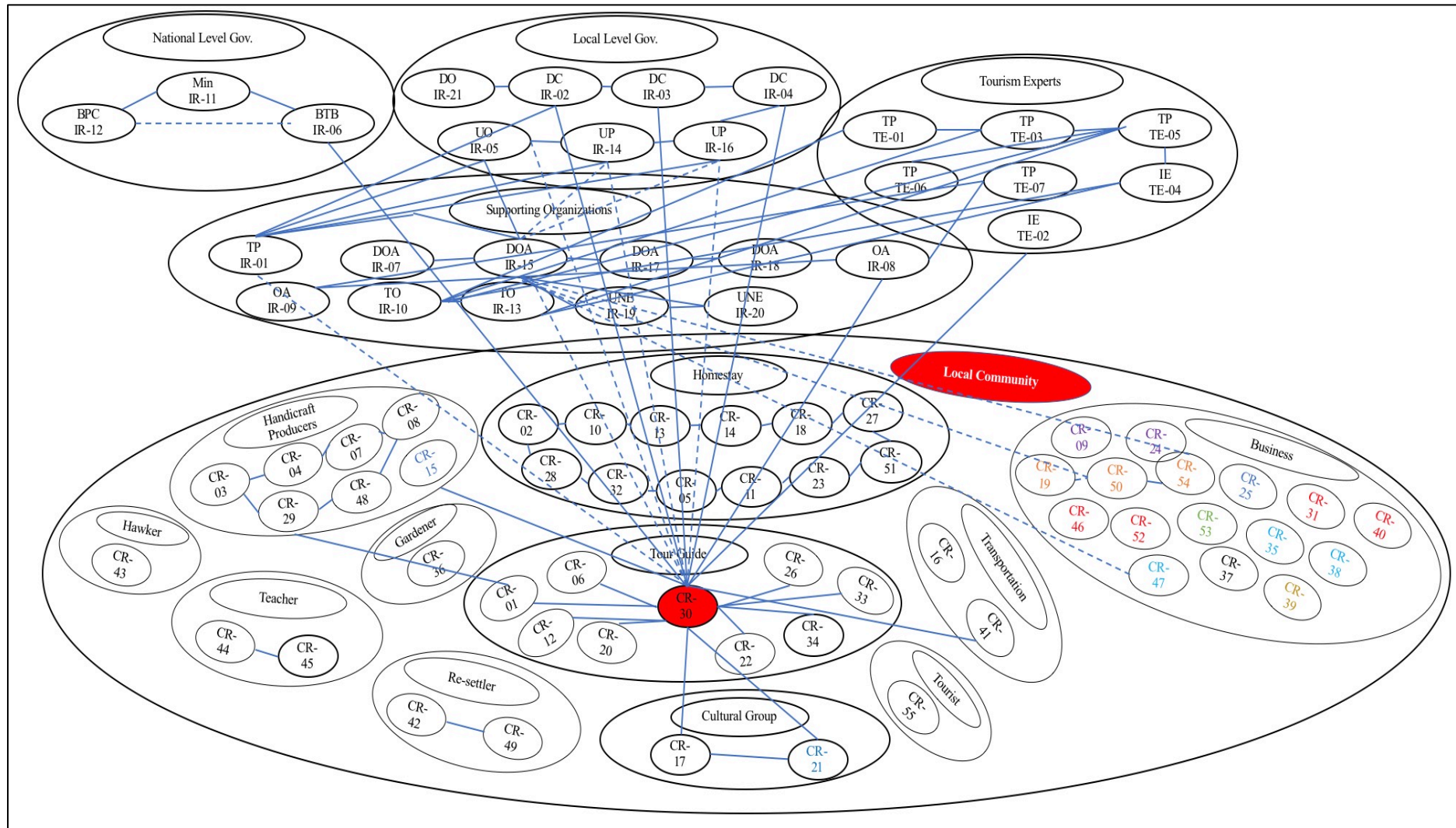
The selection of relevant participants is crucial for the research to generate appropriate knowledge (Bryman, 2016). Therefore, participants of this research were broadly divided into three types: 1) Community Representatives (CR) from Paharpur, including people who are directly and indirectly involved with CBT; 2) Institutional Representatives (IR) from both the Paharpur and Dhaka city who have roles in CBT in Paharpur; and 3) Tourism Experts (TE) including both academics and practitioners. Interestingly, the data collection process was like compiling a story where the Community Representatives (CR) and Institutional Representatives (IR) shared their practical experience. At the same time, Tourism Experts (TE) gave a general opinion about the researched issues.

**Table 4.1: Description of research informants (N=83)**

<b>Community Representatives (CR)</b>			
Homestay programme	Homestay Owner	8	CR_02_HO_01; CR_10_HO_02; CR_13_HO_03; CR_14_HO_04; CR_18_HO_05; CR_27_HO_06; CR_28_HO_07; CR_32_HO_08
	Homestay Member	4	CR_05-HM_01; CR_11_HM_02; CR_23_HM_03; CR_51_HM_04
Handicraft Producer	Nakshikatha	6	CR_3_HP_01; CR_4_HP_02; CR_07_HP_03; CR_08_HP_04; CR_29_HP_06; CR_48_HP_07
	Potter	1	CR_15_HP_05
Business	Poultry	2	CR_09_BP_01; CR_24_BP_02
	Souvenir Shop	3	CR_19_BS_01; CR_50_BS_02; CR_54_BS_03
	Furniture	1	CR_25_BF_01
	Grocery Shop	4	CR_31_BG_01; CR_40_BG_02; CR_46_BG_03; CR_52_BG_04
	Food Supplier	1	CR_53_BF_01
	Restaurant	3	CR_35_BR_01; CR_38_BR_02; CR_47_BR_03
	Fruit Business	1	CR_37_BF_01
	Tea Stall	1	CR_39_BT_01
Cultural group	Tribal People	1	CR_17_CG_01
	Baul Singer	1	CR_21_CG_02
Tour Guide		9	CR_01_TG_01; CR_06_TG_02; CR_12_TG_03; CR_20_TG_04; CR_22_TG_05; CR_26_TG_06; CR_30_TG_07; CR_33_TG_08; CR_34_TG_09
Transportation Personnel		2	CR_16_TP_01; CR_41_TP_02
Gardener		1	CR_36_GD_01
Hawker		1	CR_43_HW_01
Teacher		2	CR_44_TE_01; CR_45_TE_02
Re-settler		2	CR_42_RS_01; CR_49_RS_02
Tourist		1	CR_55_TO_01
<b>Total</b>		<b>55</b>	
<b>Institutional Representatives (IR)</b>			
National Level	Ministry	1	IR_11_MIN_01
	BPC	1	IR_12_BPC_01
	BTB	1	IR_06_BT_01
Local Level	Divisional Office	1	IR_21_DO_01
	DC Office	3	IR_02_DCO_01; IR_03_DCO_02; IR_04_DCO_03
	Upazila Office	1	IR_05_UO_01
	Union Parishad	2	IR_14_UP_01; IR_16_UP_02
Tourist Police		1	IR_01_TP_01
DOA		4	IR_07_DOA_01; IR_15_DOA_02; IR_17_DOA_03; IR_18_DOA_04
Oitijjo Anneshon		2	IR_08_OA_01; IR_09_OA_02
Tour Operator		2	IR_10_TO_01; IR_13_TO_02
UNESCO		2	IR_19_UNE_01; IR_20_UNE_02
<b>Total</b>		<b>21</b>	
<b>Tourism Experts (TE)</b>			
Tourism Professional		5	TE_01_TP_01; TE_03_TP_02; TE_05_TP_03; TE_06_TP_04; TE_07_TP_05
Industry Expert		2	TE_02_IE_01; TE_04_IE_02
<b>Total</b>		<b>7</b>	

Source: Author (Based on field data)

**Figure 4.1 Tracing of research participants and their connection through the lens of ANT as a methodological approach**



Source: Author

As a method, ANT concentrates on exploring the connections among actors through a comprehensive understanding of them. The data collection phase started with three pilot interviews. The question set was modified based on the pilot interviews, and the main data collection was started in Paharpur as ANT suggests following the actors, so this study first selected respondents based on purposive sampling and later used snowball sampling. Figure 4.1 describes the mapping of respondents and tracing the connection among the participants. From the figure, it can be seen that the local community leader (CR-30) has a wide connection. For instance, he has strong connections (Straight blue line) with national-level government representatives (IR-06), local-level government representatives (IR-02, 03, 04), tourism experts (TE-02), other institutional representatives (IR-08) and most importantly, with many local community participants including homestay owners, tour guides, cultural group of people, handicraft product producers and transportation personnel. However, he also has weak connections (Dotted blue line) with local-level government representatives and authorities. Conversely, the local authority, namely the custodian (CR-15), has wider connections, although he has weak connections (Dotted blue line) with many participants. Importantly, participants in each category have a strong connection (Straight blue line) with one another. As a methodological lens, ANT helps to follow the participants and trace the relationships among them.

#### **4.5.4 Methods of Data Collection**

##### **4.5.4.1 Semi-structured Interviews**

The interview as a research method or technique is very flexible and versatile because it can be used for different types of people, social groups, and broader contexts (Hitchings and Latham, 2020). In-depth interviews allow to explore the phenomenon more fruitfully and gather unique experiences (Halcomb and Davidson, 2006). In a semi-structured interview, the researcher fixed some questions but allowed open questions to ask follow-up explanations and information questions to gain more detailed insights. McGrath, Palmgren and Liljedahl (2019) proposed several suggestions for ensuring quality interviews, such as using the method in a setting when it is appropriate, the interviewer be prepared to conduct the interview, formation of interview guidelines, considering cultural and power dynamics in the time interview process, creating relationship with the respondents, creating position of the researcher as the co-creator of knowledge, listening more than talk, adjusting the interview guidelines, capturing the emotion, transcribing carefully, and checking and re-checking the data.



Face-to-face, online, and telephone semi-structured interviews were conducted throughout the data collection in this study. Before starting interviews, researchers tried to build rapport with the participants. Later, the researcher provided a set of questions, an informant sheet, and a consent form before conducting the interview. Most interviews were face-to-face, but a few were conducted over the telephone and the Internet using the Zoom platform because of time and distance. The average interview duration was 45 to 60 minutes, although a few did not reach that mark. Interviews were conducted in a suitable place and time for the respondents, where questions were asked in Bengali for better understanding. The vast majority of interviews were recorded, with permission from the respondents. In some cases, primarily for institutional representatives, they did not allow recording because of regulatory restrictions; instead, they allowed notetaking.

#### **4.5.4.2 Formation of Interview Questions**

To gather in-depth insights from the participants, different sets of questions have been developed for community representatives, institutional representatives and tourism experts (see Appendix D1; D2). For instance, participants from local communities were asked several questions related to their involvement in tourism activities, tourism development history and current conditions of the area, who and what impact on tourism, who is getting most benefits from tourism, stability-related observation, scope of participating in tourism activities, current challenges regarding CBT development and management as well as suggestions for better management in future. Briefly, the priority focus was on gathering their direct experience as they are the main actors of CBT in Paharpur. Institutional representatives were those actors who were and are involved in tourism in Paharpur. They were asked a different set of questions related to their level and nature of involvement in tourism activities, as well as outsiders what is their observations were about several aspects linked to tourism development, decision-making process, the impact of tourism on change in the society, the presence of international actors and active power dynamics. Moreover, tourism experts were asked questions related to general observations about CBT in Bangladesh. In this regard, several areas were covered, such as consideration of CBT development in Bangladesh, the CBT development process in Bangladesh, reasons behind the conflict situation, explanation of contemporary issues that impact CBT governance, as well as current and prospective CBT governance structure in Bangladesh. Overall, the priority focus was on gathering insights of local communities from their direct experience, and opinions of institutional representatives because of their direct

involvement from outside and common understandings of tourism experts about CBT in Bangladesh.

#### **4.5.4.3 Participant Observation**

Participant observation is a widely used method for getting first-hand experience of the context and participants. Moreover, participant observation contributes to the validity of qualitative research in a way that helps researchers better understand the social setting and context of the study (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2002). In participant observation, the researcher can take notes either during the observation or write them down after the observation, and observation protocols are later created through transcription (Busetto, Wick and Gumbinger, 2020). Furthermore, the participant observation method creates several opportunities, such as the scope of accessing and participating in several events and seeing the actual incidents and activities in a natural setting as an insider (Yin, 2014). Participants' actual behaviour in real-time can be gathered by using the participant observation method, along with the scope of gathering data about the topics to which participants are unwilling to respond, though it happens in the contextual setting. For a better understanding of the context, the researcher went to see the football match at the study site and participated in a discussion with local people in a tea stall, the office of the local chairman, and the office of the head teacher at the primary school. Besides this, the researcher joined the cultural programme and attended the seminar and workshop on CBT in Paharpur by the BTB and the DoA. The participants were informally informed of the researcher's intentions and interest in the area. Besides this, the researcher kept a diary during the data collection phase to keep records and field notes.

#### **4.5.5 Management of Data Collection Phase**

The data collection phase started with the initial preparation of the interview schedule. After developing the initial schedule, three pilot interviews were conducted over the telephone. The participants were the local community leader from Paharpur and institutional representatives from the DoA and BPC. Based on the discussion with them, the questions were revised. The researcher then started to plan for fieldwork in Paharpur, Bangladesh. An initial plan was drafted, along with two contingency plans. After that, data collection started in May 2022 and continued until August 2022. Data was collected mainly from Paharpur, Noagoan, and Dhaka in several phases. In the first phase, the researcher went to the study site, and the initial plan was to build rapport with the community. For this reason, the researcher stayed in the homestay house in the Malancha village of Paharpur. It helped a lot to build rapport with community

people rapidly because it gave great scope to interact with participants of the research as well as to observe them going about their daily lives. The researcher started by conducting the first few interviews with community members, in addition to building rapport. Since one of the sampling methods was snowball sampling, respondents recommended others' names for potential interviews. The second phase data was collected from Dhaka, and the participants were mainly institutional respondents. After conducting interviews with them, it was necessary to interview other community people and local institutional representatives to check for any discrepancies and gather more data. In the third phase, the researcher again went to the field and conducted interviews with local community people, local government officials, and local government representatives. In the fourth phase, the researcher conducted interviews with tourism experts and remaining institutional representatives to get a general overview of the study issue. Afterwards, the researcher allocated around two to three weeks to generate initial findings and identified several missing points. So, at the last stage, the researcher went to the study site for the last time to collect missing information. In this stage, the researcher also organised a seminar to present initial findings, and seminar participants were the research respondents and other people from the community. The main aim of the seminar was to ensure data validity and reliability. Before leaving the study site, the researcher also participated in the workshop on CBT organised by the BTB, which was held in the auditorium of the Paharpur Museum.

#### **4.5.6 Thematic Analysis**

Thematic analysis, content analysis, and format analysis are standard methods of data analysis in qualitative research methods and among these, thematic analysis is the most used method in qualitative research. It is a method for identifying, analysing, organising, describing, and reporting themes within a data set and producing trustworthy and insightful results (Braun and Clarke, 2006). In addition, flexibility and ease of use make thematic analysis popular. The steps in a thematic analysis are becoming familiar with the data set, identifying codes, figuring out relevant themes, assessing themes, labelling the themes, and generating reports based on findings.

In this study, after data collection from the field, the researcher translated and transcribed the qualitative data to make it easy for further analysis. After that, the researcher identified initial codes and categorised them into different sub-themes. Later, the researcher reviewed the sub-themes to form group themes and, finally, focused on the main themes. When themes were finalised, the author started to write up the findings. For this, the researcher used the data

analysis software NVivo, a commonly used software in qualitative research, along with manual data processing (Jones and Diment, 2010). It was useful because it helped the researcher to manage and organise the qualitative data, assisted in a better understanding of the data, and provided support in identifying codes and themes.

Specifically, after the completion of the data collection, the researcher translated the recording of the interviews from Bengali to English. Later, the researcher organised each interview transcript and transcribed all the transcripts based on the research questions. After several readings of the data set, a large number of first-order codes were generated from the data set, which was followed by the generation of sub-themes, which were comprised of several first-order codes. Hence, for more specification, focus was shifted towards the identification of group themes and ultimately reached the final themes.

#### **4.6 Ethical Considerations in Qualitative Research**

Because of the in-depth nature of the qualitative study, it is essential to emphasise the ethical principles for ensuring the protection of human subjects who participate in the research process (Arifin, 2018). Hence, some fundamental research ethics principles are the autonomy of research participants, minimisation of risks associated with the research, and respecting participants and communities. Besides this, research also needs to consider the ethical issues in managing power relations. Several factors that need to be considered for maintaining ethics in research are informed consent, anonymity, confidentiality of the participants, no harm to respondents, and mutuality. Since qualitative research deals with human subjects, it is necessary to get ethical approval from the proper authority before the start of data collection. The researcher needs to inform the participants about the research's aim and clarify that the research will not harm them. Moreover, the researcher needs to obtain consent from the informants that they are participating in the research willingly, and at any time, they can withdraw from the process. This process is called informed consent. It has been asserted that several issues need to be considered before obtaining consent from the respondents, such as consent not being taken forcefully, supplying a written form of consent, approaching individually along with an information sheet, and the participants being competent to consent. The information sheet contains information about the aim of the research, how it will be conducted, and who is responsible for the research. It should be given to the participants before the interview, usually 24 hours to one week, so they can read it properly and give a sign before starting the interview process.

Another area of consideration is obtaining permission from the respondents before the audio-video tape is recorded. Importantly, ensuring the participants' confidentiality is another big ethical consideration in the research process. Researchers must maintain the privacy and responsibility to protect the identity of the respondents (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992). The anonymity and confidentiality of the respondents can be ensured by hiding the name and identity of them when analysing the data and writing up the findings (Arifin, 2018).

In this study, the researcher followed an ethical guideline before collecting data from the field. For this reason, the researcher received ethical approval from the University of Strathclyde for this study by following the required process. Moreover, before starting the interview, the researcher supplied the informant sheet and consent form to the respondents and collected signed consent forms to ensure that they willingly participated in this study. Furthermore, before recording the interview, the researcher asked for permission, although some respondents did not give permission but suggested taking notes. To ensure the anonymity and confidentiality of the respondents, the researcher used a coding system. Interviews were held in the respondents' suitable place and time.

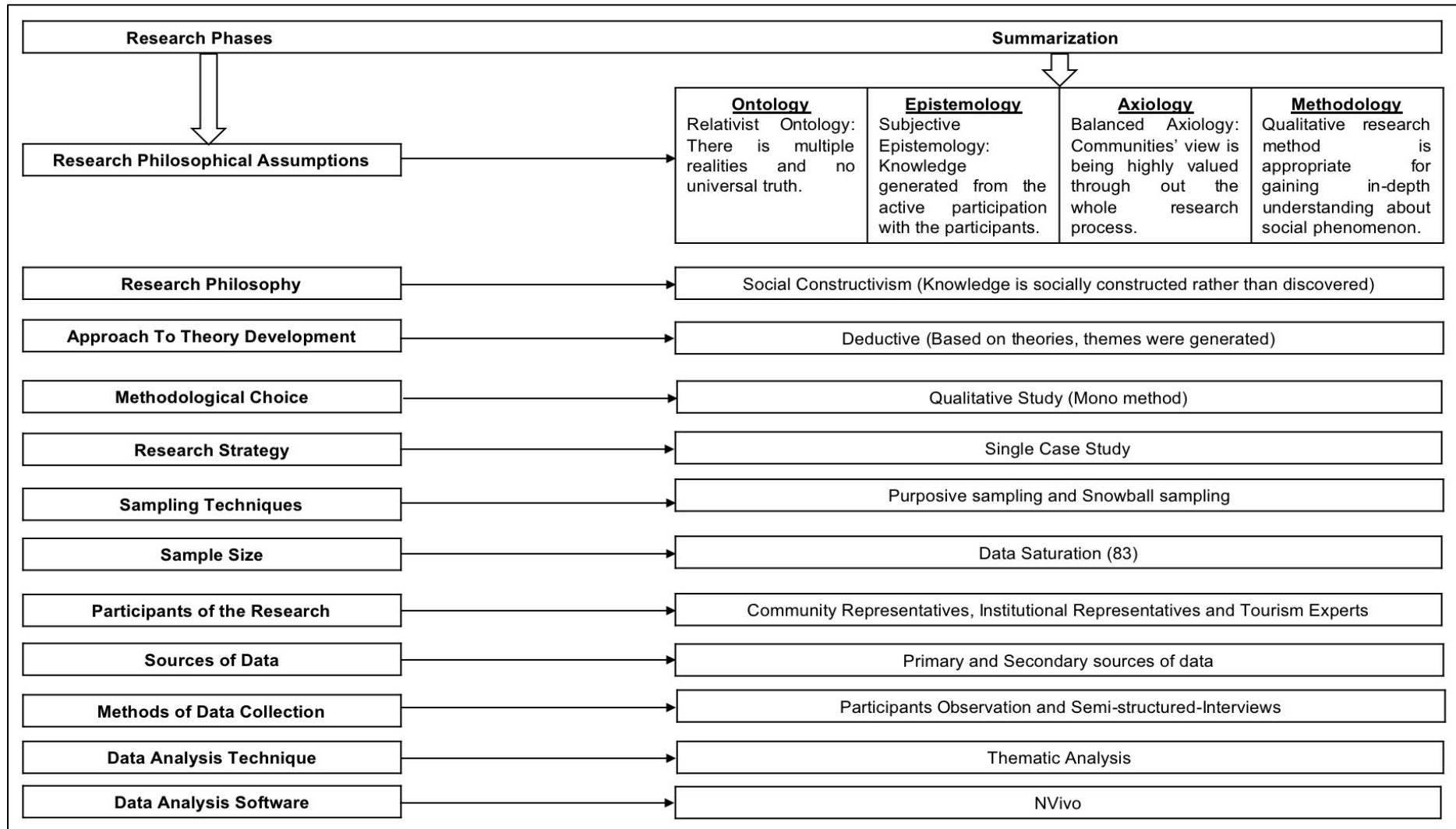
#### **4.7 Reflexivity and Positionality**

Qualitative research largely depends on the judgment of the researchers. Therefore, the issue of reflexivity needs to be considered significantly, and it has become a crucial aspect of qualitative research (Barrett, Kajamaa and Johnston, 2020). In this regard, reflexivity is a "set of continuous, collaborative, and multifaceted practices through which researchers self-consciously critique, appraise, and evaluate how their subjectivity and context influence the research processes (Olmos-Vega, 2023, p. 1)." That means insider and outsider (emic-etic) perspectives arise. However, an interpretive researcher conducts a study within a social setting where the researcher interacts with the research participants. Consequently, an insider or 'emic' perspective is formed there (Jennings, 2010). In this study, the researcher tried to balance between insider and outsider perspectives. The researcher stayed within the context for around four months to form an emic perspective. Initially, the researcher tried to build rapport with the local community, understand their situation, and participate in different activities. Creating an emic perspective was easier because the researcher was born and raised in a village. Notably, the research site was also a village which was very similar to the birthplace of the research. In addition, the researcher's ethnicity is Bengali, and so were the local people. Besides this, as a male researcher, it was easy to access the site.

The researcher's religion is Hindu, although most local people were Muslim in religious practice. However, the people were open-minded regarding religion because they lived in tourist destinations and always dealt with tourists from different backgrounds. In contrast, the researcher did not try to overemphasise his level of education and social status when the researcher stayed in the village and interacted with the community. Beyond this, a male assistant from the local community made it easier to enter the context and interact with participants. For example, it is usually difficult for male researchers to talk with village women, but with the help of a local assistant, it was easier to communicate and talk to them. Sometimes, the researcher faced language problems because of the regional dialect, but the assistant from the local area helped with clarifications. Hence, it was feasible for the researcher to gather the local community's view from their perspective.

However, the researcher also went through some difficult situations because of power clashes among different parties in the local area. To deal with these situations, in the first phase of data collection, the researcher stayed in the homestay house, which was run by a local community leader and in the next phase, the researcher stayed in the dormitory of the DoA. In addition, different parties from the local area approached the researcher to solve their problems, such as stopping the transfer of employees from one location to another location and raising voices to establish a university in their area. By staying neutral to all the parties, the researcher tried to overcome these types of situations. During the data collection phase, the researcher participated in different seminars, workshops, training programmes and informal discussion sessions. To avoid biases, in the data coding phase, the researcher distributed data transcripts to the peers who assisted with checking the codes and themes.

**Figure 4.2: Research methodology in a nutshell**



Source: Author

#### **4.8 Summary of the Chapter**

The researcher selected social constructivism as the research paradigm by aligning research questions and theory. The ontological feature of social constructivism describes that the real world is very complex, and there is no absolute truth. In addition, the epistemological viewpoint describes that knowledge is created through the interaction between researcher and research, where an individual's observations, thinking and interpretations contribute to knowledge generation. As a methodological lens, ANT also holds that the presence of different human and non-human actors makes reality very complex, and it is crucial to consider the thinking of every individual actor to create knowledge socially. Moreover, the researcher selected qualitative research methodology and also adopted a case study as a research strategy because it helps to gain in-depth knowledge about social reality, assists in discussing contemporary issues, instigates flexibility to adjust the research process, and gives scope to test the theory in the empirical field. More specifically, the researcher selected a single case for this study, and the study site was Paharpur. Several reasons inform the selection of Paharpur as a study site, i.e., the site's uniqueness, complexity, and establishment as a CBT destination. The data collection methods were semi-structured interviews and participant observation. Although most of these were face-to-face, few were conducted over the telephone and using an online platform such as Zoom. After data collection, the researcher focused on data translation and transcription because the interviews were conducted in Bengali. Later, thematic analysis was conducted through the generation of codes, sub-themes, group themes, and themes from the dataset. Last but not least, the researcher followed ethical guidelines to conduct the research and collect data from the field. Ethical guidelines include approval from the institution, supply of a consent form and information sheet, no harm to any participants, and ensuring their anonymity and confidentiality.



## Chapter 5: The Study Context

### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the significance of the selected context and case study site. It starts with a general overview of Bangladesh's tourism industry and extends with a description of the current condition of community-based tourism (CBT) in Bangladesh. Later, this chapter describes the details of North Bengal as a context and identifies the potential of tourism development to address several issues, like preserving and conserving heritage sites, improving socio-economic conditions and vulnerabilities, and connecting with regional networks through tourism development. It also stresses latent prospects for sustainable livelihood opportunities in relation to CBT. Lastly, this chapter provides an overview of the village of Paharpur as a case site.

### 5.2 Tourism in Bangladesh

Bangladesh is located at the heart of the Ganges-Brahmaputra Delta in South Asia, and its tourism industry is in early development compared to other countries. This industry is blessed with rich heritage resources and mesmerising natural beauty (Chowdhury, 2020). The country can be divided into four parts with respect to the tourism resources. The northern part of Bangladesh is the home of many archaeological sites such as Mohasthangarh, the oldest archaeological site; the largest Buddhist monastery found in Paharpur; the Kantaji Temple, the most ornate terracotta Hindu temple in Dinajpur; and several ancient Zamidarbari. Table 5.1 shows other tourist sites in Bangladesh.

**Table 5.1: Tourism sites by regions and its challenges**

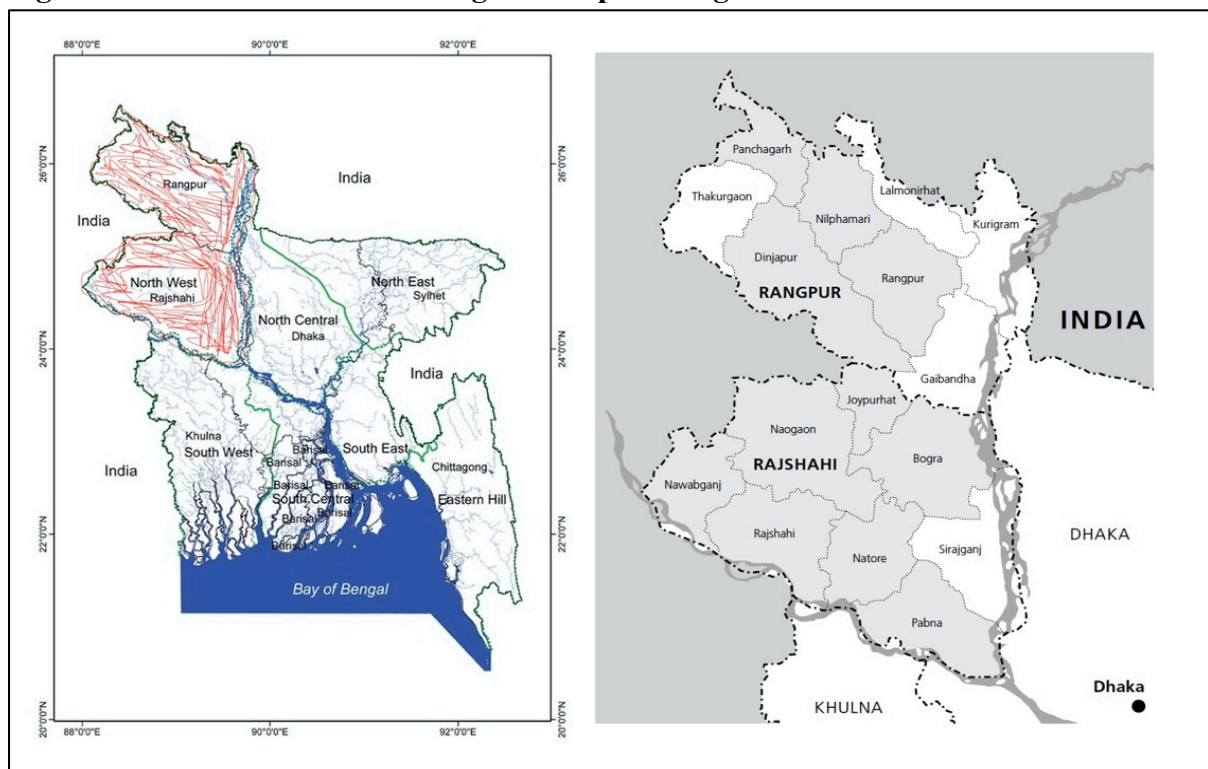
Divisions	Location	Distance from Capital (km)	No of Tourist Spots (Approx.)	Main Attractions	Current Problems
Dhaka	Central	-	50	Archaeological and Historical Sites	Maintenance
Chittagong	South	264	63	Sea Beaches, Hill Tracts	Environmental degradation Management
Rangpur	North	240	12	Archaeological and Historical Sites	Infrastructure
Rajshahi	North-West	264	21	Archaeological and Historical Sites	Infrastructure Maintenance
Sylhet	South-East	209	23	Tea Gardens, Forests	Infrastructure
Barisal	West-North	350	14	Sea Beaches	Infrastructure
Khulna	West-North	300	18	Mangrove Forest	Environmental degradation Water Ingression Salinity

Source: Karim (2014)

### 5.3 North-Bengal at a Glance

Bangladesh is divided into eight administrative divisions (Sultana and Shoumik, 2021): Dhaka, Rangpur, Rajshahi, Khulna, Barishal, Chattogram, Mymensingh and Sylhet. Besides this, the country is divided into several zones: north east, north west, north central, south east, south central and south west. Therefore, North Bengal comprises two divisions, the Rajshahi and Rangpur (Islam and Akter, 2021), and two divisions have sixteen districts. The total area of North Bengal is 34338.07 (km<sup>2</sup>), and the total number of people is around forty million (Wikipedia, 2021). This region has been significant for various reasons since ancient times. Hence, the following sections describe several important factors regarding North Bengal.

**Figure 5.1: Location of North Bengal in map of Bangladesh**



Source: NordNordWest, Wikipedia. Licensed by Creative Commons by-sa-3.0 de <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/de/deed.en>. Image modified by the author.

#### 5.3.1 Significance of Tourism in the Context of North Bengal

Bangladesh's archaeological sites are considered one of the most vital resources for domestic and international tourism (Kobra, Parvez and Khalil, 2019). North Bengal is also famous as a cultural heritage tourism site as it has all the features of this type of tourism. North Bengal hosts cultural traditions and historical monuments of different religions, such as Paharpur Buddhist Monastery as a symbol of Buddhist religion, Kantaji temple as the symbol of Hindu people, and different mosques as the symbol of Muslim religion.

However, this region is known as an underdeveloped region. The socio-economic conditions of North Bengal include food shortages, a lack of sustainable livelihood opportunities, an underdeveloped tourism industry, a lack of industrial activity, a lack of infrastructural development and a high dependence on agriculture (Elahi and Ara, 2008). North Bengal is a disaster-prone area that faces calamities like floods, droughts, Monga (a yearly cyclical period of poverty and hunger due to lack of job opportunities), and river erosion that impact the livelihoods of the local people of this area directly and adversely (Farid, Tanny and Sarma, 2015).

This said, the region has experienced some tourism development in recent years. North Bengal is now well connected by road and air transportation; attractions and accommodation facilities have improved, enhancing its appeal as an international tourism destination. A declared UNESCO World Heritage Site, as is the case in Paharpur, adds a new dimension to international tourism. As a result, many tour operators are designing their tour packages for North Bengal only.

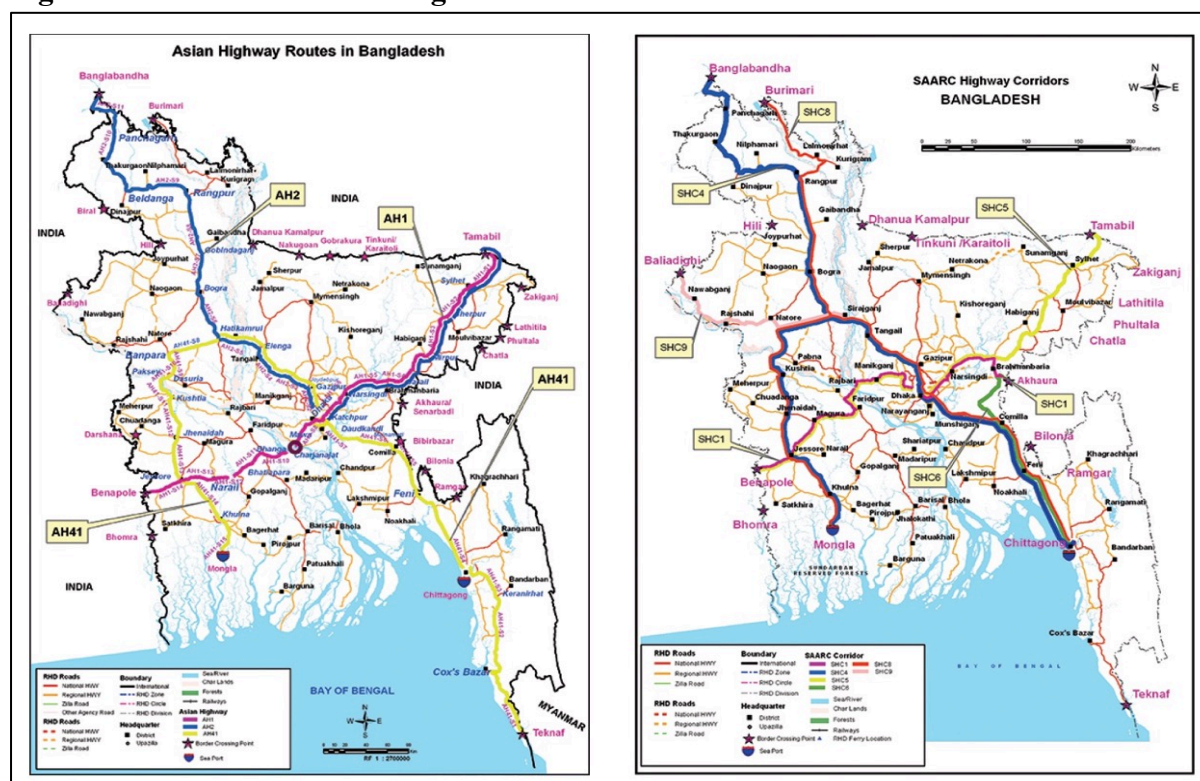
Although this region has several archaeological sites and historical value from ancient times to the present, the country can still not use its archaeological and historical resources to attract tourists to visit North Bengal in large numbers. These sites' lack of proper preservation and conservation initiatives is damaging (Hasan, Chowdhury and Wakil, 2022).

### **5.3.2 Connectivity in Regional Network**

Bangladesh is in an advantageous position to connect with the regional network, and Bangladesh is already in two regional forums, South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC). Developing a regional network can bring several benefits, such as expanding business opportunities, transit facilities, tourism development, and improving the standard of living for the neighbouring countries, mainly Bangladesh, India, Nepal, and Bhutan. The ports of North Bengal can easily connect these countries in a short distance, and this region can be known as the gateway of the regional network (Hossain and Hossain, 2021). For instance, the northern region of Bangladesh falls under different regional network projects such as the Asian Highway and SAARC highway corridors (Harada and Watanabe, 2010). Besides this, the India, Nepal, and Bhutan borders are very close to North Bengal and easily accessible through this region (Baten, González and Delgado, 2018).

Consequently, the authorities of Bangladesh have already started to improve the area's facilities to participate in business activities with India and Nepal (Septiant, 2020).

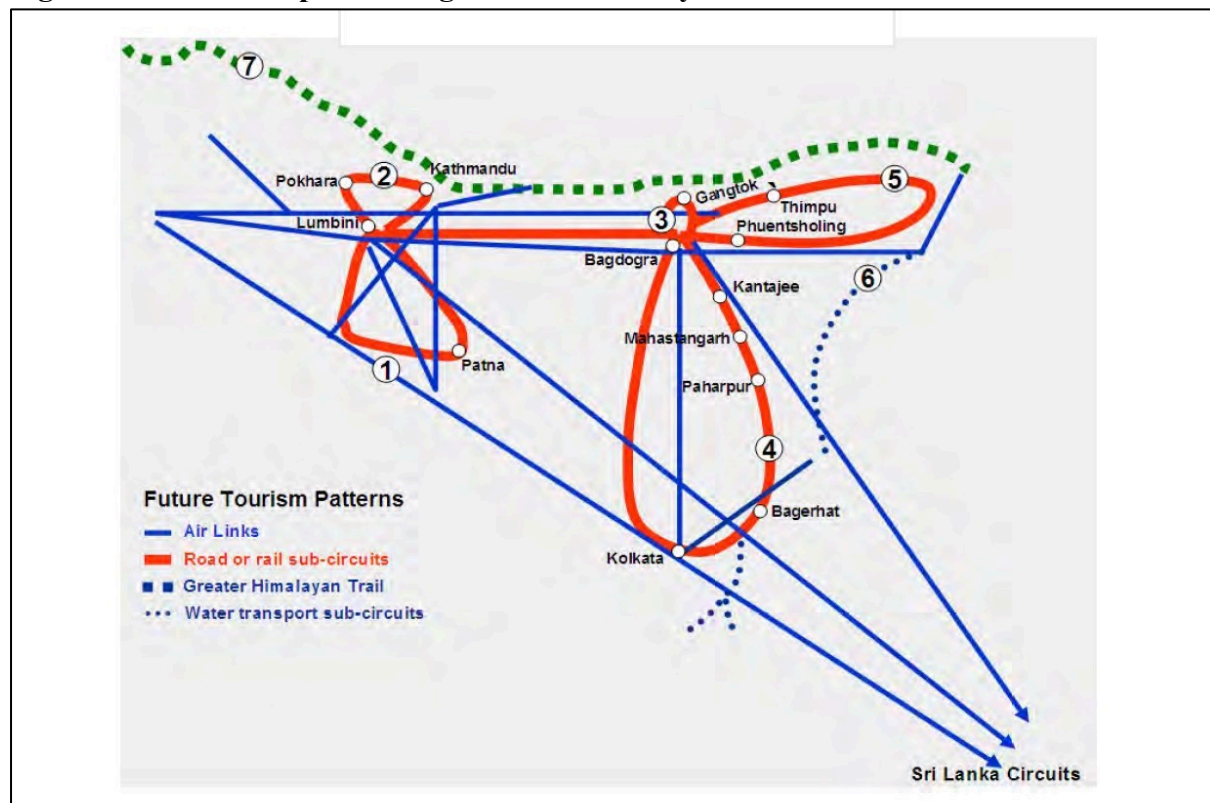
**Figure 5.2: Selected route of regional network**



Source: Asian Development Bank (ADB) Manual

Regional authorities have already started the project ‘The South Asia Tourism Infrastructure Development’ to develop and improve tourism-related infrastructure in Bangladesh, India, and Nepal. The project aims to improve the connectivity, infrastructure, and services of tourism sites in the destination. This project also creates a chance to include in the multinational tourism circuit, namely ‘Cultural Heritage Highway Circuit’. Therefore, this project enables access to the cultural sites of Bangladesh, extending from north to south in the western regions of Bangladesh, including Paharpur, Mahastangarh, Kantajee, and Bagerhat. Moreover, the four Heritage sites of the Heritage Highway circuit have tremendous international cultural heritage value.

**Figure 5.3: Route map of the regional connectivity**

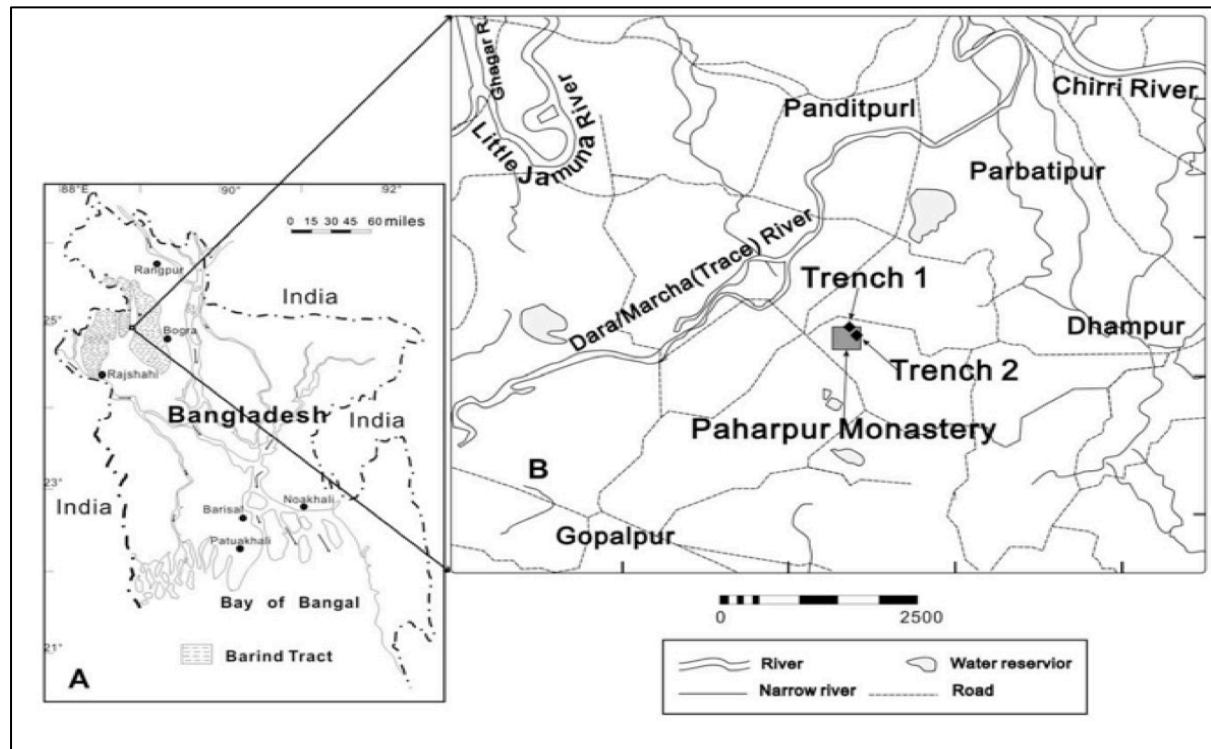


Source: Asian Development Bank (ADB) Manual

## 5.4 The Paharpur Context

The Paharpur Union is situated in Badalgachi Upazila, in the Naogaon district, and the Rajshahi division in north-western Bangladesh. This union is famous for the UNESCO-declared World Heritage Site, the Paharpur Buddhist Monastery. It is also reputed for the people's culture, traditions, festivals, sports, and hospitality. The total area of this union is 8.85 km<sup>2</sup>, and the total population is 27,483 (Census, 2011). There are 29 villages in this union, and some of the nearest villages to Paharpur Buddhist Monastery are Paharpur, Goalvita, Malancha, Ronahar, and Nunuj. In addition, the climate of the Paharpur is generally warm and humid, and based on the rainfall, humidity, temperature, and wind pressure, it can be classified into four seasons (Masud, Xie and Wallis, 2009) and winter is the best time to visit the area. Furthermore, the archaeological site of the Paharpur is surrounded by lively villages, mesmerising green scenarios, fertile soil, several types of crops, fields, poultry farms, livestock farms, and a few fish farming (Parveen, 2016).

**Figure 5.4: The location of Paharpur**



Source: Banglapedia (2023)

### 5.4.1 Tourism Attractions of Paharpur

Without any argumentation, the main attraction of the Paharpur Union is the Paharpur Buddhist Monastery, which is the oldest and largest Buddhist Monastery in the Indian subcontinent, and therefore a significant archaeological site. It was a learning centre and, more specifically, a university of the Buddhist people. People from different parts of the world came here to gather knowledge. It is locally known as Somapura Mahavihara (large monastery), situated in the middle of two villages, namely Paharpur and Malancha, under Paharpur Union (Masud, Xie and Wallis, 2009). This site became an UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1985 (Parveen, 2016). After independence, the Bangladeshi government also declared this site a national heritage site. A series of excavations at Sompura Mahavihara revealed that it was occupied predominantly by the Pala Dynasty from the middle of the 8th century through to the early 12th century, and it is recognised that Dharmapala founded the Sompura Mahavihara during the second half of the 8th century. Later, in the 12th century, when Senas, the followers of Hinduism, ruled out the Pala (followers of Buddhism), the use of Sompura Mahavihara (the Great Monastery) was continuously reduced before the monastery was permanently abandoned. The architecture of the site suggests that there is a central temple where three floors were discovered, 177 cells which monks used for worship and meditation, gateways and passages, a room for ensuring security, tanks, several small buildings, a bathing place, and terracotta used as a sculpture in

the wall of the main temple. Other objects, such as stone sculptures, inscriptions, metal images, coins, and pottery, are also found here (Banglapedia, 2023). The site's total area is around 60 acres of land, although a few years ago, the size of the area was 27 acres of land.

In terms of attractiveness, management, number of tourists, and revenue generation, this site is one of the top archaeological sites in Bangladesh. This site is under the direct supervision of the Department of Archaeology (DoA) and the direct control of UNESCO. Under the 'South Asian Tourism Infrastructure Development Project (SATIDP)', this site was fully renovated, funded by the Bangladesh government and the Asian Development Bank (ADB). The monastery is protected by a high wall around its four sides. There is also an entry complex, and tourists need to buy tickets from the ticket counter to enter. Inside the Monastery's boundary, there is a well-decorated museum where the authorities display ancient artefacts found at this site during the excavations. Beside the main temple, this site has several other structures that are well-connected by structured pathways and signage for directing visitors. The authority also put several boards describing the history of the place and the tour guide facilities. Inside the boundary of the monastery, there are several shaded areas for visitors, dustbins, two rest houses and two dormitories for providing accommodation facilities, a restaurant for selling local foods, namely the 'Heritage Café', prayer rooms, several gardens, public toilet facilities, a seminar room, and a business corner for selling local handicrafts. Outside the boundary, there is a parking area and an open stage for performance. The site is fully secured for visitors because it has several layers of security systems. For example, the tourist police are responsible for looking after visitors' safety and security and other issues both inside and outside the monastery. In contrast, the Battalion is fully responsible for ensuring the security inside of the monastery, and, more specifically, they look after the security of the museum. Besides this, the whole monastery area is under CCTV's control. Both foreign and domestic tourists visit here in large numbers, and the peak time to visit is early October to late February, although many tourists visit on weekends and holidays. As this is the prime location for those who believe in Buddhism, most foreign tourists come from China, Myanmar, Nepal, Bhutan, and other countries. They visit here to learn the history of the site.

In most cases, foreign tourists visit here as part of a tour operator package, but there are examples of international visitors travelling individually. Domestic tourists, mainly young people, visit this site as a part of an educational trip and for a picnic. Besides this, people of all ages visit to learn about the history and enjoy the beauty of the site. The local government recently started a tour bus package for tourists in Paharpur every weekend. Other nearby



archaeological and historical sites are Jagaddal Vihara, Halud Vihara, Kusumba Mosque, Balihar Zamidar House, and Patisar Rabindra Kacharibari. Besides the archaeological and historical sites, this area has several natural attractions such as forests, dighi, parks, lakes, and rivers. In addition, the local culture and tradition also attract many tourists to visit Paharpur. Paharpur, therefore, has rich cultural heritage tourism resources and has vast potential to establish itself as one of the prime tourism destinations of the country.

**Figure 5.5: Image of the Paharpur Buddhist Monastery**



Source: Photo taken by the researcher from Paharpur

#### **5.4.2 Community-based Tourism in Paharpur**

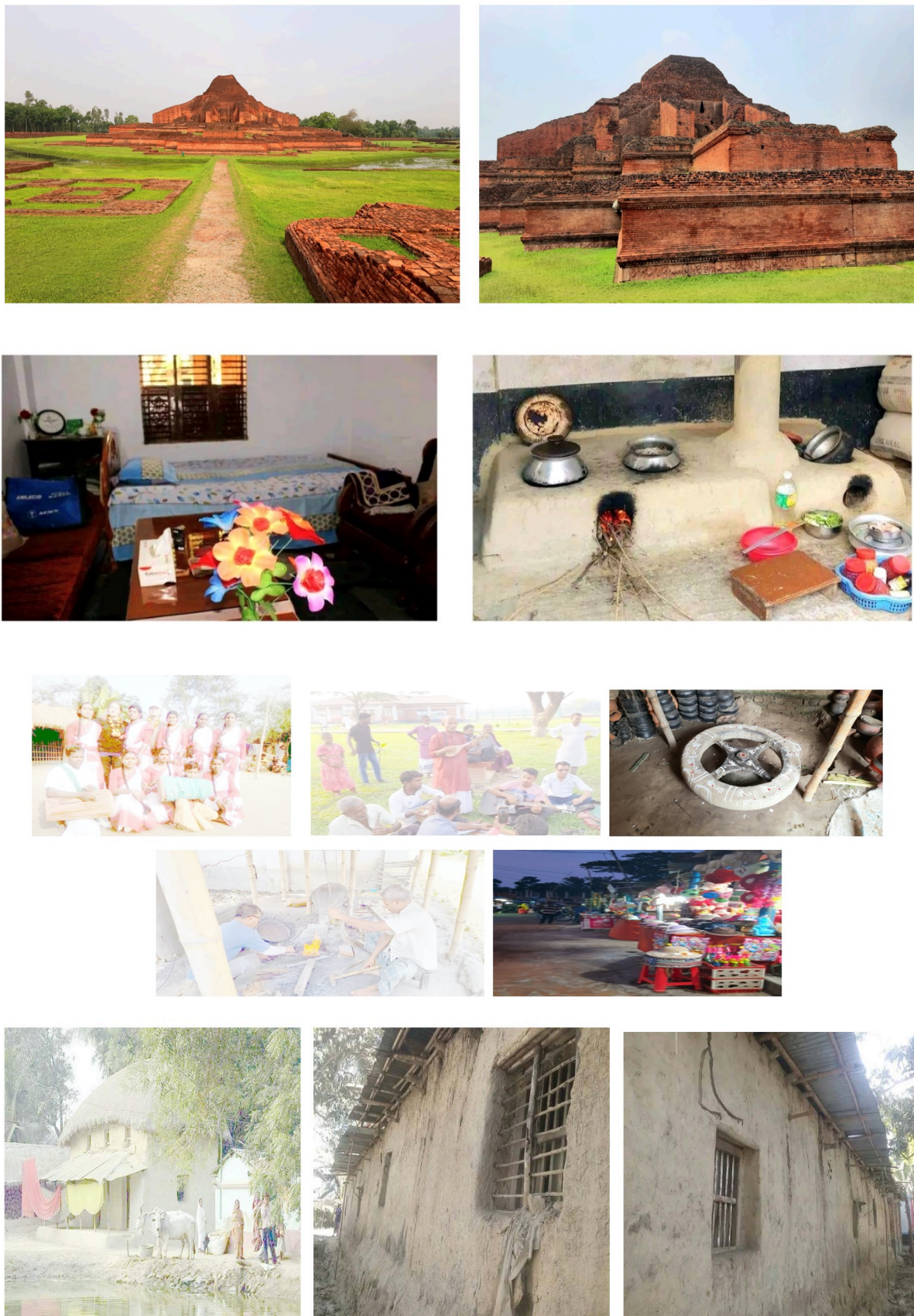
CBT in Paharpur was one of the first formal initiatives to develop this form of niche tourism in Bangladesh. At first, the DoA and BPC took the initiative to develop CBT in this area with the aid of the ADB. They trained local people in tour guiding, local food processing, and the production of handicrafts. Several factors impacted the selection of Paharpur as a CBT site. According to the experts' opinion, to develop CBT, there should be a major attraction, which can be natural, cultural, archaeological, or man-made. This area also has several other secondary tourist attractions, such as nearby archaeological sites, forests, dighi, and parks. However, beyond these different attractions, several other elements of CBT play a crucial role in developing and flourishing tourism here. For instance, homestay programmes are available



in the nearest villages. Notably, the Paharpur homestay project is a pioneering project, attracting a lot of attention from tourism stakeholders (Parveen, 2016). With funding from the BTB, Journey Plus, one of the oldest tour operators in the country, has provided training and guidelines to the local people for developing a homestay programme in the Malancha village. Journey Plus mainly provided training on tour guiding, housekeeping, food processing, and sanitation. Currently, there are fifteen homestay houses in Paharpur where tourists stay overnight, eat local organic foods, enjoy the activities of village people such as live cooking in soil cookers, interact with local people and enjoy the lifestyle, culture, and tradition of the people. Facilities include a clean washroom, internet, electricity backup, suitable furniture, enough room space, and the family members' ability to serve the tourists.

Tourists also have scope to participate in different community-based activities such as roaming around villages by using open auto and van, cycling, fishing, picking vegetables from the fields, collecting fruits from the trees, participating in agricultural activities, participating in local indoor and outdoor sports, capturing pictures with community people, enjoying heritage items such as the beauty of clay house, and cooking with village people in soil chimneys. They can also taste local foods, such as homemade cakes and street food, i.e., different types of fries, sweets, and yoghurts. Another main activity for tourists is talking to local people in the tea stalls in the evening, and the authorities sometimes arrange storytelling nights for the tourists. Several other activities include campfires in open spaces, enjoying cultural programmes in natural settings, observing handicraft product-making processes such as the weaving of Nakshikatha, making pottery products, blacksmiths' activities, and making bamboo items. The local authority organises cultural programmes where different cultural groups, such as the Baul team and tribal people, perform their music and dance. The attractiveness of the place has enhanced because of tribal communities, namely the Saontal, Orao, Mahalo, Karmokar, Makali, and some traditional activities like blacksmith workshops, pottery and carpentry (Parveen, 2016). Tour guides take tourists to the potters' village and the tribal village so that tourists can experience this cultural group's lifestyle, culture, and tradition. Beyond this, tourists can buy handicraft products such as Nakshikatha, pottery items, jute-made items, terracotta, and a replica of the Buddhist Monastery from the local community.

**Figure 5.6: Different CBT products in Paharpur**



Source: Photos taken by researcher at Paharpur

Host communities of Paharpur are very marginalised. They lack financial capital, skills, knowledge about tourism, a voice against discrimination, and capacity to link with intermediaries to sell their products. However, tourism provides potential for livelihood diversification in rural areas (Kimbu, Booyens and Winchenbach, 2022). Table 5.2 provides an overview of the livelihood opportunities of the people of Paharpur with an emphasis on tourism.

**Table 5.2: List of livelihood opportunities in Paharpur**

<b>Homestay program</b>	Homestay owners	<b>Business</b>	Souvenir shop
	Family members of homestay program		Restaurant Owner
<b>Tour guides</b>	Tour guides		Grocery shop
<b>Handicraft</b>	Naksikatha		Wood furniture store
	Potters		Tea stall owner
	Food production		Fruit dealers and sellers
	Black smiths		Pharmacy
	Bamboo items		Tailors
<b>Cultural groups</b>	Baul song		Internet provider
	Zari song	<b>Transportation</b>	Auto Driver
	Tribal dance and music		Van Driver
<b>Security force</b>	Tourist police		CNG driver
	General police	<b>Farmers</b>	Crop cultivators
	Civil police		Fisherman
	Security guard		Poultry industry
	Battalion	<b>Service staff</b>	Chef in picnic season
<b>Street vendors</b>	Street vendors		Waiter in picnic season
	Hawkers		Waiter in rest house
	Street food sellers		House keeper in rest house
<b>Washroom staff</b>	Washroom leaser		Chef in rest house/dormitory
	Washroom maintenance staff		Restaurant staff
<b>Cattle farmers</b>	Cattle farmers		Cleaners
	Grass collectors	<b>Religious activities</b>	Mosque imam
<b>Gardeners</b>	Gardeners	<b>Landlord/House renter</b>	Landlord/House renter
<b>Ticket sellers</b>	Ticket sellers	<b>Excavation</b>	Excavation
<b>Private investors</b>	Private investors	<b>Food suppliers</b>	Food suppliers
<b>Construction worker</b>	Construction workers		

Source: Author based on field data

## 5.5 Summary of the Chapter

Bangladesh is one of the Southeast Asian countries; neighbouring countries are India, Nepal, Bhutan, and Myanmar. It has eight administrative divisions and sixty-four districts, as this country is divided into several zones to ensure smooth administrative activities. Although this country has all types of tourism resources, it is still in the beginning stages. Some popular destinations are Cox's Bazar, home of the world's longest sea beach; Sundarbans, which hosts

the largest mangrove forest in the world; the sixty-dome mosque; and Paharpur Buddhist Monastery, etc. Different types of niche tourism are found in Bangladesh, and CBT is one of these. Currently, CBT is developing in Bangladesh in the natural tourism sites such as hill tracts, sea beaches, islands, lakes, tea gardens and the areas where ethnic people live. Besides this, on a small scale, CBT is developing in archaeological heritage sites, mainly in the North Bengal region of Bangladesh. In this regard, North Bengal consists of two divisions, namely Rajshahi and Rangpur, and this zone is known as the capital city of archaeological sites because this zone hosts the highest number of cultural and historical heritage sites of different religions, which also expresses the cultural integrity of the country. However, due to a lack of proper planning, tourism is not flourishing in this area. Besides this, the socio-economic conditions of the people are not good, and most people are fully dependent on agricultural activities. This sector was also affected by different calamities, such as floods and droughts, which led to the Monga situation where people had no scope to earn and eat food. So, creating alternative livelihood opportunities is needed to solve the problems of North Bengal, and tourism can contribute to this. More specifically, North Bengal hosts one of the UNESCO World Heritage Sites, namely Paharpur Buddhist Monastery, where CBT has been developed but is still in the initial stage of development. Importantly, Paharpur has all the potential to flourish CBT because this site has a prime tourism destination along with several secondary destinations, the natural beauty of rural Bangla, different types of communities, the unique culture and tradition, and the hospitable mindset of the local people.

## **Chapter 6: Analysis of the Development of Community-based Tourism in Paharpur**

### **6.1 Introduction**

This chapter starts with a description of the current condition of community-based tourism (CBT) in Bangladesh. In general, this chapter describes the Actor-Network Theory (ANT) and its components, i.e., the actors, the process of translation, and modes of ordering in the context of Paharpur. In this regard, firstly, actors were identified and briefly described, followed by a description of the steps of the translation process in relation to the CBT development process. Besides this, the focus is also on the factors that stabilise the relationship between actors in the CBT network. Overall, this chapter tries to figure out the creation of networks in the CBT destination of a rural area in a developing country and the factors that influence the stability of the CBT networks.

### **6.2 Community-based Tourism Considerations in Bangladesh**

Tourism that emerges, develops, and runs in a particular community is known as CBT. One of the experts from the tourism field (TE\_04\_IE\_02) defined CBT as: “A kind of tourism where a particular community takes the initiative for its betterment without hampering its regular everyday life, and provides hospitality to tourists is called CBT”. It is clear that the primary stakeholder in CBT should be the community, considered to be the prime actor. In addition, their unique selling features include the local culture, tradition, lifestyle, and unique artefacts, including handicraft products and local food items. CBT also creates scope for alternative livelihoods, which, on the one hand, reduces the pressure on the resources and, on the other hand, empowers the community’s people.

However, CBT is very sensitive. Selecting an appropriate place for its development is vital. In the context of Bangladesh, several factors need to be considered before the selection of a site, such as the availability of attractions, the significance of the place, the nature of the host community, basic infrastructure, the scope of participating in economic activities, a limited number of barriers, involvement of the supporting agencies, activeness of the law enforcing agencies, and overall interest of the tourists to visit that particular place. In this regard, attractions can be natural sites, man-made sites, historical sites, and cultural sites. Importantly, Bangladesh has a vast scope for developing CBT. Bangladesh has around 85,000 villages and many communities with unique cultural, traditional, and lifestyle features. Communities are also well known for their hospitality.

CBT emerges in Bangladesh based on different types of partnerships such as public-community, private-community, public-private-community, and private-public-community. This said, the main actors in developing CBT are the government, tour operators, NGOs, missionaries, the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the Industry Skill Council (ISC), and initiatives on the grassroots level. More specifically, from the government side, the Bangladesh Tourism Board (BTB), which is also the National Tourism Organisation (NTO) of Bangladesh, is responsible for developing CBT in different parts of the country. One tourism expert (TE\_01\_TP\_01) exemplified that: “BTB is trying their best to build up the awareness and capacity of the local community by organising training programmes and trying to involve the local community in tourism, who are marginal people. But there is still a lack of an intensive approach to developing CBT.”

However, there is no systematic CBT development in Bangladesh. Government bodies, tour operators, or private entrepreneurs are not coming forward to establish CBT in a coordinated way or introduce a business model for its development and operation. Authorities still do not realise the significance of this concept. Although CBT has huge prospects in Bangladesh, the country can still not apply, implement, and utilise the prospects. One of the participants (CR\_55\_TO\_01) identified that: “CBT is in the primary stage of the development. People have just started to work on CBT, but no constructive work has yet been done. We have a huge scope for developing CBT in Bangladesh, but we can still not explore this further. There is a huge gap.”

### **6.3 Community-based Tourism Actors**

Actors comprised of both human and non-human are vital for developing and managing CBT. On the one hand, human actors are fully responsible for dealing with tourists in the destination. On the other hand, non-human actors drive tourists to visit a particular place.

#### **6.3.1 Human Actors**

Several human actors are related to CBT in Paharpur. In general, some of these actors are participants of the homestay programme, tour guides, handcraft product producers, cultural groups of people, businessmen, transportation personnel, security personnel, host community, national and international organisations and their staffs, local-level government and its representatives, and tourists. Regarding the livelihoods of homestay participants, the primary income of homestay providers is agriculture, and tourism is their secondary income. One of the community representatives from the homestay programme (CR\_18\_HO\_05) noted that

they were engaged with the homestay programme through training programmes. Another participant from the community (CR\_14\_HO\_04) stated,

“Mainly, I have a business. Besides this, I am involved with tourism and have a homestay programme. My aim for running the homestay programme is to provide a facility for tourists to stay overnight in the community. Our main target segment is the foreign tourists. This homestay, on the one side, gives me the scope to deal with tourists; on the other, it creates scope for earning money.”

In addition, family members of the homestay programme are actively involved in tourism, providing services to the tourists and guiding them around the village. For example, during the interview, one homestay programme (CR\_23\_HM\_03) family member said: “I am a housewife. I have a homestay at my house. When tourists stay here, I provide them with service. So, I can say that I am involved with tourism.” In fact, the aim of the homestay programme was to engage all the people of a family in tourism. Such a view was echoed in the opinion of a representative from the tour operator business (IR\_13\_TO\_02), who said that:

“I saw the family members of these houses before the selection of houses. My target was to ensure that the family would be a complete family. For example, the family will be comprised of a grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, and young son. When tourists arrive, the father will take care tourists, the mother will provide service, hospitality, and cook food for the tourists, senior people will chat with them, and the young son will provide guide service and roam around the village and bring them to the shops to buy products.”

Correspondingly, one of the female participants from the community (CR\_29\_HP\_06) described the impact of CBT on their earnings and empowerment as follows:

“Previously, I had no scope to participate in economic activities. But when my husband started the homestay programme, I got the opportunity to provide food to the tourists. I also supply food to different programmes and earn money. Besides this, I can also sell Nakshikatha to tourists who stay in homestay houses. This way, I am contributing to the family income, which was quite impossible previously. Furthermore, people in my community now appreciate me and try to build and maintain good relations with me, mainly women who are searching for job opportunities.”

Many people involved in tour guiding were trained by the Bangladesh Parjatan Corporation (BPC), Bangladesh Tourism Board (BTB), Department of Archaeology (DoA), and Journey Plus. They aimed to involve more local people in tourism. For example, one of the participants



from the BPC (IR\_12\_BPC\_01) claimed that: “We tried to create a sense of ownership among the local people. As a result, we trained the local people in several areas, and the tour guide was one of these. Besides this, we tried to make them aware so that they could earn their livelihood from tourism activities.”

But very few people are actively engaged in tour guiding now. Importantly, the authority is looking forward to preparing and engaging more people as tour guides; BTB and DoA are trying to create some posts for tour guides in the archaeological sites. At the same time, many people are makers of handicrafts. They produce Nakshikatha (hand-embroidered quilts, a centuries-old Bengali art tradition), pottery, bamboo, jute, local unique foods, and iron items. However, they are facing several difficulties, such as weak market linkages, the high price of raw materials, which impacts the end product price, no place for selling and displaying products, and promotional support. Several initiatives have been taken to improve their conditions, but these have not worked well. For example, one of the local community representatives (CR\_7\_HP\_03) from Paharpur highlighted that:

“We asked homestay owners to kindly tell them about our Nakshikatha when a tourist comes, so we can sell it to them. Once, a fair was held in Paharpur where we displayed our products. Unfortunately, we were unable to sell a single Nakshikatha. People from other areas and government organisations participated in the fair along with the local people. However, they thought that the price of the Nakshikatha was very high, so they didn’t buy any Nakshikatha from us; otherwise, we would have sold some products. Nakshikatha is very beautiful; we need to put lots of effort into making the shape of different items and give a huge amount of time because it is a fully manual process. The price of the raw materials is also very high.”

Moreover, cultural groups play significant roles in promoting CBT in Paharpur. Cultural groups are an inseparable part of CBT. These cultural groups include the indigenous community, Baul singers, and the potter’s community. When tourists arrive in Paharpur, the authorities arrange tribal cultural programmes, which include dance and music on the premises of the tribal community, inside the Monastery, or as part of the homestay programme. It depends on the tourists’ demand. On the one hand, this tribal community is enriched with culture and tradition; on the other hand, they are very interested in participating in tourism. For example, one of the members from the Orai indigenous community (CR\_17\_CG\_01) remarked:



“Although agriculture is our main profession, I am also involved with tourism. I perform in cultural programmes. It has been our tradition for a long time, even before the start of tourism. We organise two to three programmes in a month for ourselves. We have been practising this culture for a long time and are continuing this.”

Baul singers also contribute to tourism. This is the oldest form of cultural activity in this area. They perform their songs in front of tourists every week. Before starting tourism, they performed in different occasions and programmes, and by performing in those programmes, they earned their livelihood. They have a unique feature; they can write a song instantly on a particular topic. They also revived one of the endangered songs named Charjapad. However, the situation is changing now. They do not earn much from this profession, and the next generation is leaving this art and shifting to other professions.

Furthermore, tour guides bring tourists to the potter's village, where tourists can witness potters' live product-making process. Potters live in two villages, namely Mithapur and Jamalpur. Previously, many people were involved with this profession, but now, due to a lack of demand for their products, they are changing their profession to agriculture and others. The current generation is not engaging with this profession and is not becoming skilled in it. They also lack promotion, strong links, and communication with the primary market. Briefly, cultural groups are contributing strongly as human actors to CBT in Paharpur.

CBT is creating further scope for the local community to participate in different business activities, i.e., souvenir shops, grocery shops, restaurants, tea stalls, cosmetic shops, furniture shops, and hawkers. For instance, UNESCO has a rule that there must be ten souvenir shops close to the entrance of the archaeological site. In Paharpur, there are seven souvenir shops that local people run. They sell locally-made, unique items and heritage products. However, the response from tourists to buying souvenir products is very low. For example, one of the community representatives from the souvenir shop owners (CR\_19\_BS\_01) demonstrated that:

“I have a souvenir shop close to Bihar. Tourists get a chance to buy unique products from me, but most people are not interested in buying products. They just enter inside Bihar with a guide, eat something, and then leave. They buy minimally, even foreign tourists. They just see the products.”

In contrast, another respondent provided reverse feedback and claimed that: “Every Friday and Saturday, we get a huge number of tourists here. We sell a huge number of products on those days.”. Additionally, the restaurant business is reportedly doing well in that area. Many people

are involved with this profession as owners and staff, although they compete to attract patrons to their premises. Very recently, a restaurant has been opened inside the Monastery, given a lease by DoA to an outside private investor, but other restaurant owners and staff are the local people.

In addition, many people sell different products informally. Previously, they had the opportunity to sell their products inside the Monastery. But now, this is prohibited because of environmental concerns. They now sell products outside of the gate. One of the community representatives (CR\_47\_BR\_03) commented that: “Previously, we had the scope to sell the products through ferry inside of the Bihar, but now it is prohibited. So, I decided to get a shop close to the boundary. However, other businesses and DoA authorities create problems for us. We request authority to continue the business.”

Meanwhile, the host community participates in other activities such as cooking food for the picnic party, cleaning utensils, leasing places for picnics, supplying water to the tourists, collecting grass from the Monastery, providing food to the tourists, farming, and selling food and products as street vendors. Village women, local marginal people, and young, uneducated people participate in these activities. Moreover, local people work as transportation personnel, such as van drivers, CNG drivers, auto drivers, and drivers of other vehicles.

Fortunately, the presence of different layers of security personnel such as tourist police, general police, battalion, Rapid Action Battalion (RAB), and civil police contributes positively and strongly to CBT in Paharpur. A significant change has occurred in tourism development with the help of the tourist police. Since 2016, this force has been working here. Because of their presence, security is very strong now, and this tight security motivates tourists to visit Paharpur. Tourist police organise community policing every month. Besides this, they organise seminars as part of the awareness programme. They also participate in the coordination meetings organised by the district administration office. Moreover, the government established a police outpost near the main attraction. Participants from the police administration (IR\_01\_TP\_01) also agreed that security is one of the most significant reasons in view of an increasing number of tourists. “Previously, there was no tourist police, tight security, or tourist-friendly local people. As a result, the number of tourists was small. But now there is plenty of security, so we are receiving many tourists right now.”

Different types of organisations and their staff are playing a role as catalysts for establishing and promoting CBT in Paharpur. These organisations are comprised of both national and

international organisations. In this regard, national organisations include both government organisations and private organisations. Government organisations include DoA, BTB, BPC, and Oitijjo Anneshon. Besides this, local-level government offices include District Commissioner office, Upazila office, and Union Parishad. From the private sector side, the tour operator named Journey Plus was responsible for the CBT product development. In contrast, international organisations such as UNESCO and the Asian Development Bank (ADB) play different roles, such as preservation and conservation of the site and funding for development.

Finally, one of the most important human actors is tourists. A large number of tourists visit Paharpur during the season. Both domestic and foreign tourists visit here. Previously, domestic tourists came from the local areas, but now, they come from different parts of the country. They organise tours individually, but the district administration has recently started a tourist bus package to end their journey in Paharpur. Tourists come in groups to buy packages from the district administration. People of all ages, such as children, young people, middle-aged people, and senior citizens from different parts of the country, visit Paharpur. However, most domestic tourists visit from closer areas, mainly from the North Bengal region of Bangladesh.

Additionally, many important persons from government offices visit the archaeological site frequently. Sometimes, they visit for official purposes, too - ambassadors from different countries visit Paharpur regularly. While foreign tourists also visit Paharpur, the number is smaller than that of domestic tourists. Foreign tourists mainly visit from neighbouring countries such as India, Nepal, Bhutan, China, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, and Japan. Young and senior citizens visit this site to learn about the history of Paharpur. They also roam the villages and interact with the local community. Some tourists prefer to stay with host communities, while others prefer to leave on the same day.

In summary, human actors comprise both supply-side and demand-side stakeholders. All of these human actors are vital for developing and continuing tourism. If tourists do not visit a place, locals will not be interested in participating in tourism and developing it. What is more, tourists will be dissatisfied and demotivated to visit the place if they do not get service from the host community.

### **6.3.2 Non-human Actors**

In general, non-human actors are a catalyst for motivating tourists to visit a particular site. From the context of Paharpur, several non-human actors such as attractions, the status of the

World Heritage Site (WHS), climate and weather, and the very recent COVID-19 pandemic's impact on CBT in Paharpur. One of the major factors that drives the development of CBT is the availability of attractions. For example, one of the institutional representatives (IR\_13\_TO\_02) claimed that: "The prime condition for developing CBT is that there must be a prime attraction, and this attraction will be the base." Hence, respondents of this research frequently said the monastery is the prime pull factor. Almost three-fourths of respondents mentioned that tourists visit here only to see the Paharpur Buddhist Monastery. According to a community representative (CR\_22\_TG\_05): "It is a historical place. People mainly come here to see the Buddhist Monastery, which is also a World Heritage site".

Inside the monastery, there is a museum, which is also an attraction for tourists. However, this Buddhist Monastery was not as developed and organised as it is today. It was open and unorganised, and the environment was not maintained. Significant recent developments changed the site for the better, many facilities have been added, such as a renovated museum, heritage café, signage, structured pathways, notice board, boundary wall, visitor shades for resting, mosques, rest houses, dormitories, beautiful entry complex, parking facility, ticketing system, CCTV, gardens, lighting facilities, washroom facilities, dustbins, and neat and clean environment. Now, this major attraction is well-maintained. All of these developments are attracting more tourists to visit Paharpur. Besides this main attraction, Paharpur has several other attractions, such as the natural beauty of the villages and their environment, natural attractions such as ponds, lakes, agricultural lands, cultural attractions such as tribal dance and music, Baul songs, Zari songs, and watching the weaving of handicraft products. In brief, Paharpur has primary and secondary attractions that attract tourists to visit Paharpur and participate in CBT.

Importantly, the declaration of status is helping to promote this site both nationally and internationally. This site gained World Heritage status because of its unique archaeological design. One of the institutional representatives (IR\_12\_BPC\_01) clearly explained its uniqueness.

"UNESCO declared this site a World Heritage site. UNESCO doesn't give every structure a World Heritage status. Only the unique sites get this status, and the uniqueness of the Paharpur Buddhist Monastery is its architectural design. It was a university of learning. Even people believe that lord Buddha visited here in this land. There were many civilisations. If you go layer by layer, then you will see this. Even the life-leading rolling system and social structure of that period can be found in the

different artefacts of that area after excavation. The grand design and different faces of Buddha and Om, where people give puja. This is an example of archaeological uniqueness. Besides this, it has a huge heritage significance.”

Although the monastery with its World Heritage Status is regarded as a non-human actor, its attractiveness depends on the actions of human actors. This shows the independence of non-human and human actors in the context of tourism.

The climate and weather of Paharpur significantly influence the arrival of tourists. There are three main seasons: summer, rainy, and winter. Most tourists visit during the winter season, which ranges from early October to late February. This is the peak time for tourists to visit, with a huge number of both domestic and foreign tourists flocking to Paharpur. The comfortable temperature and the open Monastery make it an ideal time to visit. Conversely, summer is very hot, and people feel hotter inside the Monastery. The monastery is open, and it becomes difficult for tourists to protect themselves from rain in the rainy season. Therefore, tourists feel uncomfortable visiting during the rainy season. Hence, one of the community respondents (CR\_22\_TG\_05) from the direct experience stated that: “Paharpur is a seasonal destination. Winter season, specifically December, is the peak time for tourists to visit. A huge number of tourists visit in the winter season. Both domestic and foreign tourists visit in large numbers in the winter season.”

Finally, the very recent pandemic outbreak made a mark on the tourism industry. Tourism in Paharpur also faced several impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic. In general, some negative impacts were strict rules and regulations, a shift of people and financial loss. Like every country in the world, the government of Bangladesh has also imposed several strict rules and regulations to restrict tourists’ visits to tourist destinations. Paharpur also faced these restrictions. Consequently, the monastery was also closed. People were prohibited from entering the site and roaming around the nearest villages. Transportation was also suspended, and tourists could not visit the site. The cultural programme was not held in that period because performers were not allowed to perform in front of tourists. It created challenges for preserving culture and tradition because people needed to get a chance to practice, perform and earn money. They searched for alternative professions. In addition, businesses were closed, and they required alternative livelihood options. One of the community representatives (CR\_54\_BS\_03) shared the experience of the COVID-19 period.

“The whole world suffered from COVID-19. We also faced difficulties. Paharpur Buddhist Monastery is an asset of the government and is managed under their

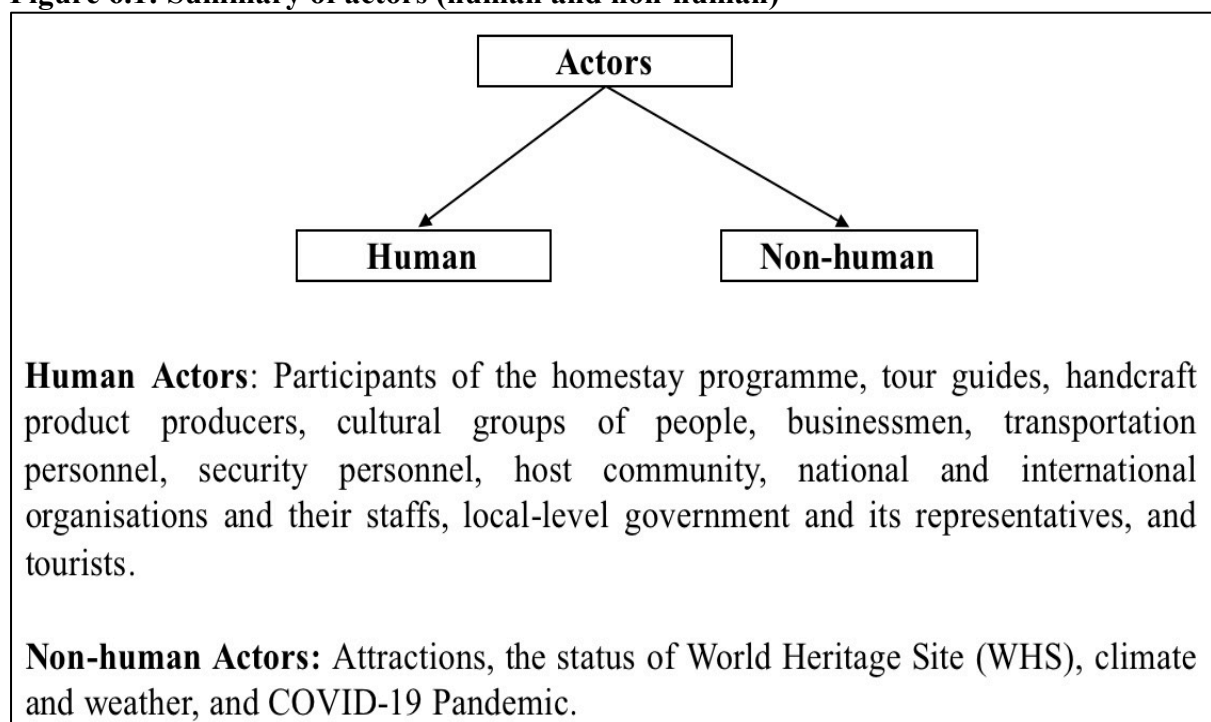
supervision. Hence, according to the government’s instructions, it was closed. Our business is based on this site, but at that time, our shops were also closed, and we were not allowed to open the shop. We had no income at that time. We were literally stopped. We took loans from other people and broke the deposit to survive. We were really helpless, and we were in fear.”

Moreover, many people left Paharpur to search for new jobs and went to other parts of the country. In contrast, many people lost their jobs and returned to Paharpur for earning opportunities. Many people changed tourism-related jobs and shifted to other professions, mainly in agriculture. One participant (IR\_12\_BPC\_01) stated that:

“COVID-19 had a huge impact on tourism. It impacted all the tourism stakeholders, such as tour operators and local tour guides who were out of their jobs. They suffered a lot because their income was zero. Food producers, handicrafts people, and even transport drivers were sufferers. All the people fought hard for survival. Some people were sacked from their jobs and lost their jobs. Some people changed their jobs, and some people lost their skills.”

In summary, human and non-human actors play crucial roles in CBT in Paharpur. The absence of one kind of actor disrupts the operation’s smoothness. For this reason, harmony among all the actors is needed for CBT to flourish in Paharpur and reach the next stages of development.

**Figure 6.1: Summary of actors (human and non-human)**



Source: Author

#### **6.4 Development of Community-based Tourism through the Lens of Process of Translation**

In the early 1980s, there was no tourism in Paharpur. Tourism picked up after the site received its UNESCO status in 1985. At the time, though, tourism was still underdeveloped, explained as follows by community representatives (CR\_12\_TG\_03) who recalled that:

“When Paharpur got the World Heritage status from UNESCO, foreign tourists started to come here. Before that, we had domestic tourists. In earlier times, there were not many facilities. There were lots of problems. There were no accommodation facilities, no food facilities. There was a huge problem of safety and security. Although few tourists visited here at that time.”

This statement reflects that there was limited tourism development in the initial stage, security was very weak, there was no scope to know about Paharpur and its historical value, and there were no facilities for staying and eating in Paharpur. Later, when foreign tourists started coming to Paharpur with outside tourist guides, they brought them to the village to roam around. These tourists enjoyed the monastery, learned the history from the tour guide, and then moved to the villages to enjoy the village culture, environment, and traditional lifestyle, but they did not stay in the village for a long time.

In that way, local people became familiar with tourists and tourism. In the meantime, community people started to join DoA as tour guides, and there was an instruction from the UNESCO commission to recruit tour guides in the monastery. Moreover, local tour guides started to learn more about the guiding service from the outside tour guides and by collecting different books on tour guiding services. This way, a relationship was created between the outside and local tourist guides. As a result, outside tourist guides requested local tour guides to arrange food facilities for the tourists on their premises. Most importantly, that was the first step to becoming familiar with the concept of CBT in Paharpur.

After that, foreign tourists started to visit the village, where they roamed and ate food in the community's house. In this way, the concept of CBT was started in Paharpur. Initially, only one local was involved with tourism, and there was no network among the other locals. However, CBT networks started to grow gradually in Paharpur later. Hence, the following section will describe this network-growing process briefly.

#### 6.4.1 Problematisation

Although Paharpur Buddhist Monastery is a UNESCO World Heritage Site, this site faced preservation and conservation-related problems because of the host community's lack of awareness. For instance, one of the institutional representatives (IR\_07\_DoA\_01) exemplified the situation by saying that:

“In most archaeological sites in Bangladesh, the local community is unaware of the significance of the archaeological site and its historical value. They also don't feel that it is very important for them to earn a livelihood, and many other things. Local communities break and open the bricks and destroy the structure in many ways. When they don't feel for that, then they do such types of activities. This is the reality of our country's perspective. But when they feel and own this site, then it will be possible to protect the site for a long time.”

Another main problem in Paharpur was the shortage of infrastructure. The main site was not that developed, there were no accommodation and catering facilities, the road infrastructure was not good, and the security structure was very weak. Moreover, there was no scope to know about Paharpur and its actual history from the tour guide. Yet, this site is facing problems related to tour guiding. Furthermore, one of the most vital problems was the lack of community involvement in tourism. For an archaeological site, it is mandatory to involve the local community directly to ensure its preservation, conservation, and tourism development. Unfortunately, at that time, Paharpur was missing the contribution of the local community for its preservation. One institutional representative (IR\_12\_BPC\_01) explained the significance of community involvement and stated that:

“Paharpur Buddhist Monastery is a World Heritage Site, and it is the property of local people. We need to protect and promote it. In this case, community engagement is essential because if they are involved, it will be easier to conserve the site and flourish tourism to a greater extent.”

As a result, to overcome these problems, the authority took the initiative to run a project under the South Asia Tourism Infrastructure Development title. In general, the main goals of the authority were to ensure the conservation of the Paharpur Buddhist Monastery and its structural development. More specifically, the authority aimed to develop infrastructure, community development, and community involvement, create opportunities for sustainable livelihood for the local community, develop heritage products, and promote tourism. In that way, for developing the main site, they developed infrastructure such as renovating the main temple, re-



constructed the main structure, developing and renovating the old museum, establishing and renovating rest houses and dormitories inside the monastery, providing signage and dustbins, setting up notice boards, made pathways, established visitor shades for seating, built souvenir shops, restaurant named Heritage Café, prayer house, washrooms, entry complex, boundary wall, parking space and established a business corner. Representatives (IR\_18\_DoA\_04) from the DoA illustrated the whole process of infrastructural development.

“Infrastructure development aimed to beautify the area, to create facilities for the community that will increase the chance for earning of the local people, tourist-based activities start, and community development as well as renovate and, in some cases, reconstruct those structures which were breaking. Moreover, structural development work included building and renovating the rest houses on the site, building the souvenir shop, creating scope for gardening, building a restaurant, providing tourist shade for seating, developing museums, and renovating the museum. Importantly, we renovated the museum. Besides the souvenir shop, we also established a business corner so that they can display and sell their products to the tourists.”

Several initiatives have been taken to develop the community, such as conducting awareness programmes to make local people aware so that they can realise the importance of the conservation and preservation of archaeological sites, effectively sharing information, and making the area tourist friendly. At the same time, focus was given to the development of the skills of local people through training programmes. For instance, the aim was to prepare local people as tour guides so that they could demonstrate the proper history of the Paharpur to the tourists and give them directions. Priority was also given to developing local women’s skills by providing training in handicraft products such as Nakshikatha making. They were also instructed to teach other women. One interviewee (IR\_09\_OA\_02) mentioned that: “The question was how people will come, how you will inform them, and whether the local community knows about the heritage site because this is their heritage. It will not be sustainable if they don’t own the site. Our motto was to make local people aware of their heritage.”

Efforts were also made to involve the local community in conservation as well as in tourism. Community involvement makes the conservation task easier, ensures sustainable development, and improves community life in certain respects. When local people take responsibility for preservation and conservation and feel that it is their asset, it becomes easier to conserve cultural heritage resources. Per illustration, one of the participants (CR\_55\_TO\_01) commented on the link between community involvement and improvement.

“For me, the prime reason is that if we want to ensure its sustainable development, then we must actively involve local people in tourism. Suppose we cannot make people aware of the significance of archaeological sites. In that case, preserving and conserving the archaeological sites for a long time will be very difficult. It is not possible for the government authority to manage everything in a better way. If there is CBT development, then there will be a win-win situation. It will be easier for the government to preserve, conserve, and promote it as a tourism site. Moreover, the community will benefit from the tourism sector for a long time. We need to maintain world standards for the archaeological site, and this community can play a huge role.”

Beyond this, priority was also given to the creation of opportunities for sustainable livelihoods from tourism activities by creating employment opportunities. These facilities will increase the chances for earning for local people, building souvenir shops, establishing business corners, making people self-employed, making connections with the market, and enriching small and medium-sized industry, ultimately impacting the area’s development. Besides this, another area of concern was the development of heritage products. According to IR\_08\_OA\_01,

“We also tried to make them familiar with their heritage products so that they can make some products. For this reason, we worked on the terracotta. We wanted to bring this terracotta to Katha by stitch so that we would be able to present the local culture and tradition to the tourists differently.”

Overall, one of the main aims was to promote tourism in Paharpur by introducing the Buddhist Monastery in a new way to the people of the world, making tourist access easy to the site, presenting the local culture and tradition to the tourists, involving and developing community for participating in tourism, and above all increasing the number of tourists.

In this context, several national and international organisations were involved in running the project. For instance, some of the national organisations were the Ministry of Cultural Affairs (MoCA), Ministry of Civil Aviation and Tourism (MoCAT), Department of Archaeology (DoA), Bangladesh Parjatan Corporation (BPC), Oitijjo Anneshon and Local NGOs. International organisations were UNESCO and the Asian Development Bank (ADB). This was a ministry-level project where MoCA took the initiative to develop the site and selected the site. They engaged MoCAT to look after tourism. There was a steering committee for coordination between these two ministries. Later, DoA was given responsibility for the project. According to CR\_30\_TG\_07,

“DoA played the main role in this project, and the department was the active player. The project was run under the supervision of DoA. They involved BPC in focusing on promotion-related issues and preparing the community by conducting training programmes in several areas, i.e., training tour guides. Likewise, a research organisation named Oitijjo Anneshon was included in the project to conduct training programmes and run awareness programmes. They also focused on the development of the heritage products. Local NGOs provided training on handicraft products and local food processing.”

However, international organisations provided a portion of the funds and consultants for this project. At the same time, local government representatives such as the District Commissioner (DC), Upazila Nirbahi Officer (UNO), Chairman, and Union Member were involved in the project. Most importantly, all the arrangements were made for the local community, another important consideration actor. A participant (IR\_12\_BPC\_01) of the study summed up the role of the several actors as follows.

“It was a ministerial project in which two ministries, MoCA and MoCAT, were involved. There was a steering committee where two secretaries from two ministries were present. This was the policy-level standing committee. However, the implementation agencies were the DoA and BPC. BPC played the main role in creating community awareness, providing training and engagement with NGOs because the NGO was there. It was in the ADB guidelines that local NGOs be engaged so that local souvenirs could be supplied to the NGO and other areas. The ADB funded this. UNESCO was also there and involved. We needed to follow UNESCO guidelines because it is a UNESCO World Heritage Site. It is not only the property of the Bangladesh government but also the property of the world and UNESCO’s property. So, we needed to follow the guidelines of UNESCO. UNESCO gave us some guidelines, and we translated them into Bangla. Guidelines included how to manage an archaeological site, how to manage community tourism, how to control tourist flow, where to create tourism facilities, the core and buffer zone, and many other things. We implemented this project in a coordinated way.”

Local people were among the most crucial participants in the project. So, selecting the appropriate people to include in the project was vital. In this regard, several factors were considered, such as the level of involvement of people with the heritage site and the nature of the people. People were selected from the two closest villages of the Monastery, namely

Malancha village and Goalavita village, Paharpur Bazar area, and the buffer zone. Moreover, mainly young, educated, unemployed people who were smart and able to speak English were selected to participate in the project. Furthermore, to ensure transparency in the selection process, the responsibility to select participants was given to higher authorities, such as the custodian of the DoA and local government representatives. In doing this, the authority followed a rigorous process, such as visiting the site several times, sending letters to the local government representatives, consulting with the chairman, member, and custodian, and considering the recommendations of local people.

#### **6.4.2 Obligatory Passage Point (OPP)**

To bring the local people into a network, the probable solution was to provide training to the host community and arrange a heritage awareness programme for them. For example, one of the institutional representatives (IR\_18\_DoA\_04) from the archaeology department stated that:

“One of the big aims was to promote community involvement. So, we provided several training sessions to the local community. For instance, we provided them with some tourism promotion-based training to engage in tourism-related activities. For this reason, we made an MOU with the Oitijjo Anneshon. Their task was to train the local people on tourism promotion and to prepare them by training so that they can participate in the earning activities of tourism.”

Some of the programmes are also conducted at the school and college levels. The main aims were to make people aware of how to deal with tourists, and enhance their knowledge of the site and preparedness to be involved in conservation and tourism development, as a tourism expert (TE\_07\_TP\_05) clearly explained: “To develop CBT here, we must prepare the community. Training programmes, seminars, and awareness programmes can do this. In addition, someone needs to be directly involved in preparing the community. The community will learn from and see him, and then they can apply the knowledge to tourism development.”

As a result, to reach the solution, a project was undertaken by MoCA and implemented by several departments, with the DoA being the primary actor. This project was jointly funded by ADB and the Bangladeshi government. Training and awareness programmes were run by the BPC, Oitijjo Anneshon, and local NGOs. Overall, this project was closely monitored by UNESCO and needed to follow the guidelines of UNESCO strictly.

### 6.4.3 Interessement

One of the critical tasks of involving community people in the training programmes was motivating them. Therefore, authorities have taken several initiatives to motivate participants to join the training programme and, more broadly, the CBT network. Some strategies involved local leaders motivating the people, arranging formal sessions, spreading word of mouth, and providing financial benefits, certificates, and facilities. There is a high level of trust in local leaders. So, it becomes easier to motivate local people through their leaders. Within such arrangements, many people were motivated by the local chairman. A participant (CR\_31\_BG\_01) claimed that the chairman encouraged them to join the training programme by saying that:

“When my chairman approached me and told me that a foreign organisation would train the unemployed young people of Paharpur on tourism and explained the benefits of participating in the training, I became motivated to participate. I was unemployed at the time, so I went to join the training programme.”

One of the community representatives (CR\_04\_HP\_02) claimed that a local community leader explained the benefits of participating in the training programme, which influenced him to join the training programme. Furthermore, DoA staff, mainly the custodian, further encourages local people to join the training programme. Therefore, representatives from the local government, people from higher authority, and other influential persons in the area came forward to recruit participants in the training programme. The authority organised several formal sessions like seminars, awareness programmes, motivational sessions, lecture sessions, and conferences, to inspire participants to attend the training programme. For instance, one of the participants (IR\_12\_BPC\_01) briefly described the motivational strategies.

“We had several sessions every day to motivate local people. We told them we don’t know about the Goalavita and Manalcha villages, even the Noagoan district. Even international tourists don’t know about the Noagoan district, but they know about Paharpur. So, Paharpur is your pride. It is your duty to protect it. UNESCO will only say it is their property, but they will not come here to protect it. In this regard, local engagement is essential. If Paharpur exists, then your pride and glory will exist. If you take training as a tour guide, then you can work as a guide. If you take training on how to prepare local food hygienically, then tourists will love to buy your local food. You can also sell and earn. You can sell handicraft products. You can also work as a taxi driver or a local conventional cart driver. That’s how we motivated them. We also

invited some motivational speakers. We also organised some seminars. So, we used motivational sessions, lecture sessions, motivational speakers, and seminars to motivate them to participate in the training programme and tourism activities.”

Likewise, authorities recruited volunteers to inspire people by spreading word of mouth, and several themes were used for this purpose. For example, if you participate in the training programme, it will allow you to be involved directly in tourism, create opportunities for learning and interaction, increase your status in society, develop new skills, and, later, teach others and create opportunities for earning money. Volunteers talked with the people individually to make them realise the significance of joining in tourism. Interestingly, the authority also gave some financial benefits in token money and honorarium to the people because rural people sometimes participate in the training programme to earn some money. It is a common scenario in Bangladesh, especially in village areas. This scenario was well illustrated by a community representative (CR\_01\_TG\_01), who said: “The people of this area often come to the meeting because of money. They think they will be paid if they participate in the training. In this case, the authority also did the same. They announced that anyone who participates in the training will be given token money.” Additionally, the authority also gave certificates for participating in the training. They also provided food and gifts as souvenirs to the participants.

#### **6.4.4 Enrolment**

The authority brought the local community under an umbrella by undertaking several initiatives. Broadly, some major ways to bring them together were conducting training sessions, arranging awareness programmes, participating in promotional activities, and taking steps for the future. In the case of tour guiding training, participants were selected from two areas: staff of DoA who are actively involved with the preservation and conservation of the site and local people who were young, educated, and unemployed but knew how to speak English. In the training, lectures were given on several issues related to dealing with tourists, and experts from different parts of the country gave lectures. For example, one of the participants (CR\_02\_HO\_01) who took training on tour guiding illustrated the outcome of the training on tour guiding by saying that:

“Initial focus was given on the briefing of the history of the Paharpur. We didn’t know the proper history of Paharpur. But in the training, we were given a detailed description of the history. We learned how to present the history in a lively way to the tourists. They also taught us how to treat tourists and how to welcome them.”

People had misconceptions about the Buddhist Monastery. Some people believed it was the king's house, and others thought it was a hill, nothing else. But it was a learning centre, and it was a university. After the training, they learned the history of Paharpur, which was very useful for tourist guides. The Monastery's actual structure was shown through the graphics presentation in the training. Training was also given on making Nakshikatha, one of the signature products of the Paharpur. Local women were the main participants. This training was given to the participants through a local NGO. For instance, one of the village women (CR\_08\_HP\_04) from the community highlighted that: "When I participated in the training programme, I enjoyed the training where I did some tasks. They taught us how to prepare the shape on the Batik cloth, make the print and colour, and many more things. This training lasted for seven days. This training programme was beneficial."

Therefore, participants tried to engage in different activities. Along with the training, several ideas related to the Nakshikatha were generated and given to the participants so they could apply them in the future. Moreover, a particular focus was also given to the heritage products. One of the participants (IR\_08\_OA\_01) shared the experience of training related to the heritage products.

"We have no heritage products in the archaeological sites. When we visit heritage sites, we see many Chinese toys and other general products. But there are no products that fully represent us and our culture. So, we planned to work on some heritage products, such as replicas of Paharpur and terracotta. We selected a few potters from Paharpur and organised a camp. We trained them on making maueled, reducing the scale from terracotta, burning, and production. The aim was that if we could teach them about the process of making heritage products, they could sell their products in their local area. It will create opportunities for earning a sustainable livelihood."

At the same time, the training authority tried to select leaders so that after the completion of training and projects, someone could guide them to participate in tourism-related activities. Authority also sets roles and responsibilities for these leaders. Advice was given to create a forum, platform, and organisation. For example, one institutional representative (IR\_12\_BPC\_01), however, claimed that:

"We tried to form organisations for the long-term betterment of the community, such as Community-Based Organisation (CBO) and Local-Based Organisation (LBO) by including local government representatives, a local leader and people from the

authority, such as the custodian, and some local people. We aimed to ensure the involvement of the local people in tourism and tourism-related activities.”

Overall, the main aim of the training was to involve more local people in tourism, which would ultimately help to develop CBT in Paharpur. Beyond this, another important area of the project was to make people aware so they could realise the significance of the Buddhist Monastery, its preservation and conservation, and participate in tourism. Several awareness programmes were organised at the school and college levels. The main motto was to prepare young people who are the future and will continue the legacy of preservation and conservation from one generation to another. In summary, one of the Institutional representatives (IR\_08\_OA\_01) demonstrated the whole journey in his own words.

“Our first and foremost task was to visit at least 80-100 schools to run an awareness campaign. We covered a bunch of education centres. By relating the concept, we prepared five posters. We gave basic information in the poster, which is mandatory to know, and the best branding material that properly represents Paharpur. We focused on the five layers of information. When students upgrade from one class to another, they will be able to know five different things. We also arranged some food as we were dealing with the children. We had lecture sessions in those schools where we brought all the students to a particular place. This was one of the parts of the project. We got a tremendous response, as we were able to reach a large number of audiences within a short time.”

Authorities created scope for participation in the fairs where they could display and sell their products. People got tremendous responses about their heritage products. The authority also organised a camp to promote heritage products. Additionally, the authority had taken steps to sustain itself in the future. According to IR\_12\_BPC\_01,

“We could not assign all of them to particular jobs, but we tried to engage them and link them up with NGOs, and we wrote a letter with the list to the district administration requesting to engage them in different works. For example, DoA and the local custodian could use local people who had taken training as tour guides. In the case of handicraft products, in fact, for marketing local products, we asked several NGOs to work and asked them to provide loans, which will be SME loans.”

In summary, several activities such as providing training in different areas, arranging awareness programmes in different schools and colleges, focusing on promotional activities, and taking steps to ensure long-term involvement of the local people in tourism were focused



on by the authorities where the main aim was to bring as many as local people to involve in tourism and stay in a coordinated way.

#### **6.4.5 Stagnation**

Unfortunately, after the training and, more specifically, after the end of the project, relationships among the local people broke down, and they became segregated again. Everything was stopped, and there were no further CBT initiatives. For example, one of the community representatives (CR\_08\_HP\_04) claimed that:

“It was a great initiative, but it would be fruitful if they continued the project and looked after us. If they continued, it would be very reputable and helpful for the village people. But they didn’t take any initiative after that.”

On a broad spectrum, several negative things happened, such as no follow-up from the authority, lack of a long-term plan, lack of guidance, demotivation, and inability to sell products, which ultimately made the situation worse for sustaining tourism in Paharpur.

Moreover, the authority did not take any further steps to update the skills and knowledge of the local community. They did not arrange additional training programmes. They had no concern for the later development and did not give any instructions or ask for feedback. As a result, many people did not continue the work and forgot their skills. Furthermore, they could not apply the skills and knowledge because they lacked scope. Indeed, one community representative (CR\_38\_BR\_02) highlighted that:

“After training, the authority didn’t look after us. We didn’t get any help from the authorities after the training, as we didn’t get support from the existing two guides. They didn’t share anything with us. They were not helpful. They didn’t want more people to join and come to this tour guiding profession. We would benefit if they looked after us as well as give another training.”

Specifically, local people did not get support because of the lack of continuation of the project and the lack of effort from the authorities. It seemed that the funding had ended, so the project was completed. Furthermore, it is a common scenario that there is always a mismatch between the aim of the training providers and the participants of the training programmes. In this vein, a participant (CR\_30\_TG\_07) critically assessed the actual condition as follows.

“I can add one point, the training provider has one type of aim, and the participants have another. Participants think that by participating in the training, they will get something. They will give me something, and based on what I learn, I will do something

in the future. Our employment opportunity will be created. But in real life, participants don't get the actual benefits. Training providers have different aims, such as just giving training for a day or giving the participants some money, gifts, and certificates. They have no concern about the usefulness of the training. It is a common scenario in our cases."

However, some participants try to use the knowledge for personal reasons, such as people who took training on tour guides helping their friends and relatives by providing tour guides personally, and village women who make Nakshikatha for their personal use, along with other handicraft items. Besides this, some people from the authorities were trying to help local people. For instance, one of the institutional representatives (IR\_08\_OA\_01) stated that: "After the training, we informally helped them. Sometimes, they call us and ask for advice. We then gave them some plans. Later, we also tried to promote their products wherever we got a chance."

The section shows that the authority had no long-term plan for developing CBT in Paharpur. They did not manage any jobs for the local people after the training. As a result, many people changed their profession and left tourism. For example, one of the participants (CR\_31\_BG\_01) said that:

"I took training on tourism, but I didn't get the scope to work on tourism, mainly on tour guiding. The authority didn't create a favourable environment for the guides. But I had pressure about my livelihood to maintain my family. So, I left the tourism profession and started this poultry profession like my other mates in the tour guiding training."

In particular, people shifted to different businesses such as the poultry business, the fruit business, grocery shops, rice business, garments industry, and a few people also left the place. Additionally, the authority did not take any steps to ensure the people's smooth continuation and active participation, such as not selecting a leader properly, not establishing any platform, forum, or committee, and not providing any seating for tour guides. To strengthen the above statement, one of the participants (IR\_18\_DoA\_04) commented that:

"The reality of Bangladesh is that in most cases, a project completes successfully, but for its long-term continuation, authorities don't give much effort to prepare a guideline for its smooth continuation. However, there should be a budget and guidelines for how to run the project after its completion. If there is an assigned officer, they could regularly monitor the situation about who is getting benefits, then it would be better."

This situation ultimately created the feeling among the participants that they had no guardian. This situation is exactly what happened in Paharpur, where people felt that no one could express their demands and ask for help and cooperation. As a result, one of the community representatives (CR\_09\_BP\_01) uttered that: “After the training authority left, they didn't come back to take care of us and further develop our skills. We were becoming ‘guardianless’. For this reason, we could not continue our task as a team.” Hence, people have become unable to sell handicraft products to customers. They had financial problems, so they took loans from the NGOs and made Nakshikatha, but because of weak market linkage, they could not sell their products. They invested vast amounts of money, but no income from the artwork. It cost them a considerable loss. They also do not get any orders for their products. Therefore, one of the participants (IR\_09\_OA\_02) echoed that: “In reality, people are not aware of the business and are unable to develop marketing policy.” As a result, people became demotivated to stay in tourism for a long time. This scenario has been cleared from the statement of a participant (CR\_04\_HP\_02).

“After the training, the authority didn’t take a single step to continue the tourism activities in the area. After their leaving, those who took the training prepared some Nakshikatha but were unable to sell these to the tourists. We became frustrated because of this. We invested lots of money by taking loans to buy raw materials for the Nakshikatha, but we weren’t able to sell these products to the market. Authority didn’t help us to sell these products, and we were at a loss. It would have been better if they had taken some initiative for us.”

Because of the lack of active involvement of the authority after the training, tourism lagged again in Paharpur. This gap in coordination between authority and local people created a situation where people needed to think about the restart of tourism again from the beginning, and in a new way.

#### **6.4.6 Rejuvenation**

A plan was taken to involve the local community in tourism, so the authority arranged several training and awareness programmes. People became skilled in participating in tourism-related activities, even though many people were engaged in different activities. However, the lack of support from the authorities demotivated them to leave the field, and they shifted to other professions. It was crucial to look after the local people after the training so that they could earn their livelihood from tourism. But it did not happen. As a result, CBT stopped and lagged behind. In this regard, someone needed to devise a ray of light to revive CBT in Paharpur.

Luckily, BTB came in and took steps to develop CBT in Paharpur. The area again got some lifelines.

#### **6.4.6.1 Rejuvenation- Problematisation**

BTB felt the need to develop CBT in Bangladesh, so they selected Paharpur. The historical significance of the archaeological site motivated the authorities to select Paharpur as a CBT destination. CBT in Paharpur was developed through a tendering process where BTB gave an open tender notice in the newspaper. Later, they selected one vendor from several applicants and gave responsibility for implementing the project. The vendor was responsible for all the activities, and they implemented the project on their own. After the project had been completed, the vendor handed it over to BTB. However, one of the tourism experts (TE\_01\_TP\_01) argued about the development of CBT through vendors and said that: “I don’t support the tender-based tourism development model in Bangladesh because the private individuals who are involved in the development process only consider their business interests. They only think about their revenue, and there is less attachment to the local community. They have little concern about community development.”

While Paharpur was visited by foreign tourists, there were no accommodation facilities, and the people of the community were not prepared to receive and deal with tourists. The situation was explained by a representative (IR\_13\_TO\_02) from the tour operator by saying that: “My tourists mainly preferred to visit Paharpur and wanted to enjoy the night view of Paharpur, especially in the moonlit night when light falls in the temple, then it becomes reddish colour. But there were no accommodation facilities. So, tourists needed to get back to the city.” As a result, to overcome these problems, the authority had several aims, such as community development and accommodation facilities.

The authorities tried to prepare people strongly so that they could deal with the tourists, mainly foreign tourists, provide them with quality service, and be prepared as guides by developing skills. In addition, another focus was on creating awareness among the community members to participate actively in tourism. Overall, the involvement of the community was a priority. Likewise, focus was also given to developing basic tourist facilities, such as accommodation and food facilities, where tourists can stay and eat in a family environment. In brief, the main motto was to prepare the environment of the area in such a way that tourists can stay in the village with the community and enjoy the hospitality of the rural people.

At first, BTB decided to develop CBT in Paharpur. Later, through the tender process, a tour operator, namely Journey Plus, was selected to implement the project. Representatives of Journey Plus then communicated with the local community leader before taking the initial step. Within such an arrangement, one of the main stakeholders was the host community, which would be the contact point for the tourists. In addition, the authority considered several factors before selecting participants from the host community. In general, these were the nature of the environment where people lived, the houses' structure, the location of the house, and the nature of the participants. Specifically, people were selected from the closest areas of the main attraction who had more than two rooms or an empty room. For instance, one of the participants (CR\_30\_TG\_07) described the overall criteria for being selected as one of the participants.

“The main entry complex of the Paharpur is situated in the Malancha village. All the tourists enter Bihar by using the gate of Malancha village. Malancha village is very close to the gate, and the communication system is very good. The entry complex faces directly to the Malancha. So, participants were selected mainly from this village. Besides this, focus was given to those people who have big houses and extra rooms; the environment is good and suitable for developing accommodation facilities.”

Beyond this, priority was given to the nature of the people, such as their education level, family background, completeness of the family, sacrifice mind, and level of awareness and consciousness. Overall, same-level and lower-income families were selected to participate in tourism activities. At this point, participants were selected through an informal process. For example, the authority gave the responsibility to the local community leader to select some participants, and the local leader, based on several factors, selected a few participants. Later, participants were finalised through a discussion between the authority and the local community leader.

#### **6.4.6.2 Rejuvenation-Obligatory Passage Point (OPP)**

To develop CBT further, the probable solution was to develop accommodation facilities in the village and to prepare the host community by providing training. For instance, one of the community representatives (CR\_02\_HO\_01) noted that:

“The main aim was to increase the number of tourists and to involve more local people in tourism, and one of the options was to start a homestay programme in the Malancha village of Paharpur. Besides this, another focus was on community development through training so that people could prepare for involvement in tourism and be aware.”

#### **6.4.6.3 Rejuvenation-Interessement**

Without the active participation of the host community, it was impossible to develop CBT. Local people are the main stakeholders who run and manage CBT. People from the authorities visited several times and discussed with the local community to make them realise the significance of the homestay programme and the benefits of participation. Beyond this, a local community leader approached the homeowners and, through word of mouth, tried to motivate them to participate in the homestay programme and join in the training programme. The local leader very much influenced these participants. In addition, the authority brought several resource persons to the site to motivate the local community by their words. The actual situation was explained by one of the respondents (CR\_30\_TG\_07), who said that:

“Before approaching the authorities, I talked with the homeowners. The first time, I didn’t tell the homeowners that foreign people or other tourists would stay here. Instead, I said that a representative from Journey Plus would come here, see your house, and talk with you. On that day, a seminar and discussion were held for a whole day. After the discussion, people from the authorities said that they would sit formally and select a date. So, initially, I informed the local community about the homestay programme, but the authority people motivated them through seminars and discussion sessions.”

In reality, people were self-motivated as they thought that this opportunity would give them scope to develop new skills related to guiding tourists, brief the history of the Paharpur, roaming tourists around villages, ensuring pleasure and enjoyment for them, creating scope for interaction with the higher authority, create employment opportunity as well as earning opportunity, and exchange the gathered knowledge with other people of the community. A participant (CR\_33\_TG\_08) who was self-motivated to participate in tourism illustrated that: “I thought that if I took tourism training, then I could guide and interact with the tourists from different countries of the world. It will allow me to know the culture of foreign tourists and exchange it with them.”

Besides this self-motivation, people also thought that if they participated in the training programme, they would get an honorarium and a certificate from the authority. In addition, authorities and a local community leader informed people about the initiative.

#### **6.4.6.4 Rejuvenation-Enrolment**

In this phase, the training programme was conducted on the homestay programme, where the main focus was on housekeeping, hygiene, sanitation, safety, and tour guiding. In training, the

authority taught different things, such as how to arrange rooms for the tourists, how to prepare food and the manner in which the people deal with tourists. For instance, one of the community representatives (CR\_26\_TG\_06) described that: “Training was good and we benefited. We learned many things from the training. We learned about how to deal with tourists, how to handle them, and how to provide service to them. Because of training, people became more aware and gained more skills.” Likewise, another participant (CR\_33\_TG\_08) added that: “Authority gave training on housekeeping, sanitation, and food processing. They also explained the cost of keeping a tourist in a homestay. That was the main theme of the training programme.”

However, the authority also selected a leader to manage the homestay programme and set the rules and responsibilities of the leader. Besides this, authority suggested for making a complete formal committee for running the homestay programme smoothly. Overall, authority gave the plan for the homestay programme.

#### **6.4.7 Mobilisation**

Rural people are not always well aware and prepared to continue tourism without the guidance of authority; they constantly seek support and suggestions from higher authorities. As a result, the higher authority took several steps for the continuation and upgrading of tourism in Paharpur, although the site is facing several problems hindering the overall progress of CBT. For instance, in case of smooth continuation, the authority follows the community regularly to see the condition and situation of the people, organise seminars and workshops continuously, organise fairs for the local people in different parts of the country, and create scope to attend in fairs, organise a meeting with stakeholders, and make feedback visit. For example, one of the institutional participants (IR\_13\_TO\_02) from the tour operators described the post-project initiative for the continuation of CBT.

“Paharpur is the pioneer of the homestay concept. That was the starting point, and it was developed based on my concept. After developing the homestay programme, I visited several times to get their feedback. I also made a committee where the convener was the local community leader. I also suggested keeping 5% of the fund in the development account to help one another in crisis and to repair the homestay houses. I asked them to organise meetings regularly. I also provided them with a signboard and certificate to ensure that it was a government project and approved by the government authority, mainly BTB, to ensure no one can disturb them. This actually works as their

license. In addition, we prepared a leaflet, and we promoted this homestay at different fairs.”

Similarly, a leader had been selected, and the responsibility of the leader was to look after the interest and betterment of the local people, set rules and regulations for better management, and set guidelines for the participative decision-making process. Some of the influential actors of the site are a local community leader and people from a higher authority, like the custodian and those in charge of tourist police. The local community leader is responsible for looking after the homestay programme and other cultural groups of people, and the custodian is responsible for the management of the archaeological site and surrounding stakeholders. Importantly, local people gave most of the responsibilities to the local community leader because of his knowledge, experience, strong network, link, high level of involvement with higher authority, honesty, managing ability, attracting ability, and familiarity. People believe and trust him, as he has good manners. In addition, this leader works in the government office and gets the information as well as tourists communicate with him. In addition, a local community leader organises cultural groups of people such as tribal people, Baul singers, and potters so that they can perform in front of tourists and sell their traditional products to tourists. Correspondingly, the tourism scenario is improving regularly as development progresses. For example, the number of homestay houses increased from six to fifteen. More and more local people are engaging with tourism as they are opening businesses near archaeological sites, and some are getting training from BTB and other organisations such as UNESCO. One of the representatives (IR\_20\_UNE\_02) from UNESCO illustrated that community development is one of their prime concerns.

“One of the main focuses is the development of a local community of a particular archaeological site so that they can participate in sustainable livelihood. Consequently, we organised training in Paharpur for the potters under a Korean project where the training programme was rigorous and very effective. Through community mapping, we selected participants and arranged training programmes for them so that they could be involved in tourism and ensure sustainable livelihood. These potters already knew how to make a product. We didn’t teach them how to make a product in the training. Instead, the training team tried to make the potters more skilled to make different products, such as terracotta. We provided them with raw materials so they could produce and present contemporary arts.”



This section shows that the authority is trying further to develop CBT through structural and community development so that they can participate in tourism activities. However, the people of Paharpur who are involved in tourism are facing lots of problems, such as infrastructural problems, management-related problems, lack of support from the administration, and financial, political, and promotional problems. Still, there is no good road, food facility, high-quality accommodation facility, weak connectivity, small parking space, and no opportunity for recreational activities. As a result, tourists are not interested in visiting Paharpur. In addition, there is no initiative for marketing and promotion, and the result is that Paharpur is unable to attract a large number of tourists. Besides this, people are under immense financial pressure. Some people who produce handicraft products invest vast amounts of money, but they are unable to sell products and pay instalments of loans. People are not getting financial help from the authorities and are now in negative balance. There is no uniform management structure for managing and governing CBT in Paharpur. Likewise, people are not aware of tourism, and the authorities, mainly DoA, are not taking steps to make local people aware of tourism. As a result, there is no unity among the local people, as there is a lack of coordination between authority and local people.

#### **6.4.8 Black-box**

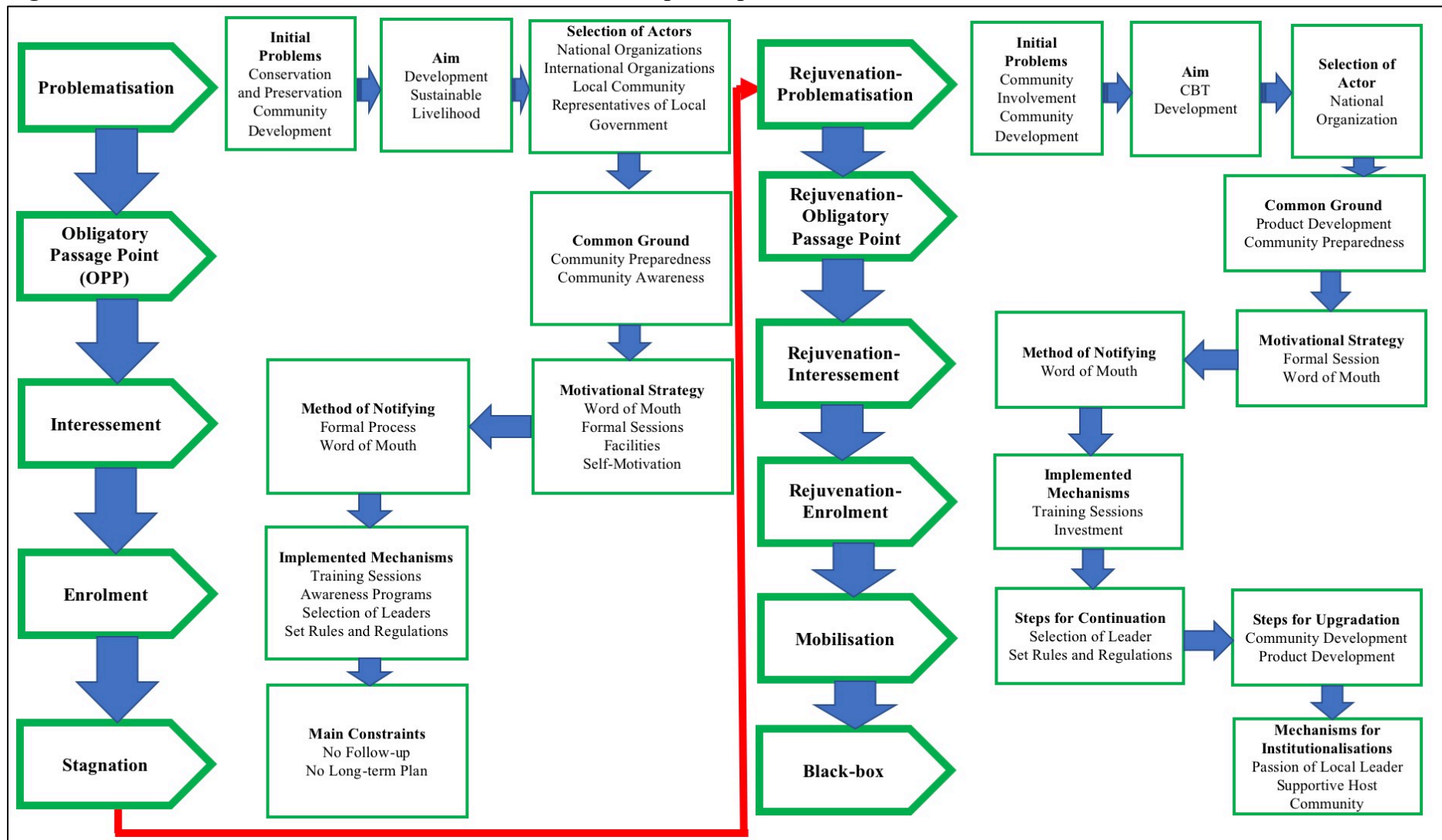
Several factors play a vital role in CBT in Paharpur, such as the passion of leaders and the support of the host community. Specifically, the dedication, experience, confidence, connectivity, communication capability, and management capability of the local community leader play an important role in developing and promoting CBT in Paharpur. This is well described by an institutional representative (IR\_08\_OA\_01) who said that:

“Mr. X is doing a job in DoA but is not in a good position. He is not in a permanent post. He is working on a daily basis. But from that situation, he thinks that tourists will come here and we will guide them and keep them, which ultimately shows his passion and dedication to tourism. We have to understand this. Because of his dedication, he is surviving, and single-handedly, he is carrying out tourism activities in Paharpur.”

Likewise, the tourism-friendly mentality of the higher authority, more specifically, the custodian of the archaeological site, is also helping to move tourism further. Nevertheless, the contribution of the host community to the flourishing of CBT cannot be ignored. Local people have a positive attitude towards tourism; they are hospitable and tourist-friendly, they love tourists, they are highly motivated, encouraged, dedicated, and passionate about tourism. Community people have strong bonds and chain of command. In brief, they are very dedicated

to developing CBT in Paharpur. The above discussion highlights that stakeholders know their role in the CBT in Paharpur. That indicates the current situation is informally institutionalised, and CBT is running accordingly with the support of all relevant stakeholders. Notably, based on the argument, it is also evident that past experience of failure helps to open the black-box for the smooth running of CBT in Paharpur.

**Figure 6.2: Modified Process of Translation to trace the development process of CBT**



Source: Author

## 6.5 Power Relations in Different Stages of the Translation Process

Power is all about exercise and a network of relations. In the initial stage, outside tour operators brought tourists to the Paharpur, and they decided whether tourists would visit the village or not. Besides this, the staff of DoA was the main contact point for the tourists. Therefore, one of the community representatives (CR\_12\_TG\_03) said that:

“In the initial stage, when there was no homestay programme in this village, tourists also used to come here in groups. They roamed around the village, enjoyed the lifestyle of the village people, and took pictures with the people, but didn’t stay long in the village. Tour guides brought them to this village, but this guide was not a local guide. The tour guide was an outsider, mainly from the district level. Whether tourists will visit or not fully depends on the wish and desire of that tour guide.”

Later, an outsider tour guide tried to engage a local tour guide to manage food facilities on their premises. This way, local tour guides got some access to CBT and started generating power by building networks and relationships. Nevertheless, to develop tourism and give a formal structure to CBT later, MoCA took the initiative to run a project that ADB and the Bangladesh government jointly funded. After that, the ministry handed over the project to DoA for implementation, and they got the power to execute it. By using their execution power, DoA involved several other organisations in cooperating with them. For example, one of the stakeholders (IR\_18\_DoA\_04) of the project noted that: “We involved BPC for looking after the tourism issue and made MOU with Oitijjo Anneshon for making a plan about how to develop CBT in Paharpur.” Later, these two organisations found probable solutions for eradicating the initial problem and made detailed plans, such as providing training in different areas for community development. Beyond this, the local government representatives selected the training programme participants.

The issue of motivating the participants to join the training programme came up, and in this case, the power was in the hands of local government representatives. In the case of running a training programme, the authority needed to follow the guidelines of UNESCO and ADB, as it was a UNESCO World Heritage Site, and the project was funded by ADB. Besides this, there were several consultants from UNESCO who provided direction. So, it seemed like DoA was the principal actor, and two other actors were the BPC and Oitijjo Anneshon, but power was exercised indirectly by UNESCO and ADB. In the training, the authority selected leaders to continue the tourism activities after the project, with no follow-up from the project. As a result, people are detached from tourism-related activities and engaged in other activities. However,

the old local tour guide continued the tourism activities and gradually started to widen the network by making relationships with outside tour guides, tour operators, and tourists.

When tourism stopped, BTB felt the need to revive tourism by developing CBT. For instance, one of the institutional representatives (IR\_06\_BT\_B\_01) from BTB described the development of CBT in Paharpur.

“Previously, BTB developed CBT through a tender-based process. They gave an open tender in the newspaper, and several applicants applied there. Among the applicants, one of the tour operators, namely Journey Plus, got the tender for developing CBT in Paharpur. Although BTB was the initiator, the main implementing agency was Journey Plus.”

As the main implementing body, the control was in the hands of Journey Plus, which decided to develop a product of CBT, and the outcome was the development of a homestay programme in the closest village to the Buddhist Monastery. The authority gave the responsibility for selecting houses to one of the local tour guides. After several visits and discussions with the local people, the authorities finally selected houses for the homestay programme. The local tour guide also motivated selected houses to join the training programme. After the training programme, the authority gave the local tour guide the responsibility of managing the homestay programme, which made him a leader. This is how power shifted to the local tour guide, who became the local community leader. For example, one of the community representatives (CR\_11\_HM\_02) uttered that: “Mr. X takes all the decisions on behalf of us. We gave him the responsibility of managing the homestay programme and tourism, and we supported and cooperated with him. We are happy for that.” Local community leaders then inspired a cultural group of people to perform in front of the tourists, and when they started to earn from tourism, a cultural group of people took this as one of their occupations. Local community leaders take care of them in crises and take the initiative to develop them, such as regularly organising training, workshops, and seminars for them. Besides this local community leader, DoA staff, mainly custodian, is also working to improve tourism in Paharpur, where he has the capacity to apply his positional power. In brief, the local community leader gained power because of his large network and level of relationship with the actors, where he applies this power for governing tourism, and the custodian has power because of his position.

Power is very closely related to the relational aspects. So, it is very true that people who have strong relations with a more significant number of people can hold more power. More

specifically, the link level with higher authority and stakeholders helps gain more power. For example, one of the community representatives (CR\_01\_TG\_01) stated that:

“In the perspective of Paharpur, it is seen that people who have connections, accessibility, and linkage with higher authority and tourism stakeholders, such as officers of government organisations of tourism, tour operators and private parties, can influence more. In addition, the level of communication with them is also a vital factor.”

Furthermore, attachment to the political group and post and position in the party helps to create a stronger network. Position in the existing networks also determines the level of power. For example, in Bangladesh, the chairman and members are the most powerful people in rural areas. However, in the case of Paharpur, they are not that influential because they are not directly involved with CBT and do not reside in the CBT networks.

In conclusion, it is clear that CBT in Paharpur was initiated, planned and implemented by the national-level government, and control was in the hands of associated ministries and organisations. However, when the issue of management comes up, power is shifted to the local-level stakeholders who reside in CBT networks, mainly community leader and local authorities such as the custodian of DoA.

## **6.6 Relationship between Modes of Ordering and Scope of Tourism Development**

Modes of ordering describe the factors that stabilise the relationship among the actors. In general, the level of tourism development in a particular area largely influences the stability of the CBT networks. In this regard, some factors related to stabilising the relationship among the actors of CBT networks in Paharpur are the lack of community participation in tourism activities and decision-making, the inability to provide equitable distribution of benefits, the influence of powerful people, and, in some cases, the issue of land acquisition.

Community people are typically unwilling to actively participate in tourism activities because they lack preparedness. The local people of Paharpur were not skilled enough to handle tourists in their area in the early days of tourism development. Moreover, the local community of Paharpur did not receive any training in the initial stage of tourism development. Furthermore, these people were not supportive of others in the community trying to develop tourism and were not interested in participating in it. Therefore, involving people from the local community was very challenging. As a result, CBT networks were unstable. Therefore, BTB is trying to prepare the local community in many areas of Bangladesh, including Paharpur. As a consequence, CBT in Paharpur is more developed than it was in earlier times. More local

people are actively involved in tourism activities such as homestay programmes, cultural programmes, businesses, handicraft production, tour guides, and transportation services. Importantly, the involvement of a larger number of local people in CBT is making the existing CBT networks more stable.

On the contrary, one of the biggest challenges is to ensure equitable benefit distribution to the stakeholders. In the case of equitable benefit distribution, it has been seen that in the initial tourism development stage, the number of tourists was low, and it was tough to distribute benefits equitably, but in the later stage of tourism development, it is also becoming tough because of the increase in participants. A community representative (CR\_30\_TG\_07) illustrated the current challenge of ensuring equitable benefits for all the participants.

“At first, BTB gave training on the homestay programme to six owners of the houses, and they got proper training. Later, the authority trained another nine owners, but they were not that prepared and active to keep tourists in their houses. Only a few houses have good facilities for tourists, and few of them are aware of tourism. So, it is tough for me to distribute tourists equally to all houses, so I need to keep tourists in the same house again and again. That means I can’t treat all the members equally and can’t give economic benefits equally to all of them.”

Similarly, one of the tourism experts (TE\_06\_TP\_04) also mentioned the challenge related to the issue of equitable distribution of benefits among all the participants when CBT runs in full fledge in a particular area and stated that: “In the development stage, it is challenging for the authority to distribute the benefit equitably and make all the people happy.” On average, people earn little and face difficulties supporting a family by earning only from tourism. As a result, people are taking on other income-generation activities. To overcome the issue of equitable benefit distribution, one of the tourism experts (TE\_05\_TP\_03) mentioned several options by saying that:

“Obviously, we need to develop a sound and transparent sharing process of the benefits. Benefits don’t need to be only for the actively involved people; rather, other community people can see the visibility of the benefits. For example, they can build an infrastructure so all the community members can see the benefits. Then, acceptability will be created there. A number of objections will be reduced. People can create funds, and from the funds, they can develop the local playground and beautify the local area. As a result, other people in the community will feel the ownership. They will feel that

CBT is their asset. Then, they will behave responsibly and try to promote this. Importantly, authority is needed to ensure indirect and induced benefits.”

Interestingly, responsible people apply some of the strategies in Paharpur to ensure equitable distribution of tourism benefits. Furthermore, the authority focuses on broader promotional activities, including promotion in social media, electronic media, and print media. As a result, along with the increase in tourist numbers, the money flow is increasing.

Another major problem related to the development stage and stability of the network is the influence of powerful actors, mainly political groups. It is common for politicians and other influential persons in rural areas to try to dominate and influence tourism. Political people try to engage in tourism, which sometimes makes the existing networks vulnerable. For instance, one of the tourism experts (TE\_04\_IE\_02) described the common scenario regarding the influence of political groups of people in the development stage.

“People need to face political problems when tourism starts to develop vigorously. Politics automatically comes when money comes, and power and political dimensions work there. Power and politics sometimes try to dominate. There is a link between monetary flow, power, and politics in our cultural context. When we move from one step to another, we need to face some challenges. The main challenge is the shift in power dynamics. Suppose the ordinary people take the initiative, but when this idea becomes popular, the influential person in that area will try to take the credit and dominate the initiator. They try to capture the established CBT. These influential people do not allow existing stakeholders to do the task smoothly and try to hamper their image and project.”

So, it is clear that when tourism starts to run in full-fledged, powerful actors try to dominate tourism and try to take credit, and it becomes difficult to keep the influential persons away. Paharpur is also facing these types of challenges. Therefore, one of the participants (CR\_30\_TG\_07) from the homestay programme shared the experience and stated:

“Previously, I did not face many obstacles and problems because very few people knew about the homestay programme, and very few people were interested in it. However, when we started to extend our homestay programme, political people began to create problems, and now, we are facing more challenges to maintain the existing networks.”

The maintenance of the existing CBT networks is becoming more challenging in Paharpur because of the influence of political people who are now more aware of tourism, trying to



create problems, threatening to forcefully enter into tourism to take control, and ultimately, are not supportive of running tourism smoothly. Beyond this, the progress of tourism is attracting outsiders and influential business people to start businesses in Paharpur, which are bringing outside workers to run their businesses. However, the authority tries to ensure checks and balances with powerful actors to minimise these challenges. Responsible people frequently communicate with the government authority to seek support from them. In addition, they also communicate regularly with local government representatives such as the UNO and DC.

In the case of Paharpur, another big issue is community concern, which means the continuation of development without hampering the local community. From the history of tourism development in Paharpur, it is evident that local people lost their land for the sake of tourism development. To expand the area of the Buddhist Monastery, the government acquired land several times and resettled people in other areas. As people saw that they were losing their land because of tourism development, many people in the area did not want tourism. The resettled people believe that they are losers since they have lost their land, which was their birthplace. They needed to start everything from the beginning and start businesses in the market. They also believe they would have benefited the most from tourism because they lived very close to the main attraction, but now they have no opportunity to participate in tourism. Tourism has developed substantially, and other local people are getting most of the benefits. As a result, they frequently show a negative attitude towards tourism development. For instance, one of the tourism experts (TE\_06\_TP\_04) focuses on this land acquisition issue and stated that:

“In the case of archaeological sites of Bangladesh, it is a common scenario that the government acquires surrounding lands for the protection of the sites. However, the government should prioritise tourism development and local community concerns. They should not acquire land from the local people if there is any other option.”

However, to solve the land acquisition problem, the authority is now focusing on several issues; except in emergency cases, they are not acquiring further land.

To maintain a stable relationship, people need to cooperate, support, and help one another in trouble and crisis, and they work in a cooperative way because they love to work and solve problems together. For instance, one of the community representatives (CR\_10\_HO\_02) noted that: “I think that all the people work together. Even those who do not get benefits from tourism are not harmful to us. They also support us. They also think that if society develops through tourism, then it will be very helpful. Village people are very supportive.”

Similarly, people in this area are very friendly, cordial, and well-mannered. These are all reflected in the statement of a community representative (CR\_26\_TG\_06) who mentioned that: “People have a good reputation for their good image, manner, helpfulness, mentality, and friendliness. These people are not jealous of anything. Rather, they take everything easily”. Overall, the simplicity of the local people makes it easier to ensure cooperation among the people in moving forward with CBT in Paharpur. Moreover, people have strong coordination and understanding. They always maintain good relationships, work jointly, live together, and bond strongly. In addition, people stay together and have a strong unity. In addition, people believe in the local leader and accept his decision. The same is true for a local leader because he also believes in them. According to CR\_06\_TG\_02,

“Local community leader motivates people by saying that we need to stay together, and if we stay together, then we can increase our scope to flourish tourism. He tries to create awareness among the people, and people try to cooperate. He is very much dedicated to the development of tourism.”

So, maintaining commitment helps to create a relationship of respect. Additionally, people communicate well, and they inform one another before making any tourism-related decision. They also organise regular meetings. For instance, one participant (CR\_12\_TG\_03) from the community claimed that: “We have regular communication among ourselves. We listen to one another. We have a clear and strong chain of command.”

In summary, the discussion clearly shows that different stages of development present different stability-related issues. Hence, different types of actions are required to overcome the issues. However, several other actors’ individual-level factors, such as cooperation, coordination, collaboration, commitment, and communication, also influence the relationship. To move forward with tourism in a particular area, it is mandatory to maintain stable relationships among the stakeholders. People need to identify and set the mechanism for maintaining a stabilised relationship. Otherwise, it will be tough to achieve the goal. Nevertheless, it is also common in every society that there must be some elements that always make the relationship unstable. People just need to minimise these elements as much as possible.

## **6.7 Summary of the Chapter**

CBT is one of the new concepts from Bangladesh’s perspective. Still, it is in the introductory stage of development, although in many areas, it has already been started by the initiative of both the public and private sectors. The public body is trying to make the local community

aware of CBT by organising training and workshop programmes. Furthermore, the private sector not only prepares the local people but also provides essential support for CBT in Bangladesh. In this process, one of the initial destinations was Paharpur, where the government took the initiative to develop CBT. Many locals are actively involved in tourism activities such as tour guides, transportation services, businesses, and cultural programmes. However, previously, this site was not that well developed and organised. When the government took the initiative to further develop the site and worked jointly with foreign organisations, it became one of the most visited sites in Bangladesh. The initial plan was to involve local people in tourism to earn their livelihood and preserve and conserve the site. However, lacking continued support from the authorities, CBT was stopped for a certain period, and later, support from public sites helped to revive CBT in Paharpur. Still, this site is suffering to flourish because of a lack of coordination and collaboration among different stakeholders. Fortunately, BTB is again trying to give tourism in Paharpur the proper shape it needs. This said, the stability of the relationships among the stakeholders of CBT in Paharpur largely influences the progress of the development.

## **Chapter 7: Community-based Tourism Governance Issues in the Context of Paharpur**

### **7.1 Introduction**

This chapter starts with a description of the impact of tourism on Paharpur, followed by the role of different local, national, and international actors. It then explains the governance-related issues in Paharpur, highlighting the need for a collaborative approach to CBT governance. The focus is on how these issues create challenging situations and how a joint effort from local authorities, representatives of local-level government, DoA and homestays is crucial in dealing with these issues. Finally, this chapter recommends an appropriate governance structure for CBT in Paharpur based on respondents' opinions.

### **7.2 Tourism Impacts**

Tourism is gradually developing in Paharpur. Because of this development, the people of Paharpur are witnessing several impacts on them and broadly on society. For instance, one of the tourism experts (TE\_03\_TP\_02) mentioned that: "Both positive and negative can happen because of tourism in the circle of economic, social, cultural, political and environmental aspects." Therefore, the following section is going to describe some of these impacts briefly.

The economic impacts can be both positive and negative. Participants in this research frequently mentioned that CBT creates scope for economic benefits through income earned by engaging in different tourism activities. As a result, people are becoming solvent and money flows into the area are increasing. Moreover, through the selling of tickets, the government directly earns revenue from Paharpur. However, some of the barriers include seasonality, unequal economic benefits, weak market linkages, and the high price of products in peak season. One of the respondents stressed that only people who stay close to the main complex get benefits. According to CR\_53\_BF\_01: "A limited number of local people are getting benefits directly from tourism. People can participate in business activities, but those who have land near the Buddhist Monastery can establish and run the business. Other people are not getting the scope to participate in tourism activities."

Regarding seasonality, tourists mainly visit Paharpur during the winter and peak holiday times. As a consequence, local heritage product producers are unable to sell their products in large numbers all the year round. Besides this, they are also lagging behind because of weak market linkages.

This said, CBT are creating employment opportunities for the local people, which in turn increases their standard of living and quality of life, community development, creation of

networks, and structural development. In the case of employment opportunities, people are engaging in different business activities, such as village people running homestay programmes where all the family members of a particular house are engaged in different activities to provide services to the tourists. This includes working as tour guides, producing different handicraft products, local food processing, cultural activities (Tribal people and Baul singers are performing their traditional dance and music) and participating in different businesses such as restaurants, tea stalls, grocery shops, souvenir shops, furniture stores, fruit dealers and sellers, tailors, pharmacy, and internet providers. People are also working as transportation personnel, including van drivers, auto drivers, and CNG drivers. There are also street vendors selling products and food from a van. The description above shows that incomes are generated from a diverse range of tourism-related activities, which diversifies the livelihoods of local people.

Earnings from tourism allow certain people to increase their living standards, as mentioned, and build good houses. In recent years, there has been a marked improvement in the built environment of the area (compared to previous times). Even marginal people experienced an improvement in their diets, that is, eating better food. One participant mentioned that because of tourism, this area got electricity earlier than other areas. Further quality of life improvements was alluded to by another participant (CR\_09\_BP\_01) from the community:

“The children of the staff study in the local school. They are very aware of the quality of education. They always look after the performance of the school. But local people have no idea about this issue. When staff look after the performance of the school, the result is also enjoyed by the local people.”

In addition to education, awareness building is one of the biggest impacts of tourism. There are further opportunities for skill development, and local people are getting a chance to participate in different fairs, which is helping them to create a network with people outside the area. Interaction and meeting with different types of tourists also help to enrich the network of the local people. At the same time, because of tourism, Paharpur is witnessing rapid structural development, such as the development of road infrastructure, the establishment of more shops and businesses, the availability of different products, and technological development.

Conversely, tourism also brings some negative impacts on society, and certain challenges remain. For instance, anti-social behaviour is evident among some young people. They sometimes behave badly with tourists, pressuring tourists to buy products, taking extra money from tourists, and harassing them physically and mentally. Remaining challenges include some infrastructural problems, such as transportation problems, a poor water sanitation system,

unplanned infrastructure development, and limited visitor facilities. One of the community representatives (CR\_18\_HO\_05) said that:

“Our road infrastructure is not good enough. The road is narrow and, at peak times, faces traffic jams. The nearest train station is not updated, and good trains don’t stop here. We have no quality hotels and restaurants that provide a good experience to tourists. Besides this, we have no market in the nearby area, and we need to go far to buy daily necessary products. Sometimes, people, mainly tourists, don’t get a place and space to participate in prayers.”

Community stakeholders debate the positive and negative impacts of CBT on the environment. One group claim that to protect the environment of an area, it is necessary to promote CBT; However, other groups argue that CBT destroys the environment of a particular zone. On the positive side because of CBT, the environment is safeguarded in Paharpur, and the quality of the environment is improving overall. The area has become more organised, and people have kept the environment clean. One of the tourism experts (TE\_03\_TP\_02) stated that:

“Not only tourism but also other industries are destroying the environment. Whatever you do will create an impact on the environment. Tourism is not exceptional. However, I believe that those who are related to CBT are very much concerned about the environment, and they have developed a practice that in a particular place, we need to keep dirty things, and it is not allowed to make the environment dirty. The environment will be damaged, but my task is to minimise the damage. CBT is preserving the environment more rather than destroying the environment because here we are not developing extra infrastructure; local people are staying in their houses, and they are just allowing tourists to stay in their settings. Tourists enjoy the regular living style of the community, and they are not given extra facilities. They are just modifying the existing infrastructure. As a result, there is less chance of destroying the environment. People try to keep the environment clean and tidy.”

In contrast, CBT has some negative impacts on the environment, such as creating pollution, destination overcrowding, traffic jams, and the threat of destruction of tourist attractions. Young tourists mainly visit Paharpur for picnic purposes, and they come in groups. They stay the whole day in Paharpur. Their activities greatly impact Paharpur’s environment. For instance, one of the community representatives (CR\_53\_BF\_01) explained the negative consequences of the picnic party, which they need to face as local people.

“One of the main problems that the local community faces are the sound problem. Everywhere, people play high-volume music in sound boxes and on mikes. Local people can’t protest this. Students face difficulties concentrating on their studies. From the very beginning to late at night, people play music. Life becomes tough for the local people. You can’t understand sound pollution if you don’t face this acute problem.”

Furthermore, authorities and local people are not aware of the negative sides of overcrowding. They always believe that more tourists are more beneficial for them. Paharpur Buddhist Monastery is facing the problem of overcrowding on different occasions when a large number of tourists visit within a short time. Participants of the research said that the competition among the archaeological sites for revenue generation forced the site authority to promote a large number of tourists to the site, and they denied the issue of overcrowding.

**Table 7.1: Summary of the impacts of tourism in Paharpur**

<b>Impact</b>	<b>Positive</b>	<b>Negative</b>
Economic	Scope of earning money Increase of govt. revenue No money leakage Multiplier effect	Seasonality Unequal economic benefits Weak market linkage High price of products
Social	Employment opportunity Increased standard of living Increased quality of life Community development Network creation Structural development	Social degradation Land acquisition Conservative mindset Social problems Shortage of infrastructure
Environmental	Protection of the Environment Awareness of Environment	Pollution Carrying capacity Traffic-jam Threat of destruction

Source: Author (Based on field data)

## **7.3 Roles of stakeholders in Community-based Tourism**

### **7.3.1 Local Stakeholders**

Local stakeholders are directly and actively linked to developing CBT in Paharpur. Notably, local stakeholders include local government representatives such as the Divisional Commissioner, Deputy Commissioner (DC), Upazila Nirbahi Officer (UNO), Chairman and Member, local authority, including Custodian and other staff of DoA, security personnel, including tourist police, NGOs and most importantly, members of the local community.

The primary role of the divisional office, which is responsible for several districts, is to act as a reporting authority to the district commissioner, who directs the district offices. In addition,

the divisional office monitors the activities of the DC office. The deputy commissioner's office, in turn, is responsible for several Upazilas. Some of this office's roles are the development of the district's tourism, tourism promotion, and administrative activities. To develop district tourism, the authority makes plans and rules according to the policy at the national level, as well as opens tourism cells in the district office. One of the institutional representatives (IR\_02\_DCO\_01) explained the contribution of the district office in Paharpur to tourism development.

“District Office took initiatives for developing the Paharpur Buddhist Monastery, such as modernising the campus, creating visitor shades inside the Monastery, creating benches for the tourists, modernising the drainage system, building internal pathway, rest houses, beautifying the site, starting a food court inside of the Monastery, ensured drinking water facilities and recruited quality guide.”

The district office plays a role as a guardian after the national-level government. They significantly contribute to the development of Paharpur as a tourism destination. They provide all the necessary support for CBT, such as providing funds for infrastructure development, including for the homestay programme, giving training to the local community, ensuring security for the tourists through tourist police and preserving and conserving the monastery.

The Upazila office works as the implementation authority at the national level of government, and in general, it has several roles, such as the direct development of tourism and providing destination-level support. For instance, one of the respondents (CR\_51\_HM\_04) explained that: “Upazila office monitors the overall condition of the Paharpur such as they try to ensure safety and security of the area, provide transportation facilities, monitor the homestay programme and give legal ground for running the programme.”

However, several respondents stated that the Upazila office is not always that helpful in developing tourism - help depends on the willingness of the particular assigned person. The Union Parishad, known as the oldest part of the government structure, tries to provide essential support for tourism development and plays a mediating role. They provide basic support such as giving directions to the local people and tourists, guiding tourists, giving protocols, supervising and aware people, helping and cooperating with DoA, and supervising the homestay programme. In addition, they look after security issues and work in coordination with the tourist police. For instance, one of the institutional representatives (IR\_14\_UP\_01) said that: “First contact point is the Union Parishad. Authority tries to solve small problems and incidents locally, tackles indiscipline and fights, helps in crisis, works to reduce traffic



jams during peak times, and organises the whole area well so that tourists can enter and exit smoothly.”

The Union Parishad authority also represents Paharpur in other countries, participates in coordination and other meetings where they convey the message and demands of local people and build awareness about the significance of tourism in Paharpur. In addition, the authority joins and participates in different programmes such as seminars, conferences, training, and workshops. Finally, the tiers of local-level government work at the root level and contribute directly, actively, and firmly to tourism development.

As a local authority, DoA is mainly responsible for preserving and conserving Bangladesh’s archaeological and historical sites. Therefore, DoA looks after the Paharpur Buddhist Monastery. DoA is divided into three layers: national, regional, and local. The roles at the national level include planning, funding, and guidance. The regional level is also responsible for planning, in addition to budgeting and coordinating. Meanwhile, an active role is played by the site level of DoA in terms of the preservation and conservation of the site and developing the site. One of the representatives (IR\_17\_DoA\_03) from DoA explained their development initiatives.

“We focus on community development as they are one of the most important stakeholders for this archaeological site. We develop local people by organising seminars to make them aware of the significance of the site, arranging heritage awareness programmes and stakeholders’ meetings, providing training to the local people for skill development, looking after the betterment of the local community, and trying to ensure benefits for the local community. Although our law doesn’t permit tourism promotion, we try to develop and promote tourism in Paharpur. For this purpose, we provide accommodation and food facilities to the visitors. We also coordinate with tourism organisations such as BTB and BPC.”

In summary, one of the most important organisations for Bangladesh’s archaeological sites is the Department of Archaeology (DoA). They play a crucial role in preserving and conserving the sites. Among the three departmental tiers, the site level directly contributes to the development of the site and tourism, which is also true for Paharpur. The DoA site office in Paharpur is taking all necessary steps to establish and promote Community-based Tourism (CBT). Their initiatives include site development, training programmes for community advancement, and seminars to raise awareness among local residents. Lastly, the local community plays its part in CBT in Paharpur. Community members manage and own homestay

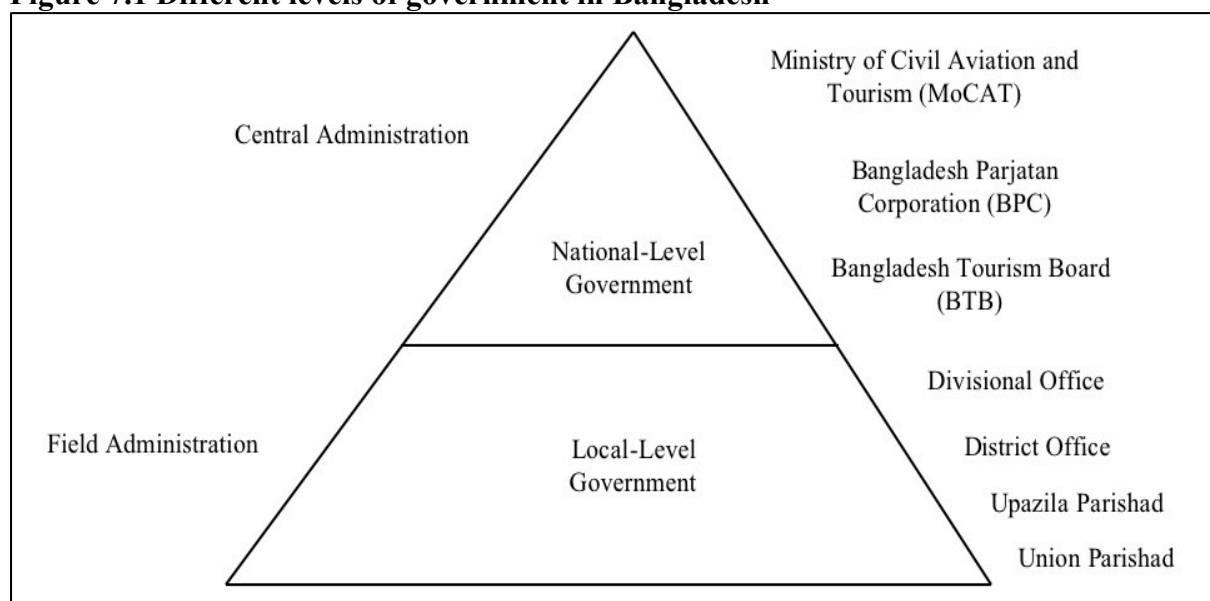
programmes to provide accommodation for tourists, cultural groups perform traditional dances and music to entertain visitors, handicraft producers create and sell signature heritage products of Paharpur to tourists, and local businesses operate to meet tourist demand. Most importantly, community members ensure a welcoming experience for tourists during their visits. To foster harmony among local stakeholders, state-level stakeholders play an indirect role in Paharpur CBT.

### 7.3.2 Role of State in Tourism Development

The government of Bangladesh has different layers. All the organisations from the different layers (Figure 7.1) are contributing directly and indirectly to the development of tourism, specifically the development of tourism in Paharpur, as explained by one of the institutional representatives (IR\_21\_DO\_01) as follows.

“We can divide the level of government based on administrative activities. So, if we think about the administration level, it is like a pyramid. Total administration is divided into two parts: central administration and field administration. The central administration includes the Ministry of Civil Aviation and Tourism (MoCAT) and its associate organisations, such as the Bangladesh Tourism Board (BTB) and Bangladesh Parjatan Corporation (BPC). Field administration includes Divisional Offices, District Offices, Upazila Parishad, and Union Parishad. Therefore, the task of central administration is policy development, and the task of field administration is policy implementation.”

**Figure 7.1 Different levels of government in Bangladesh**



Source: Author

The main organisation on the national level for tourism is MoCAT. MoCAT plays several roles, such as tourism development, the facilitation of associate organisations, and administrative activities. Moreover, one of the ministry's most significant responsibilities is related to formulating national tourism policy. As mentioned earlier, BTB is one of MoCAT's associate organisations. As a National Tourism Organisation (NTO), it has several roles: tourism planning and research, product development, and promotion. In this regard, one of the institutional representatives (IR\_06\_BTBTB\_01) from BTB explained their contribution to product development.

“BTB is responsible for developing niche tourism in Bangladesh. For this reason, this organisation is preparing policies on wildlife tourism, cultural tourism, MICE tourism, and CBT. For example, the organisation funded the private tour operator through the tender-based process to develop CBT in Paharpur. Under the project, the responsible authority trained the local people on tour guiding, housekeeping, service, and sanitation. Besides this, they also established a homestay programme in Paharpur. BTB is also selecting other sites along with Paharpur to develop CBT and provide training to the local people. Mainly, BTB is formulating a CBT policy, arranging seminars to motivate the local community towards CBT, training for skill development, and, sometimes, providing funds for infrastructural development.”

Likewise, another associate organisation of MoCAT is BPC, which is known as the Government Tourism Organisation (GTO). Their several roles are the development of tourism infrastructures and facilities, the development of the private sector, and the development of a workforce for the tourism and hospitality industry. Specifically, they provided training to the local people of Paharpur to prepare them to participate in CBT. Importantly, as Paharpur is a UNESCO World Heritage Site, besides local actors, international actors also play their role. Hence, the following section describes them briefly.

### **7.3.3 Role of International Actors**

In the age of globalisation, several international actors are present in Paharpur and playing different roles in developing tourism in the area. Some international actors actively involved in tourism development are UNESCO, the Asian Development Bank (ADB), and international tourists. Some of the vital roles of these global actors are the role of mediator, preservation and conservation of archaeological sites, capacity building of the staff of the archaeological department, and local community development.

The local UNESCO representative finds the potential destinations for enrolment as a World Heritage Site and then sends the list to UNESCO's head office. Later, they communicate and provide supportive documents to the higher authority. After this, UNESCO declared the site a World Heritage Site. The authority helps to protect and conserve the site by providing management guidelines. They also make rules for the conservation and maintenance of the site and directly and indirectly take care of the monastery, as explained by one of the responsible persons (IR\_15\_DoA\_02) of DoA.

“UNESCO supervises all things to ensure proper conservation and preservation. Every month, they organise a meeting with DoA staff to give direction about management. They also focus on the environmental issues and provide direction to ensure sustainable development. Previously, people were able to sell their products inside Bihar. As a result, they made the environment dirty. Then, UNESCO directed authorities not to allow them to come inside for business. This decision from them makes the environment good. UNESCO also provides consultants when the project runs on the site.”

Therefore, UNESCO works jointly with DoA, but UNESCO does not directly monitor particular destinations. Rather, it provides the guidelines, rules, and regulations to the DoA and monitors whether they work based on the guidelines as indicated above. To increase staff capacity, UNESCO regularly organises training programmes, arranges stakeholder capacity-building workshops, and runs discussion sessions. They also create linkages with the market to stimulate sustainable livelihoods and organise national fairs for handicraft producers. Moreover, they provide technical and advisory support to create awareness among the local community regarding tourism development. In addition, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) provides financial assistance under the project to ensure the site's preservation and conservation. They funding for running community development programmes and a heritage awareness programme in Paharpur.

Overall, international actors are focusing on the skill development of the local community to ensure benefits by directly involving them in the tourism industry. These international actors also focus on the development of tourism in the area by developing attractions, facilities, and infrastructure. Because of the arrival of foreign tourists, the local authority is also very concerned about security issues.

## **7.4 Community-based Tourism Governance and its Mechanisms in the Context of Paharpur**

### **7.4.1 Actor-Network Mapping and Existing Governance Structure**

CBT in Paharpur is comprised of several networks such as the network of homestay participants, tour guides, businesses, tribal cultural group, Baul team, group of potters, Nakshikatha producers, local food processors, local authority including custodian and DoA staffs, security personnel including tourist police, general police, battalion, hawkers, street vendors, transportation personnel, food suppliers in picnic, local government representatives such as DC, UNO, Chairman and Member (see Figure 7.2).

Fifteen families are involved in the homestay programme. Initially, six homeowners joined the network through training by Journey Plus under a project initiated by BTB. Later, nine more houses joined the network by following the same process. These families consist of a father, mother, brother, sister, wife, son, daughter, sister-in-law, grandson and granddaughter. Currently, fifty-six individual members are part of the homestay network. Almost fifty people participated in the tour guide training between 2014 and 2022, which the BPC, BTB, and Journey Plus offered. But very few people are actively engaged in tour guiding now. In the monastery, only three people work as tour guides. Because of the lack of opportunities, most tour guides left the network and found other employment. Another important network consists of a Baul team that performs traditional music and has twelve members, including two leaders who manage them. Before joining the CBT network, they performed independently as part of different social programmes. They joined the CBT network through a local community leader's initiative. Moreover, a tribal community, namely the Orao community, formed a network to perform tribal dance and music for tourists. Currently, ten members are actively participating in their network, and one leader is responsible for managing them. They also joined the CBT network at the initiative of a local community leader. In addition, the network of Nakshikatha makers consists of twelve women who formed the network after getting training from the ADB project. They also have a leader to manage them. Beyond this, eight members formed a local food processing network and received training under the ADB project. Notably, twenty-four potters from two villages formed two networks after getting training from UNESCO and selling their products to tourists. Several other networks, such as tourist police, consist of sixteen members; the battalion consists of fourteen members; the network of staff of DoA consists of around twenty members; hawkers comprise of seven members; street vendors consist of seven members, and around four hundred transportation personnel are part of broader tourism

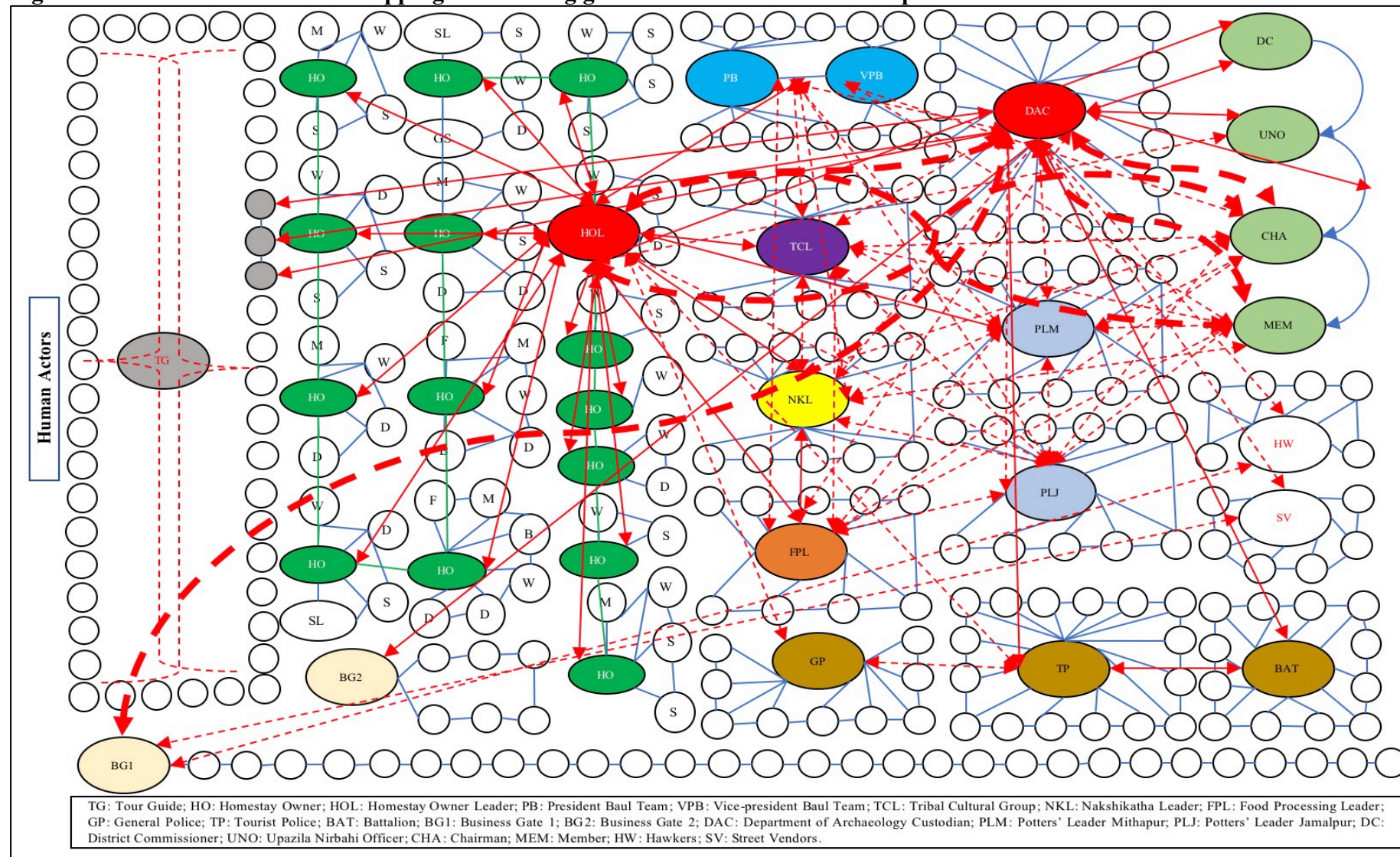
network. Beyond this, different types of businesses, such as souvenir shops, restaurants, grocery shops, and tea stall owners, make up a large network with forty-one members.

The CBT network is formed of several other small networks where actors form networks by participating in training programmes or by the initiative of a local community leader. This network includes a diversity of actors, as shown below. Maintaining a good governance structure is crucial to governing all these networks for attaining a common goal. However, currently, there is no formal governance structure in Paharpur. The findings of this study show that the local tourism system is fragmented, with limited cooperation between different actor groups. All the networks are loosely managed by the individual initiative of two different actors, namely a local community leader and the custodian of DoA. For instance, a local community leader exercises control by making all the decisions on behalf of members of smaller networks such as homestay programmes, cultural groups, and handicraft product producers. This research shows that their voice is limited in the governance of CBT. Contrasting opinions emerged as to why the local community was central in the network. One group of participants said they gave responsibility to the leader for making decisions, and the other group stated that the local community leader did not give them a chance to make decisions. However, most of the respondents also indicated that while making decisions, local community leaders consult with other members of the groups and focus on accountability and transparency. For example, to ensure transparency, a local leader requests tourists to pay the fee for cultural programmes to the performers directly. In the case of the homestay programme, the local leader ranks the houses based on facilities and allocates tourists in rotation. Conversely, the custodian makes decisions based on his positional power, where he is accountable to the higher authorities, not to local communities. Most of the respondents stated that he (unlike the community leader) does not consult with the community members and does not share anything before taking any action. In brief, the local leader focuses on the collaborative governance process, while the custodian prioritises the authoritative governance process.

Figure 7.2 shows the different types of ties among actors, that is, tight ties (straight red lines, blue lines and green lines), loose ties (dotted red lines) and complex ties (bold dotted red lines). There are tight ties among the members of the smaller networks, but there are loose ties between the members of the smaller networks. Additionally, there are complex ties between a local community leader and custodian, the community leader and local government

representatives and the custodian and local government representatives. The figure shows the informal and complex nature of the existing governance structure in Paharpur.

**Figure 7.2: CBT Actor-Network mapping and existing governance structure in Paharpur**



Source: Author



### 7.4.2 Commodification and Governance

Lots of changes have occurred in Paharpur. Some changes concern structural changes in society and culture, and others are due to tourism development. Host and visitor expectations differ concerning the commodification of the local culture and heritage, as discussed in this section.

In terms of structural societal change, one of the significant aspects would be the vanishing of clay houses made of mud. Paharpur had lots of clay houses (see Figure 5.7), and these houses were known as heritage houses. Local residents are moving from traditional to modern housing systems, i.e., high-rise buildings. Furthermore, the original structure of the Monastery also changed because DoA authorities tried to make the site more attractive to tourists. Therefore, a large number of research participants mentioned that the site lost its originality and authenticity. For instance, one of the respondents (CR\_35\_BR\_01) explained that:

“The Buddhist Monastery was not the same as before. The government took the initiative to develop and modify it. The authority modernised the site by renovating the museum, establishing a boundary wall on four sides, and beautifying the site. The most notable part is that the shape of the main temple was not the same as before. After long research, the authority gave the present shape, increased the height, used new and artificial bricks, and replaced original terracotta with a replica.”

Importantly, people are trying to be modern by adopting modern structures and ways of living into the local culture. For example, people now wear modern dress instead of traditional dress. Besides this, a significant change is found in local people's perceptions of cultural programmes. Many local people who do not benefit directly from tourism are negative about cultural programmes. Their negative perceptions are further impacted by their religion. Participants of cultural groups are also leaving their traditional practices based on the belief that these cultural programmes are not in line with their religious beliefs. In contrast, people who are directly involved in tourism in Paharpur are interested in using local culture as a tourism resource and have a positive attitude towards cultural programmes. Notably, this situation is highly influenced by the local powerful actors who strongly believe in religious sentiments. Hence, one of the community representatives (CR\_17\_CG\_01) described the current scenario of the society.

“Village people are becoming more religious-minded every day. They think cultural programmes such as dance and music do not fit their religious sentiments. As a result, they don't allow the authority to organise cultural programmes for tourists. Many performers also believe that performing this cultural programme will harm their

religious beliefs and their next life. So, they are leaving their traditional and old-generational profession.”

Furthermore, people had previously prepared handicraft products manually, but now use modern technology. As a result, these types of products are also losing their authenticity. However, providing tourists with an authentic experience is vital for CBT to flourish, as reiterated by one of the tourism experts (TE\_03\_TP\_02) interviewed:

“One of the fundamental questions is how we can bring tourists to a CBT site. There are several ways to bring tourists, and one of the ways is to ensure authenticity. If tourism products are authentic, then we can bring tourists easily. If we can properly display or exploit authentic products, we can sell these products easily. If we can’t do this, we cannot bring tourists here. The world is now moving to an experience economy where we need to give tourists some experiences so they can value them. If this experience is for the first time, they will recall it for their whole life. We need to synchronise all the tourism activities and ensure their unique experience.”

One of the community representatives (CR\_51\_HM\_04) described the significance of the original culture and tradition and echoed that: “Our village culture is in a changing process, but we are trying to keep and preserve this. We are trying our best. The things that have already changed, we can’t bring them back. However, we are also focusing on the preservation of existing culture in future.”

The above discussion underscores the intricate task of balancing cultural change and authenticity, a crucial consideration for ensuring good governance of CBT in Paharpur. This balance, often a delicate one, requires authorities to make decisions that respect the evolving nature of culture while preserving its unique identity. Moreover, to maintain the traditional practices of the cultural group, authorities must ensure the generation of significant benefits, coupled with accountability and transparency. Additionally, the focus on the social justice of cultural groups is paramount. As such, the following issues related to cultural commodification and governance (see Table 7.2) are discussed in detail.

**Table 7.2: Concerning issues regarding commodification and CBT governance**

<b>Governance Challenges</b>	<b>Governance Solutions</b>
<b>Preservation of Local Culture and Artefacts</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Preservation of soft culture</li> <li>• Preservation of ancient artefacts</li> <li>• Preservation of old infrastructure</li> <li>• Use of technology</li> <li>• Loss of appeal</li> </ul> <b>Keep People in Traditional Cultural Practice</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Keep attached to traditional cultural practices</li> <li>• Unwillingness of the next generation to continue the legacy</li> <li>• Keep cultural people in their place of origin</li> <li>• Organise a cultural group of people</li> </ul> <b>Host and Visitor Expectations</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conservativeness of hosts</li> <li>• Progressive mindset of tourists</li> <li>• Lack of awareness</li> <li>• Irresponsible behaviour of tourists</li> </ul> <b>Ensuring Significant Benefits</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Low generation of financial benefits</li> <li>• Creation of demand</li> </ul> <b>Lack of Support</b>	<b>Preservation of Culture</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Promotion of local soft culture</li> <li>• Presentation of culture in original form</li> <li>• Use of local traditional items</li> <li>• Promotion of local traditional handicrafts</li> <li>• Adaptive use</li> </ul> <b>Making People Skilled</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Training</li> <li>• Workshop</li> </ul> <b>Awareness Creation about Local Culture</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Awareness creation</li> <li>• Allowing responsible tourists</li> <li>• Set rules and regulations</li> <li>• Set the value and cultural belief</li> </ul> <b>Financial Benefits</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ensuring financial benefits for producers</li> <li>• Regular arrangement of cultural programmes</li> <li>• Motivating tourists</li> </ul> <b>Ensure Support</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Support from the authority</li> </ul>

Source: Author (Based on Field Data)

Preserving the original culture, tradition, and artefacts is very challenging. Therefore, one of the tourism experts (TE\_05\_TP\_03) stated that: “We see some cultural modifications or we need to do some modifications of culture for the tourism development. It is not uncommon for a tourism destination. So, there is a governance challenge related to not changing culture or, if needed, trying to change the least amount of culture.” Another tourism expert (TE\_04\_IE\_02) supplemented by saying that:

“Community-based tourism (CBT) and the preservation of culture are positively related. If we practice CBT, then we can easily preserve the local culture. CBT not only gives scope for selling and displaying culture but also helps to preserve this from generation to generation, as we have no cultural institution for preserving the unique culture. However, if CBT doesn’t succeed, then there will be cultural conflict. Sometimes, we see that village people are not ready to accept people from outside their community, and there is a cultural conflict. Besides this, people think that cultural exchange will negatively impact them, which is known as cultural diffusion. Moreover, if the community changes its original culture, tourists lose interest in visiting it. Ultimately, CBT lost track for a longer period.”

Local people regularly deal with tourists, and as a result, a big change has been seen in the manner and behaviour of the people. People try to follow the culture of the tourists, and this

change can be seen in the pattern of dress in recent times. People enjoy modern and foreign dance and songs rather than their own cultural dance and music. Food cultures also changed from traditional to modern and foreign food items. Overall, local people are actively focusing on modernisation. As a result, local culture is gradually vanishing. Hence, one of the community representatives (CR\_17\_CG\_01) explained the cultural change in Paharpur and illustrated that it is becoming more challenging to preserve one's own culture because of the injection of different foreign cultures through tourists and other outsiders.

Ironically, while visitors expect 'authentic' culture and heritage experiences, the presence of foreign visitors impacts the culture's modernisation. Several participants mentioned that they are trying to ensure an acceptable level of change in culture by inspiring people to respect and preserve the local culture. However, minimising the cultural change in a tourism destination is not easy. For instance, one of the community representatives (CR\_30\_TG\_07) described the current condition of the cultural changes in Paharpur.

"Various types of people visit Paharpur and participate in different activities. Besides this, they demand several activities and facilities. We ensure all the facilities are available to fulfil the tourists' demands. Sometimes, these demands don't match our culture and tradition. As a result, it becomes difficult to preserve our own culture, resulting in a mixture of cultures. Moreover, there is the dominance of outside culture. So, we need to modify our original songs and dances to make them more attractive to tourists. For example, young people visit here for picnic purposes. They play high-volume DJ and Hindi songs in mike and sound box, which don't represent our culture. By seeing this from tourists, local people also play foreign music for their enjoyment. In brief, protecting the unique local culture and tradition from the export culture is becoming more challenging."

One of the tourism experts (TE\_03\_TP\_02) also supported this sentiment by explaining that:

"Both positive and negative can happen to cultural issues because of tourism. In the case of the negative side, problems arise when someone tries to change the culture by imposing foreign things to help tourism flourish. For instance, when we go to see the tribal people's programme, and if they do it naturally, we can say that they are keeping the authenticity. However, in most cases, we try to display a modified culture to the tourists, but we are unable to keep the authenticity. We try to add many artificial things and facilities. When we add some elements to the original culture, there is the possibility of destroying the original culture. It depends on how much we keep it intact."

The above discussion highlights the dilemma of whether society needs to be open to change or be strict to keep the culture authentic. The findings show differing views on this by tourism stakeholders in Paharpur. A few respondents mentioned that tourists visit Paharpur to enjoy the authentic culture, so it is crucial to keep it protected. In contrast, some respondents claimed that to respond to modernisation, it is necessary to bring some changes in authenticity. Respondents stressed further that it is not always possible to keep authenticity intact for the benefit of tourists because locals change the culture intentionally or unintentionally for their own benefit. Upgrading to more modern structures and housing has consequences for authenticity. Hence, there is a conflict around authenticity because keeping the site 'authentic' will mean less development for local people.

Another challenging area is the preservation of ancient artefacts, as the authority opened the original terracotta from the Buddhist Monastery and replaced it with a replica. They did it to preserve the original terracotta, although they kept it in the storehouse to protect it from theft. Now, tourists cannot see the original and ancient terracotta when they visit Paharpur. Moreover, the authority also uses a modern replica of bricks to preserve the site. To make the site more attractive and accessible to tourists, authorities changed the original structure and texture of the main temple. Besides this, preserving the monastery's old infrastructure is becoming more challenging. Another challenge is preserving heritage products such as Nakshikatha, pottery products, and local foods. One of the main issues regarding heritage products is the lack of initiative to sell these products to customers. There is no market linkup with the local people who are engaged with handicraft products, as they do not get enough support from the local authority to sell these products. Moreover, there is no place or shop to display and sell products. The local community believes that if authorities give some space for establishing business corners, it would benefit them.

Local people believe these handicraft products are artistic and take time to make manually. The cost of the raw materials is also high, resulting in what some consider to be a high price for these goods. Souvenir shops do not sell local products. Instead, they are selling everyday products to tourists. For instance, one of the souvenir shop owners (CR\_19\_BS\_01) described the reasons behind selling general souvenir items to the tourists and illustrated that:

"I kept some of the local souvenir items such as a replica of Paharpur Buddhist Monastery, a replica of terracotta, a special board comprised of an image of Paharpur and a museum, a key ring and a pencil box. However, tourists did not buy these products regularly but demanded other general souvenir items. Besides this, we have no trained

artists for producing local heritage products, and the result is the loss of unique local heritage products.”

This research shows that local handicraft products are losing their appeal and that there is a low tourist demand for these items. Technology hurts handmade products, as indicated by one of the respondents (TE\_02\_IE\_01):

“Now we see the use of technologies and devices for producing handicraft products. For example, the Manipuri sari was made by manually wrapping yarn around the waist. Tourists were enjoying the making process. But now, this product is produced by the textile industry at a very low price and within a short time. As a result, people are now buying from textile manufacturers at low prices”.

For a Nakshikatha, it takes three months to complete. But now we can make it within a short time by using the machine, and the prices are also very low. The same is true for pottery products. Nevertheless, authorities are trying to support the preservation of local culture, tradition, and artefacts through several initiatives. For example, authorities present and show local cultures, such as Baul songs, Zari songs, tribal dances, and music to the tourists. They present the culture to the tourists and try to promote tradition and culture locally. Several respondents mentioned that they were unaware of their traditional culture, but because of tourism, they know about their unique culture. They also try to revive the lost culture, such as the newly discovered Charjapad. Some also focus on collecting stories related to the archaeological sites and arranging storytelling nights for tourists. Notably, the nature of the host community, their interest, willingness, level of motivation, awareness and community engagement are other ways to ensure proper management of culture and heritage protection. The strong bonding among the community members is vital to preserving the original culture and managing conflict over cultural diffusion. According to IR\_12\_BPC\_01,

“Local people safeguard local heritage, which is also directly related to their identity and pride. To protect the pride, the local community needs to engage and should not destroy the structure or collect the bricks. They also should not take the terracotta. Ultimately, engagement of the local community will create a sense of ownership among themselves. Beyond this, if they protect their heritage site, then it will create scope for earning and survival through the creation of sustainable livelihood. For instance, they can engage as tour guides, local food providers, business persons, and transportation personnel. Overall, community engagement is essential because if we can involve them, then it will be easier to conserve the site as well as to flourish to a greater extent.”

Because there is no regular and significant flow of income from tourism for the local cultural group, keeping them in their traditional cultural practices is becoming tougher. They are leaving their traditional professions and shifting mainly to agriculture and business. People are losing their skills, and the present generation is very much demotivated to continue the profession of previous generations. In brief, the local culture faces a survival threat because artists are shifting from their traditional professions. Younger generations are not necessarily interested in engaging in tourism professions. Furthermore, cultural groups not only have their professions but also their living places. For example, members of the tribal community leave their current village and settle in other tourist destinations. However, authorities and local community leaders are trying to ensure support from DoA and political groups of people. Several respondents said that political leaders are cordial and supportive of the cultural group. They also mentioned that there is no pressure from the political groups. Besides this, a local community leader tries to inspire political leaders to arrange cultural programmes in their political programmes. Besides this, leaders and authorities try to manage funds for the people. For example, they gave financial support during the period of COVID-19 pandemic. In addition, they try to manage scholarships for the children of the cultural group of people. After all, the authority also has some soft corners for them as they are one of the active and vital stakeholders of tourism in Paharpur.

#### **7.4.3 Foreign Actors Influencing Governance**

The influence of global actors such as UNESCO is a significant factor that local authorities need to consider while governing the destination locally. These organisations often influence local authorities to accommodate their governance structures and recruit their own consultants. This influence significantly shapes the features of governance, particularly the decision-making process driven by the agenda of foreign organisations. Issues identified in Paharpur are summarised in Table 7.3 and discussed further below.

**Table 7.3: Concerning issues regarding globalisation and CBT governance**

<b>Governance Challenges</b>	<b>Governance Solutions</b>
<b>Rules and Regulations</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Set of rules and regulations</li> <li>• Strictly following rules and regulations</li> </ul> <b>Restrictions</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Restrictions on developing facilities</li> <li>• Appointment of consultants</li> </ul> <b>Fear and Dissatisfaction</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Creating an environment of fear</li> <li>• Land acquisition risks</li> <li>• Dissatisfaction of local people</li> <li>• Keep local people in the area</li> <li>• Inequal treatment</li> </ul>	<b>Following Rules and Regulations</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Operational guidelines of UNESCO</li> </ul> <b>Protection of the Environment</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Guidelines and instructions from UNESCO</li> </ul> <b>Community Development</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Managing for community development</li> <li>• Active participation in the organisation</li> <li>• Creating scope for sustainable livelihood</li> </ul> <b>Eradication of Barriers</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Arranging an awareness programme</li> <li>• Presentation of local culture and tradition</li> <li>• Provide guidelines and instructions</li> <li>• Ensuring security</li> <li>• Use of technology</li> <li>• Participation of a wider number of people</li> <li>• Distribution of benefits to more people</li> <li>• Support from influential actors</li> </ul>

Source: Author (Based on Field data)

To ensure the preservation and conservation of the site, UNESCO has set several rules and regulations. They divided the closest area of the main structure as the core zone and the surrounding one kilometre as the buffer zone. No construction or modification of the existing structure is allowed in the core zone without obtaining permission from UNESCO. This sometimes impacts negatively on the everyday activities of DoA. For example, they are facing water drainage-related problems that impact the sustainability of the main structure, but they are unable to solve the problem because they are not getting permission from UNESCO. One of the respondents mentioned that they conducted several meetings with UNESCO about this issue, but they are taking a long time to decide.

Furthermore, multi-storied buildings in the buffer zone are not allowed. This rule is creating several problems in managing tourism. For example, because of the buffer zone rules, authorities cannot set up a mobile tower near the monastery. As a result, tourists and locals face significant network problems, which ultimately dissatisfies tourists when they visit here. The local authority needs to follow UNESCO rules and guidelines closely and has limited local control of governance and maintenance issues, as explained by the participants from DoA (IR\_17\_DoA\_03).

“UNESCO and other foreign funding agencies strictly monitor whether we are following their guidelines properly or not. They frequently visit the site and collect periodic reports from us. In this case, we face some bureaucratic problems and must wait for their permission before making any decisions. Even the government has little control and say over these international actors, especially UNESCO.”



The authority does try to follow the rules and guidelines set by foreign organisations. For instance, the homestay authority selects houses far from the monastery to avoid a negative impact on the site. In addition, they are expanding the homestay programme by including new houses rather than building multi-story buildings in existing houses. This option has a two-fold benefit: it creates less negative impact on the environment, and it also creates scope for including more people in tourism-related activities. UNESCO has also placed restrictions on developing facilities inside and outside the Monastery, which also makes it challenging for the authorities to govern properly and smoothly. There are huge and strict restrictions on building and modifying any infrastructure in the core zone. One of the participants (CR\_29\_HP\_06) stated that:

“Previously, hawkers were allowed to sell their products inside the monastery, but now they are not allowed. In addition, tourists could arrange picnics inside the monastery, where they were allowed to cook food in the open air and play music. But now all of these are strictly prohibited because of UNESCO rules.”

The number of tourists has decreased mainly because of this prohibition from UNESCO. However, several other participants said that the environmental quality significantly improved because of the UNESCO rules. Moreover, before doing any task in Paharpur, specifically inside the monastery, the authority must recruit consultants to ensure preservation and conservation. In most cases, foreign bodies provide and recruit these consultants. The challenge is coordinating all parties when a project runs. This research shows that foreign bodies, especially UNESCO, are creating fear and dissatisfaction among the related stakeholders. For instance, several respondents frequently mentioned that because of the UNESCO rules, private investors are becoming demotivated to invest in Paharpur to develop tourism. Private investors and DoA stay in fear because UNESCO regularly threaten to withdraw the status of a World Heritage Site if they do not follow the rules strictly. Besides this, UNESCO insists that the government acquire the surrounding lands of the monastery so that it becomes easier to preserve and conserve. For this reason, local people are unhappy, and many believe they were deprived in different ways. There was a time when local people said they did not want development here because they thought that if tourism developed here, they would need to sacrifice their land. However, this perception has largely changed because people now understand that if tourism develops, people will also benefit. However, because of the loss of land and different restrictions, village people are leaving their origins. This is another major challenge for the

authorities, keeping people in the area who can provide services to the tourists and act as a helping hand to preserve and conserve the monastery.

Respondents felt that rules are not applied equally. Powerful people often get unethical advantages. Local people also lose their businesses and are negatively affected in terms of earnings. Some locals feel that they do not have any authority in this place, although they have been living here since ancient times, which makes them feel unhappy and dissatisfied. However, authorities are trying to minimise the challenges by balancing the influence of international organisations and the dissatisfaction of local people. The UNESCO guidelines recommend that there must be ten souvenir shops run by locals to sell local and unique heritage items. The governing authority, accordingly, is trying to ensure the active participation of the international actors in Paharpur so that they can contribute to community development.

#### **7.4.4 Power Dynamics and Governance**

The presence and involvement of both local and foreign actors affect power dynamics in Paharpur as shown in this thesis. Complexities with respect to this and what it means for CBT governance are unpacked below. According to the TE\_03\_TP\_02, “Different philosophers describe power in different ways. But I think power is all about how I apply the strategy. For example, it seems that sometimes the central government needs to surrender to the local government because the local authority has more strategic power.” Another tourism expert (TE\_06\_TP\_04) stated that: “Power is all about exercise. If you have authority and rights but don’t exercise them, then there will be no value in power; suppose you have the voting right but didn’t give a vote, and it will be not fruitful.”

It was clear from their statement that power varies from person to person; some enjoy more power, and some have less power. Consequently, several factors significantly influence governance issues, and power is one of these. Therefore, this section describes some power-related governance issues (see Table 7.4).

**Table 7.4: Concerning issues regarding power and CBT governance**

<b>Governance Challenges</b>	<b>Governance Solutions</b>
<b>Political Pressure</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pressure from political people</li> </ul> <b>Pressure from an Influential Person</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Problems created by influential persons</li> <li>• Destruction of image</li> <li>• Conspiracy</li> <li>• Leadership role</li> </ul> <b>Power Imbalance</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Power inequality</li> <li>• Power clash among different parties</li> </ul> <b>Lack of Administrative Support</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of support from the authority</li> <li>• Unsupportive local government and administration</li> <li>• Inequal application of rules</li> </ul> <b>Power of Foreign Actors</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Power in the Hands of Foreign Organisations</li> <li>• Power of Foreign Tourists</li> </ul>	<b>Dealing Influentially</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Scope to access higher authority</li> <li>• Ensuring the highest acceptability</li> <li>• Highest level of influence</li> </ul> <b>Managing Support</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Act as a spokesperson between parties</li> <li>• Prioritise social and community development</li> <li>• Betterment of the wider group of people</li> <li>• Ensuring equality and equity</li> <li>• Awareness programme</li> </ul> <b>Power Balance</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Use of a power position</li> <li>• Formation of a committee by involving different-level stakeholders</li> <li>• Focus on unity</li> </ul> <b>Support of Higher Authority</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Use of legal document</li> <li>• Involvement of higher authority</li> <li>• Creation and maintenance of a strong network</li> </ul>

Source: Author (Based on Field Data)

Political groups put pressure on the local authorities directly involved in governing CBT in Paharpur. Political people create problems and hassles, try to exercise power, give threats, create obstacles to the initiative, impose blame, try to enter freely inside the monastery, buy products at lower prices, and eat food without paying money. In this regard, one of the community representatives (CR\_22\_TG\_05) commented that: “In most cases, political people are not supportive of the development of tourism in Paharpur. They create hassles, gather local people in an incident, complain to the higher authority frequently by calling and sending letters to them, charge the local governing authority and hamper the management.”

Another institutional representative (IR\_18\_DoA\_04) added that: “Political people can create problems because village people are mostly uneducated, and this uneducated person largely depends on the political master.” Moreover, one of the tourism experts (TE\_04\_IE\_02) said that: “One of the bad sides of CBT is that when someone takes the initiative to develop CBT, politics comes. The political leader tries to enter, influence, and dominate the community. They want the maximum share and benefits from CBT, otherwise, they create problems”, as explained by another expert (TE\_05\_TP-03):

“Politics automatically comes when money comes, and power and political dimensions work there. Power and politics sometimes try to dominate. That means when the monetary flow starts, then power and politics dominate. There is a link between monetary flow, power and politics in our cultural context. Authority also faces the

challenge of egoic clash, and political leaders try to harass local leaders socially. From the pressure, they need to involve political people in the governing committee of CBT.”

Sometimes, political leaders block foreign tourists from staying in the homestay houses. Not only the political leaders but also the security forces also create problems. Therefore, one of the representatives from the homestay (CR\_01\_TG\_01) explained the nature of the disturbance created by the security forces.

“When foreign tourists come here, security personnel try to discourage them from staying in the homestay houses. They spread negative word of mouth, such as security not being good, and the service level being very poor. They also harass foreign tourists when they stay in their houses. The reasons are that they feel pressure and fear when dealing with foreign tourists. They think that if something unfavourable happens, they will need to face accountability. Beyond this, other authorities, such as representatives of the local government and DoA, are also not interested in receiving foreign tourists here because of security concerns.”

However, authorities take several steps to deal with this issue of local political influence with the help of a higher authority. For example, when politicians try to create problems, homestay authorities show and use the certificates as legal documents that they got from BTB. This proves the legality of the homestay programme. Beyond this, they inform and involve the higher authority in the committee and invite local representatives in different programmes as special and chief guests. They also meet with UNESCO regularly to ensure their support. Overall, the leader of the governing authority creates and maintains a strong network with different stakeholders to deal with political pressures. In this perspective, a local leader regularly communicates with the larger network, uses his personal links and political power, creates a political backup, and tries to make an aware political master.

Not only the political people but also the local elite of the area place pressure on those directly involved in tourism. One expert (TE\_03\_TP\_02) explained the influence of influential persons by saying:

“Influential persons try to bring change to society. When they bring change in society, then authenticity is destroyed. They try to do everything in a modern way and mostly focus on infrastructural development. However, it is the opposite of the concept of CBT. We also see obstacles with respect to culture, norms, and values. So, there is a link with power.”

At the same time, another tourism expert (TE\_06\_TP\_04) illustrated that:

“If any powerful person, it may be a political or other influential person, can stay in the governance structure, then they take all the decisions. If they don’t ensure the local community’s equity, equality, and participation, then it creates an imbalance. As a result, distrust is created in the minds of local people, or there may be a chance of cheating on tourists, people don’t get a chance to work, or they don’t work according to their wishes. Those with huge power try to get undue benefits from the donor agencies or the government.”

Moreover, these influential individuals also try to tarnish the governing authority’s image by instigating negative incidents or levying criminal accusations. For instance, the local community leader of Paharpur was caught in such a situation due to the involvement of these influential individuals in the homestay programme. In another case, it was reported by several respondents that a local community leader was engaging in behaviours that lacked respect and inclusivity, such as monopolising benefits, isolating tourists in his house, favouring only his relatives, and disrespecting others, including the local authority.

Several factors contribute to the power imbalances. Some common factors are network relationships, attachment to an organisation, social status, personal traits, and leadership ability. Interestingly, from the perspective of rural areas of Bangladesh, it is a common scenario that the level of power of a particular people largely depends on the attachment to the organisation. It is further led by the nature of the job, position in the job, and location. In addition, the ability to hold power largely depends on the social status of a particular person. This social status depends on involvement with social activities, the scope of providing benefits to people, support in crisis times, engagement in society, acceptability in society, and exposure to society. Similarly, social status also depends on the level of wealth in the form of assets, resources, money, level of income, number of shops, and business size. Personal characteristics vary from person to person, and these unique traits are also influential factors in determining power. These traits are honesty, manners, age, ability to take initiative, communication skills, and knowledge. Lastly, the person’s leadership, management, and organisational abilities determine the power level. In brief, power imbalance is a common scenario in Bangladesh, where different factors play a significant role in creating it.

Power imbalances among different parties make things difficult to manage. We always see power clashes between different parties. For instance, in the case of Paharpur, several respondents mentioned a conflict between the local community and local government

representatives, a clash between managers and staff of the organisation. Therefore, one of the institutional representatives (IR\_15\_DoA\_02) stated that: “There is a distance between BTB and BPC, the distance between DoA and BTB, a lack of coordination between DoA and the local community leader, a clash between DoA and businessmen, between tourists and businessmen even there is a clash between businessmen. ”

To face the challenge of power imbalance, the authority uses its positional power. For example, the person responsible for DoA gives permission for people, mainly students, to enter the monastery without tickets, invites local people to attend and participate in meetings and seminars, and makes the decision for the betterment of the community, renovate the old building by his executive power and take steps for making people aware. Besides this, authorities try to form committees by involving different-level stakeholders, such as people from the local administration and representatives from the local-level government. In this regard, one of the tourism experts (TE\_05\_TP\_03) explained how to incorporate people from different levels.

“In the case of governance, to deal with this power issue, we must accommodate some persons from the chair or position who are in the power lobby in some ways. We will keep in the committee the person who will fill the position. Person is not the matter. This will be called a chair-based position. People can change, but the chair will not be changed because the power dimension is related to the chair here. If you choose a chair-based position, then it will balance the power. That can be one of the solutions.”

Meanwhile, several other tourism experts gave different suggestions for dealing with this power issue, such as bringing influential persons into the decision-making process, where decisions will be made using a participative approach. Beyond this, authority can bring the neutral person and marginal people into the committee to balance power. Ultimately, including representatives from the local government based on posts and people from different levels will help balance the power. Moreover, focusing on unity can significantly help to reduce power clashes among different parties. Therefore, to stay united, it is very urgent to create good relationships among members to ensure collaboration, coordination, harmony, and networking among the members. Furthermore, to reduce the power clash, it is vital to determine the reasons behind the problems and priority issues.

#### **7.4.5 Recommended Governance Structure for Community-based Tourism in Paharpur**

Good governance ensures the destination's transparency, accountability, and progress. The governance structure is the precondition for good governance. If there is a proper governance structure, we will have accountability, transparency, and a middle ground for everyone. Everybody will be responsible, so everybody will try to do activities that will have a meaningful impact. Several factors need to be considered when forming a governance structure, such as the governance approach, the structure of the governance mechanism, and the members in the structure. Therefore, different types of governance approaches can be applied in practice. According to TE\_01\_TP\_01,

“Maximum time governance models are thinking from the auditing perspective. This is a top-to-bottom type. However, the governance model should not be either a top-to-bottom or a bottom-up approach. Rather, it should come in a participative way. This would be both ways. It should be a coordinated approach. This coordinated approach becomes possible when this is a participative approach.”

Beyond this, there must be checks and balances between stakeholders to ensure equal participation. It is something like a system of holistic decision-making processes. In this case, forming a formal structure is vital for proper governance. Therefore, one of the respondents (CR\_55\_TO\_01) illustrated that:

“In the governance of CBT, there must be a committee, samiti or organisation. This committee would have a responsibility to manage everything. There were also suggestions for two committees. One committee will work on top-to-bottom, and the other will work on the bottom-to-top approach. Then we will be able to execute the governance properly.”

One of the tourism experts (TE\_04\_IE\_02) also supported the above concept by stating that:

“In foreign countries, we see that there are several tourism agencies which are funded by the government but run privately through resource persons. Control must be in the hands of the government. But in CBT, if we fully control the local people, then it will be a problem; even if the government has full control, then there will be problems. We need to ensure checks and balances so they don't exploit tourists. We can create a platform for coordination among stakeholders and make the relationship healthy. In this platform, we need to ensure equal participation of all people so that they can share and raise their voices and views. There should be a system of a holistic decision-making

process. We want a joint management structure where the relationship will be symbiotic.”

So, it would be better if we could form a governance structure that is formal and multi-stakeholder-based. However, Bangladesh has no uniform, formal, and organised governance structure for CBT. However, one of the institutional representatives (IR\_12\_BPC\_01) stated that they tried to form something new to govern CBT in Paharpur.

“One solution for ensuring good governance is the Community-Based Organisation (CBO) or Local-Based Organisation (LBO). As part of a project, we tried to form a Community-Based Organisation (CBO) in Paharpur to govern CBT. We even formed a CBO comprised of local government representatives, such as the Chairman and Member. But later, it didn’t function. It is still there, but it needs some money to function.”

However, one of the most critical questions is who the structure’s members will be and what their roles will be. Several respondents frequently mentioned that the structure needs to involve the local community and community leaders, pioneers, and backbones for CBT. For this reason, creating more community leaders who can play a significant role by staying within the structure is necessary. However, some respondents said it would be better if only a local community were in the structure, and some said that people from different levels could be included. In this regard, one of the tourism experts (TE\_05\_TP\_03) stated that:

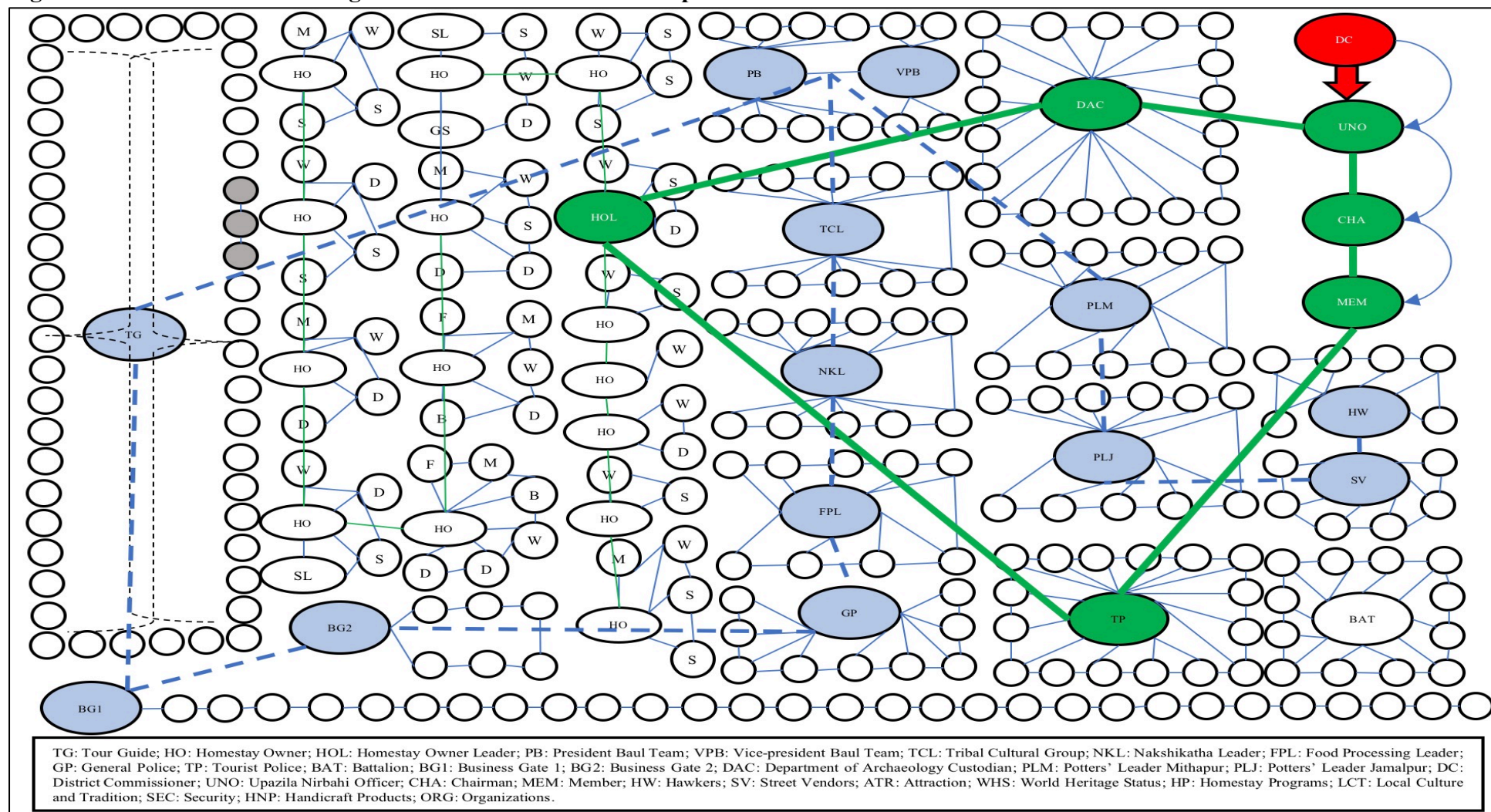
“In the governance structure of CBT, participants from both public and private sectors can be included. From the public side, BTB is doing CBT to keep NGOs with them or connect with the tour operators from the private side. Besides this, they can keep the local leaders as well as representatives from the community. Hence, we can include influential persons from the community and accommodate some persons from the power lobby based on position. However, the number of committee members will not be large, and it can be a maximum of 5-6 people. Because if the committee size becomes large, problems will arise among the committee members.”

Overall, the governance structure should be comprised of different level of stakeholders, such as representatives from the local community, such as community leaders and members; persons from the local government, such as DC, UNO, Chairman, and Member; and persons from local administrations, such as Custodian and law enforcing agency. Therefore, based on participants’ opinions, the recommended governance structure is outlined below.



Figure 7.3 shows that there should ideally be three layers in the CBT governance structure. The top layer will be comprised of local-level government representatives, such as the DC. The middle layer will be comprised of the UNO, the Chairman, the Member, the local community leader, the custodian and the tourist police. Lastly, lower-level members will be the leaders of the smaller networks. It is recommended that the district commissioner lead the governance body, where the main role will be monitoring and acting as a reporting authority (highlighted in red). In the next layer, local government representatives such as UNO, Chairman, Member, DAC, local community leader, and tourist police (highlighted in green) will jointly lead the leaders of smaller local networks and will have direct communication with DC and leaders of the smaller networks. Their main role will be supervision and coordination between different actors, whereas the leader of every network will be responsible for managing their members in the network (highlighted in blue). Although the governance structure has several layers, the governance process will be collaborative and participatory. Members of every layer must have access to other members of the structure. It is not expected that higher-level members will impose their decisions on lower-level members. Rather, it is expected that decisions will be taken based on participative ways, and communication will be in both directions, ensuring transparency. Everybody should get opportunities to voice their opinions. Moreover, every member should be accountable to one another. In brief, the governance process should aim to achieve common goals and members should be clear about their roles.

**Figure 7.3: Recommended CBT governance structure for Paharpur**



Source: Author

## **7.5 Summary of the Chapter**

For the continuation of CBT, governance processes need to be improved in Paharpur. As discussed in this chapter, tourism governance needs to deal with several issues arising from commodification, globalisation, and power dynamics. The governing authority is facing several issues with respect to preserving culture and artefacts, and keeping people in traditional cultural practices to ensure local benefits. Owing to the impacts of globalisation, many international actors are present in Paharpur. They play several roles, and governing authorities face different challenges because of their presence, such as imposed rules and regulations, restrictions, and barriers.

Power dynamics are active in Paharpur because of the involvement of local and foreign actors alike. Several factors are responsible for power imbalances that impact tourism governance through political pressures, pressures from influential persons, lack of support, vested interests and power contestations. There must be a proper governance structure to manage all these issues, although in Paharpur, there is no formal governance structure for CBT. Even in Bangladesh, there is no formal and uniform CBT governance structure. This research puts forward a set of recommendations for such a formal structure comprising of local community and community leaders, local officials, and representatives from the local-level government.

## **Chapter 8: Discussion of Findings**

### **8.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the study's findings in relation to the literature. This chapter first focuses on the community-based tourism (CBT) development process in Paharpur. After that, the emphasis on the stability of the CBT networks depends on the stage of tourism development and the role of power in the translation process. The focus then turns the political economy issues impacting CBT governance. The last section of this chapter considers mechanisms to improve CBT governance in Paharpur.

### **8.2 Community-based Tourism Development Process in Paharpur through the Lens of Actor-Network Theory**

This section interrogates the complex CBT network formation process in Paharpur through the lens of the translation process of ANT – an appropriate tool since it provides scope for an in-depth analysis of the tourism development processes (Jóhannesson, 2005; Rodger, Moore and Newsome, 2009). While researchers have used ANT to examine and describe the different types of tourism development in contexts like wildlife tourism development, the evolution of innovation in a French ski resort, the development of village tourism, pro-poor tourism development, and volunteer tourism (Rodger, Moore and Newsome, 2009; Tomazos and Murdy, 2023; Van der Duim and Caalders, 2008; Yuniningsih, Nurcahyanto and Bellastuti, 2021); there is a lack of studies using ANT to examine the development process of CBT in historical heritage sites like Paharpur.

A CBT network consists of several actors, as demonstrated in this research. In the case of CBT in Paharpur, human actors include participants in the homestay programme, tour guides, handicraft product producers, cultural groups of people, businessmen, transportation personnel, security personnel, the Department of Archaeology (DoA) and its staff, the local-level government and its representatives and tourists. Most of the human actors are from the local community. In addition to the host community, several other outsiders, like government officials, NGOs, and private sector entities, are part of the CBT network. However, several studies found that the role of objects has been overlooked in the case of project development (Rodger, Moore and Newsome, 2009). ANT draws attention to non-human actors (Giddens, 2009) because of its significant influence on the tourism network. Some of the notable non-human factors that are related to the CBT in Paharpur are attractions, including both natural and cultural factors, i.e., the status of the UNESCO World Heritage Site, climate and weather,

and the COVID-19 pandemic. This research shows that the human and non-human actors are intertwined and inseparably part of interactions in the complex CBT network.

As indicated above, ANT helps to explore the processes through which tourism develops (Huxford, 2010). In this regard, the translation process of ANT applies to describing the development process of CBT (Paget, Dimanche and Mounet, 2010; Rodger, Moore and Newsome, 2009; Van der Duim and Caalders, 2008; Yuniningsih, Herbasuki and Bellastuti, 2021). In addition, Jones (2005) described the significance of the translation process in CBT concerns bringing different actors into a network or integrating different networks. However, there is no specific way to determine the number of stages in the translation process. Callon (1986a) proposed four stages, whereas Rodger, Moore and Newsome (2009) identified six phases in the translation process. Moreover, Yuniningsih, Herbasuki and Bellastuti (2021) suggested nine stages in the translation process, and Lestari, Ningtyas and Firdausi (2021) used these nine stages in their research. This study adopted a modified eleven-stage translation process to analyse the field data on the development of CBT as outlined below. This study, therefore, makes a significant theoretical contribution to ANT by extending the stages of the translation process.

During the first stage of tourism development in Paharpur, there were limited facilities such as accommodation, catering and shopping for the tourists. As a result, tourists stay for a short time only, leaving after visiting the monastery. As tourism developed, foreign tourists, mainly those who visited with outside tour operators, started to enter the village and engage with the local community. Tour operators asked one of the local guides to arrange food for tourists, which was the local community's first step towards active involvement in tourism. Later, the government felt that it was crucial to develop CBT in Paharpur to ensure the preservation and conservation of the Buddhist Monastery and community development. The literature indicates that the success of the problematisation phase largely depends on defining the problems. In the top-down approach to CBT development, problems can be defined by external actors like the government, NGOs, and the private sector based on their knowledge, resources, networks, and values (Zapata et al., 2011) - these parties can be considered as the principal actors. As principal actors, two of the ministries of the Bangladesh government took the initiative to run a project and responsibilities were then given to the two associated organisations, DoA and BPC. The responsible departments then engaged other actors from the host community, research organisations, NGOs, local government representatives, and UNESCO consultants.

Identifying a probable solution to the problem is known as an obligatory passage point (OPP). In the OPP, principal actors define the probable solutions for the identified problems (Dedeke, 2017). Besides this, they also determine actions and strategies so that other actors accept the suggested solution to the problem. In the case of Paharpur, the principal actors decided to provide training to ensure community preparedness to participate in CBT activities and run heritage awareness programmes to make the community aware of the significance of heritage preservation and conservation. Later, in the interessement stage, principal actors tried to motivate other actors, mainly local community members, to join the training programme. This stage is crucial because principal actors need to convince other actors to join the network (Rodger, Moore and Newsome, 2009). In this stage, principal actors communicate with other actors (Kitchen, 2000) and use different methods to convince them. The principal actor engaged in different strategies to build the CBT network, i.e., involving local leaders and local government representatives, providing different facilities, organising formal sessions, spreading word-of-mouth, providing certificates, and giving financial benefits. By identifying the methods of motivation, this thesis further contributes to the literature.

The next stage is the enrolment stage, where actors join the network, which happens if the interessement stage succeeds (Van der Duim, 2005). The principal or other external actors try to build the capacity of the other actors through workshops and training (Dedeke, 2017). In this regard, the authority took several steps, such as conducting training sessions on tour guiding, local food processing, and handicraft products production, organising a heritage awareness programme, creating scope for participating in different promotional activities such as fairs, and taking steps for future such as linking the local community with the local NGOs and communicating the district administration. However, the participants were not actively involved in tourism after the training, and some people left the tourism industry. One of the reasons for this was that the authority did not take care of managing CBT after the training and did not provide any guidelines for the future. It is common for external actors to leave the project when funding ends. When CBT is formed by following a top-down approach, action by the external actors, including capacity building of local actors throughout the translation stages, is needed to sustain the CBT network. Mediator organisations can also maintain the network by providing operational and financial support (Harrison and Schipani, 2007). In Paharpur, there was no follow-up, and notably, no long-term plan for continuation, no step for smooth continuation, an inability to sell products, demotivation and a lack of guidance. This lack of a long-term plan is a critical issue that needs to be urgently addressed to prevent the

stagnation stage of CBT in Paharpur. On a note, this is another empirical contribution which explains the reasons behind CBT's failure in the long run.

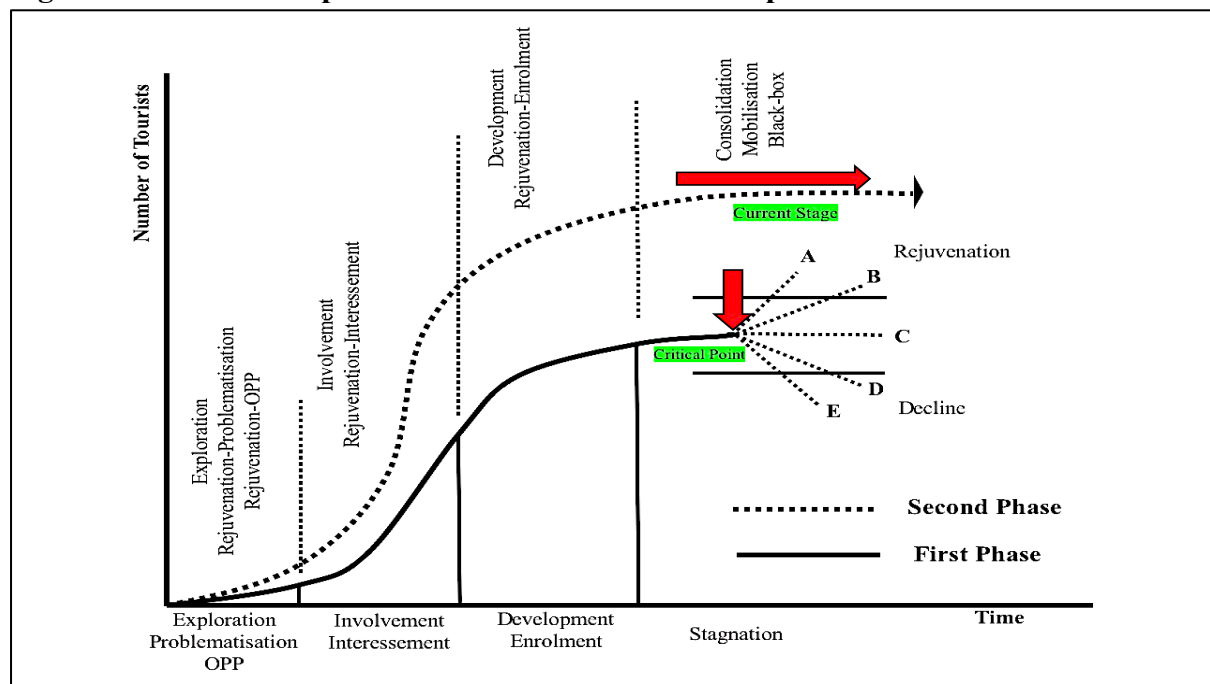
A CBT network usually cannot reach the final stage, namely mobilisation, if there is a lack of tourists' arrival and support from external actors (Zapata et al., 2011). This typically fails to move in the mobilisation phase, consequently causing the network to revert to the previous stages (Wang and Xiao, 2020). However, CBT in Paharpur again started with the help of another government initiative with BTB as the principal actor. BTB gave a tender for implementing a CBT project in Paharpur to one of the tour operators. The tour operator was responsible for developing a homestay programme as a CBT product and offered training to local people. They motivated local people to participate in several ways, such as using word-of-mouth, involving local community leaders, and arranging discussion sessions. In the later stage, the authority developed several houses for homestay programmes and provided tour guiding, housekeeping, cooking, and sanitation training. They also selected leaders from the community to look after tourism and suggested forming a committee for the management of CBT.

Networks are created and stabilised in the mobilisation phase (Dedeke, 2017). In the case of Paharpur, CBT is working fully, where several networks have been created and continue under the initiative of the local community leader. Besides this, the local official responsible for DoA, namely the custodian, supervises the CBT in Paharpur, with assistance from local government representatives. To sustain CBT, a local community leader and custodian set the rules and regulations and ensured a participative decision-making process. They are also taking steps to upgrade the tourist facilities and solve current problems. In the mobilisation stage, a larger network forms as proposed solutions become accepted by a wider group of people (Tatnall and Lepa, 2003). In the case of Paharpur, people from different segments, such as cultural groups, handicraft product producers, people in business, local marginal people, and transportation personnel, are joining the CBT networks. Last but not least, when the inner workings of something are accepted and taken for granted, this is known as a black-box (Latour, 1987). In the case of Paharpur, the passion and dedication of the local community leader, as well as the supportive nature of the host community, play crucial roles in continuing CBT in Paharpur.

Various types of actors make up the CBT network, and it is well established that CBT networks are very complex in nature (Urano and Nóbrega, 2020). The finding of this research confirms that CBT is a complex actor network, where interactions are dynamic and fluid, and thus, it is challenging to analyse and describe (Van der Duim, 2007). However, the study's findings

contribute to the literature by revealing that the translation process of ANT does not follow the regular process. Furthermore, this study identified eleven stages of the translation process based on empirical evidence, which contributes to ANT approaches. Importantly, Zapata et al. (2011) stated that sometimes the network does not reach the final stage, and Wang and Xiao (2020) supported that failure to reach in final stage can lead to the network reverting to previous stages. A similar scenario has been seen in Paharpur CBT, but CBT was revived and moved forward after renewed government intervention. Figure 8.1 provides a further interpretation of the translation process by aligning ANT findings with the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) model by Butler (1980), synthesising the process of translation vis-à-vis CBT in Paharpur.

**Figure 8.1: Relationship between TALC model and the process of translation of ANT**



Source: Author

This figure illustrates the networks created in the enrolment/development stage in the first phase of tourism development. However, these networks did not continue long. Rather, they broke down shortly and reached the stagnation phase almost immediately. It indicates that without reaching the peak of tourism development, established networks can break down at any stage. Learning from previous mistakes, authorities again re-initiated CBT in Paharpur, and the result is a continuation of tourism to the final stage of the translation process, namely mobilisation. In the second phase, assigned authorities ensured the regular follow-up of the networks and transferred responsibility to the local leader to continue CBT in Paharpur.

Lastly, there is always a debate about the right approach to CBT development. Hence, to explore the answer to the first research question, the study's findings reveal that in Paharpur,

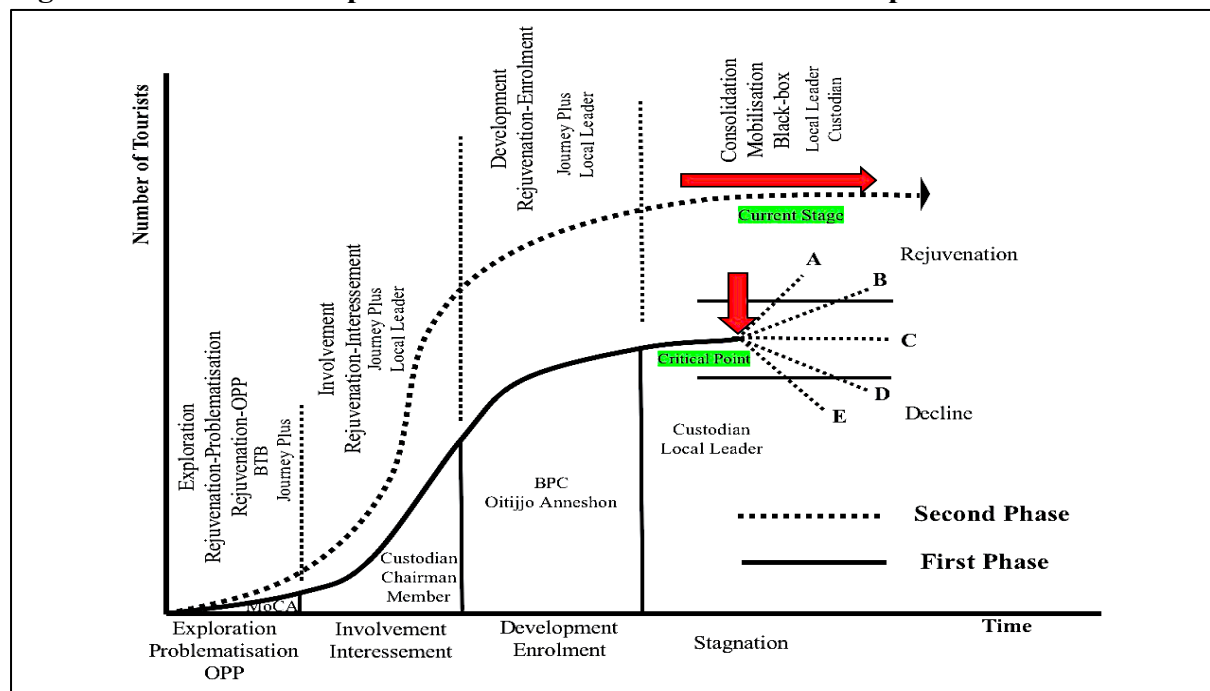


CBT was developed based on the top-down approach, in which government entities took the initiative. However, in the first phase, the initiative was not successful because of the lack of follow-up by the authorities. Based on lessons from past failures, the authority took proper steps to ensure CBT's success. The important role of the government in CBT development and as a principal actor in the networks is therefore confirmed in the context of Paharpur.

### 8.3 Power Shifting in Different Phases of the Translation Process

Power emerges in different stages of CBT development. Cheong and Miller (2000) argued that power is everywhere in a network and mostly depends on actors' positions in the network. From the field observation in Paharpur, it is clear that the principal actors have the most power. Power is the product of social interaction and involvement among the network members (Haugaard, 2002). Figure 8.2 shows the powerful actors in different phases of translation, and it indicates that the actors' level of involvement in tourism determines the level of power.

**Figure 8.2: Mentionable powerful actors in different translation phases**



Source: Author

However, there remains a question about how power emerges in local communities. Rural people are marginal, and they typically have no or minimal power. In this regard, Arnstein (1971) stresses that citizen power is a suitable fit with the translation process. This research highlights that community members gain power through partnerships with stakeholders in the CBT network, the delegation of power to them and some citizen control of tourism development.

**Figure 8.3: Power position through the lens of Ladder of Participation and Process of Translation**

<b>Ladder of Participation</b>	Citizen Power	Citizen Control					Local Leader									Local Leader	
		Delegated Power														Leaders of Smaller Networks	
		Partnership				L. Tour Guide L. Nakshikatha L. Food Processing									Local Leader Homestay Owners	Members of Smaller Networks	
	Tokenism	Placation															
		Consultation			Chairman Member						Local Leader						
		Informing															
	Nonparticipation	Therapy															
		Manipulation															
			Problematisation	Obligatory Passage Point (OPP)	Interessement	Enrolment	Stagnation	Rejuvenation-Problematisation	Rejuvenation-Obligatory Passage Point (OPP)	Rejuvenation-Interessement	Rejuvenation-Enrolment	Mobilisation	Black-box				
			<b>Phases of Process of Translation</b>														

Source: Author

Figure 8.3 describes that the initial problem of Paharpur was identified by the external actors, namely MoCA, and later, a probable solution was determined by the DoA. There was no community involvement and no power in the hands of the local community. However, when the issue of motivating local people came then, local government representatives such as the Chairman and Member, who are also part of the local community, got some responsibilities and power (through consultation) to inform and motivate local people to join the training programme. But they had a limited say, except in motivating local people. Later, local people got a chance to attend a training programme on tour guiding, making handicraft products and local food processing. In this regard, the authority formed a group of them and selected a leader (partnership) to guide them. However, the lack of follow-up by higher authorities led people to leave tourism. At this stage, tourism was almost stopped, and the local community leader started to take full control of tourism (citizen control), where he was the leader of the tour guides and was working in the DoA. A few times later, tourism was again started by the BTB initiative, and initially, power was in the hands of BTB and an implemented agency, namely Journey Plus. Importantly, when the issue of motivating people came up again, the local community leader motivated other community members (consultation), and members participated in the homestay programmes (partnership). Currently, a local leader is a central actor (citizen control), whereas leaders of the smaller networks, such as potters, Baul teams, tribal cultural groups, and homestay programmes also have some power (delegated power) as they have a responsibility to manage the members of their network. Finally, members of the smaller networks have some authority (partnership) as they are actively participating in CBT. A key contribution to the literature, this research highlights that community people's power largely depends on their level of participation in CBT and that power shifts from one actor to another in different stages of the CBT development process.

#### **8.4 Stability of Community-based Tourism Networks**

Several factors significantly impact the CBT stability, particularly on the CBT networks. For example, the stability of CBT networks largely depends on the scope of CBT development. In the case of Paharpur, tourism has developed much more than in earlier times. Therefore, the stability of the networks is witnessing different types of challenges in different stages of CBT development. In this regard, some of the areas of concern are the distribution of benefits, support from the community and administration, and pressure from local elites and politicians. In the initial stage of CBT development, it was difficult to distribute benefits equitably because of the generation of an insignificant amount of revenue from tourism. In the later stage, this

remains a challenge, compounded by the lack of tourists. Moreover, the number of community participants increases, but the average income drops. However, several respondents also claimed that a local community leader dominates others and grabs the maximum portion of the benefits. Although CBT is known as a form of tourism for ensuring an equitable distribution of benefits, ensuring this is complicated and not straightforward (Björk, 2007; Phun and Obadire, 2023). Other studies confirm that most benefits go to powerful actors (Soliev et al., 2021). Therefore, inequitable distribution of benefits demotivates local people from participating actively in CBT activities. Furthermore, the problem of equitable distribution of benefits leads to intra- and inter-community conflict (Ophiyandri, Hidayat and Ghiffari, 2020), as also observed in Paharpur. These conflict situations lead to the vulnerability of the CBT networks.

To overcome this problem, the authority is applying several techniques. For example, the homestay authority first ranks the homestay houses based on the facilities. They also direct tourists to the houses based on a rotation system. In addition, they keep a portion of revenue in the welfare fund. Later, at the end of the year, they calculate all the earnings and give bonuses to houses that earn less revenue than others. Besides this, keeping up-to-date accounts also ensures transparency in the distribution of benefits. Suansri (2003) commented that the rotation system of the homestay programme can be a top technique for income distribution. Moreover, equitable distribution of benefits is tough in many aspects because, in the case of distribution, authority only focuses on the tourism stakeholders. However, people who are affected by tourism development but are not directly involved in tourism get limited attention (Phun and Obadire, 2023), as also observed in this research. Therefore, several tourism experts also stated that creating a community development fund is crucial.

Suansri (2003) also agreed that the authority can invest a portion of revenue in public projects so that the whole community can benefit from CBT. Moreover, greater participation by local people in tourism could further ensure a more equitable distribution of benefits (Dangi and Jamal, 2016). Indeed, CBT stability can be achieved if local people actively participate, are empowered, and feel a sense of ownership (Boley and McGehee, 2014). The lack of local people's participation in the decision-making process has negative consequences. For example, several regions in Turkey (Tosun, 2006) and Kenya (Akama, 1996) witnessed that the network is vulnerable because of the lack of local involvement in the decision-making process. In Paharpur, the authority aims to actively involve local people in different areas of CBT. The DoA conducts stakeholder meetings, tourist police organise community policing, BTB

organises seminars regularly, and BPC runs heritage awareness programmes. The UN World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) organises seminars, workshops, and conferences worldwide to improve CBT. NGOs provide training on tour guiding, marketing, and site management (Suansri, 2003). Therefore, authorities are trying to prepare more people for tourism through their capacity-building. Developing the host community's capacity and authority can prepare them to participate in the decision-making process. Therefore, authority gives priority to the joint decision-making process. They are accountable to one another for the decisions made through discussion. Importantly, this joint decision-making process helps them in several ways, such as local people become empowered and strong bonding protects them from the outsiders' pressures.

However, the lack of general support from the local community is a continued challenge. In the initial stage of CBT development, people from the host community were unprepared. So, there was no scope to engage many participants in tourism activities, which led them to be unsupportive. Most of the people from the local community are still unsupportive of CBT development, but the reasons are different now. Many people directly and indirectly involved with CBT are not interested in participating in decision-making. Some respondents mentioned that they were not experienced or knowledgeable enough to participate in the decision-making process, and some of them also said they did not have enough time to participate. However, there were two contrasting views. One group stated that they trusted and believed in the local community leader, so they gave responsibility to him for deciding on their behalf, and another group of people claimed that the local community leader does not allow them to participate in the decision-making process. This can happen for two reasons: lack of awareness and willingness of local people to participate in the decision-making process, and lack of support of leaders to engage them in the decision-making process (Moscardo, 2011b). Heritage sites of developing countries face acute and sensitive problems like the acquisition of land, relocation of people from the community, and the nature of compensation to them. India is a prime example where people are facing the negative impacts of land acquisition in the 21st century (Sarma and Barpujari, 2023). Moreover, for the sake of heritage site conservation and tourism development, many people are being displaced from the protected areas, ranging from 10 to 20 million annually (Agrawal and Redford, 2009). Paharpur is also facing an acute problem with land acquisition. For the sake of tourism development, many people lost their livelihoods and cultivated lands. Communities that lose their land face several difficulties, such as economic hardship, loss of farmland and mental distress (Korah et al., 2019). The issue of land acquisition

for tourism development creates conflict, and local people often oppose tourism development (Sharma, Messerli and Lin, 2023).

The government has now stopped acquiring land, and the authority follows an updated land acquisition policy, which is more favourable towards the interests of local people. According to Bangladesh Act No. 25 of 2017, before land acquisition, the concerns of the landowners must be considered. Besides this, the authority is bound to give the appropriate amount of compensation, three times the amount of money of the existing land value. However, one of the DoA officials stated that they currently have no plan for further land acquisition. One of the experts said that it would be better if the authority used the unused land of the government for tourism development.

CBT is comprised of several networks. However, one of the key issues is related to their stability. It is common for the network to become unstable and broken after its formation of a network, and the actors can create another network. Therefore, considering the issues that make CBT networks unstable and vulnerable is crucial. This study's findings reveal that in the context of Paharpur, several social issues are closely and acutely responsible for making the existing CBT networks vulnerable.

### **8.5 Political Economy Issues and Community-based Tourism Governance**

CBT networks, with their focus on collective action (Urano and Nóbrega, 2020), are a key area of study. This study denotes governance as the action of CBT networks, thereby providing a comprehensive understanding of the process of mobilisation and coordination of social action (Bramwell and Lane, 2011). Moreover, governance is the activities of networks that are comprised of different actors (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010). The effectiveness of tourism governance is influenced by several factors (Murray, 2021). However, little emphasis has been given to the factors that significantly impact the success of CBT networks (Urano and Nóbrega, 2020). It is recognised that governance is influenced by various political, social, environmental, and technological trends (Costa, Panyik and Buhalis, 2013), social issues such as participation, power, trust, justice, fairness, and inclusion of actors (Siakwah, Musavengane and Leonard, 2020), and multi-actor complexity (Nordin and Svensson, 2007). However, few studies have explored the impact of political economy issues on tourism governance. Therefore, this study considers several aspects of political economy impacting CBT governance.

### **8.5.1 Cultural Commodification, Local Benefits and Governance Issues**

This discourse specifically examined the influences of cultural commodification on CBT governance in Paharpur. The Marxist perspective on political economy discusses the commodification of culture and art, highlighting how this process has facilitated the spread of capitalism (Hall, 2024; Hermann, 2021). The findings indicate that Paharpur, as a CBT destination, faces several challenges in governing the CBT programme properly. These include the preservation of the authenticity of culture and artefacts, keeping people in traditional cultural practice, and ensuring local benefits and support for tourism

Moreover, the commercialisation of tourism resources creates a challenging situation for the governance of tourism in a destination (Tosun, 2006). In this regard, a similar scenario was found in Paharpur where the local governance authority is struggling to balance between commercial uses of local soft culture and keeping its authenticity. As shown in the literature, countries like Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Indonesia are witnessing the commodification of soft culture in the area of traditional dance, music, and folk traditions. In these countries, commercial performers perform cultural performances rather than cultural groups. Another example is cultural performances by Indigenous Fijian land-owning communities, which are being replaced in hotels and resorts by ‘professional’ dance troupes (Movono, 2018). Examples like these illustrate how culture is being commodified to attract more visitors to a destination and enhance income from tourism. However, it is crucial to strike a balance between attracting tourists and preserving the unique cultural heritage of the region while benefiting local people. Additionally, authenticity changes lead to cultural conflict and make it difficult to ensure respect for local culture. For example, World Heritage Sites in Sweden’s Laponia area and the Chinese village of Xidi are face criticism because of over-commercialisation and commodification of culture (Palomino, 2012). Cultural commodification also destroys the residents’ local identity and cultural values (Halewood and Hannam, 2001), and a change in culture impacts the cultural group of people and their level of engagement in cultural activities; culture remains important for creating employment opportunities in marginalised communities (Booyens, Mkuzo and Morgan, 2021). The above-mentioned issues are also found in Paharpur, where local culture is used as a resource for CBT, which creates conflict in the local community.

Moreover, this study highlights that the governance authority of Paharpur faces another major issue in the area of preservation of ancient artefacts such as terracotta, heritage products, and handicraft products. Significantly, striking findings of the previous studies suggest that when

a destination goes for mass production of local cultural products, it starts to lose authenticity, and gradually, the destination loses its appeal (Richards, 2007). To ensure the mass production of local traditional products, people are using technology (Shen and Su, 2022). Technology-enhanced cultural tourism demand threatens the authenticity of cultural products in Bangladesh (Horaira and Devi, 2021). Overall, around the world, people are struggling to preserve handicraft products (Gumulya et al., 2022). The above-discussed findings align with the political economy understandings, stressing the impacts of capitalism underscored by the mass production of particular products to generate more and more revenue (Li et al., 2021).

To minimise the negative consequences of cultural commodification, it is observed that the authorities are trying to use local culture and tradition to bring tourists to Paharpur without destroying the uniqueness of the culture. However, Donlon, Donlon and Agrusa (2010) claimed that using local culture to bring tourists to a CBT site can create the risk of losing authenticity. At the same time, Calvi et al. (2020) stressed the role of governance in saving the culture from destruction. The promotion of certain local cultural activities like storytelling, handicrafts, music, and dance can, in fact, help revive and sustain these traditional cultural practices, strengthen the bonding among local actors, and bring material benefits (Matteucci, Nawijn and Von Zumbusch, 2021). Paharpur's younger generation was unaware of their culture, but when authorities started to use local culture for tourism purposes, young people of the area became more aware of their own culture.

This said, the authorities of DoA and homestay programmes in Paharpur are facing difficulties in keeping cultural groups of people motivated to continue with their traditional livelihoods. However, they are leaving these activities for various reasons, i.e., the demand for their products is decreasing, and there is no initiative to promote their products. This leads to a threat to their survival - it becomes difficult for them to earn their livelihood based on traditional activities alone, and people are leaving the area in search of other livelihood opportunities. Previous studies also reveal that several factors act as barriers to accessing the market for the local people, such as a lack of knowledge about demand factors, inappropriate product design, presentation and pricing, and weak integration with marketing networks. All of this makes it difficult for marginal local people to access appropriate markets (Gumulya et al., 2022). In an attempt to address the above-mentioned issue, the local authority promotes local handicraft products to tourists by showing pottery products and Nakshikatha catalogues. Authority also creates links between handicraft product producers and intermediaries, mainly with NGOs. Kim, Kim and Woosnam (2023) point to the significance of intermediaries in making the



bridge between cultural producers and markets. This is especially important for rural areas where market access is far more difficult than in other areas.

### **8.5.2 On the Management of World Heritage Sites**

This research explored the impact of significant global entities on local tourism. The findings highlight the central role of global organisations like UNESCO in managing World Heritage Sites. Globalisation has resulted in foreign actors exerting influence over tourist destinations in the Global South.

Several extant studies focus on the impact of UNESCO's authority on destination management (Pappalardo et al., 2022). Kurz, Ruland and Zech (2014) explained that the presence of international regulatory bodies makes the local-level governance process more complex. The findings of the study show that UNESCO's influence manifests in several ways, including the enforcement of rules and regulations, the imposition of restrictions, and an environment of fear and local dissatisfaction. This said, the World Heritage Convention Committee creates a global governance structure to protect, conserve, and promote natural and cultural heritage sites (Schmitt, 2015). This committee provides a legal framework where governments and authorities are bound to obey norms, rules, and regulations. Furthermore, to ensure heritage authenticity, the World Heritage Convention developed operational guidelines (UNESCO, 2021). However, the involvement of global actors like UNESCO in tourism limits the success of local destination governance because the site authority needs to adopt a new governance mechanism (Farmaki, 2015).

In the case of Paharpur, UNESCO creates challenges for the local authority by restricting the development of facilities and infrastructure around the main site. Besides this, they also appoint consultants before any renovation initiative. Imposing restrictions has several consequences on the local community, and a lack of local control over their resources has a vital influence on the governance of a CBT destination (Blackstock, 2005). Sometimes, they have no say over their resources. This loss of control has a direct and intensified impact on the socio-cultural, economic, and political situation, and the host community may consider itself valueless and lose its identity. In addition, UNESCO provides technical and administrative expertise to the sites, and local officials need to clarify and explain their every action to the experts, senior officials, and governments who are ultimately accountable for the site (Healey, 2006). One of the major governance challenges is coordination among consultants and with local CBT actors.

Local authorities also need to handle the fear and dissatisfaction of local people, which is created by the presence and dominance of UNESCO. Because of the several rules and regulations of UNESCO, private investors stay away and are unwilling to invest in Paharpur. In addition, DoA fears that if they do not follow the rules strictly, UNESCO will withdraw its World Heritage status. While UNESCO does not directly advise the government to acquire land, it recommends that the government acquire land from the local area to ensure the preservation and conservation of the site, which disadvantages the community. Later, on behalf of the government, DoA takes steps to acquire the surrounding land of the Monastery.

### **8.5.3 Power Issues in Community-based Tourism Governance**

The concept of power as a key mechanism of governance (Wearing and McDonald, 2002) - power relations among different stakeholders create significant challenges in the governance process of the destination. However, researchers often ignore power relations among stakeholders (Novelli, 2016). CBT governance in Paharpur is facing several problems regarding power issues, such as political pressure, pressure from influential persons, lack of administrative support, power imbalances, and power in the hands of foreign organisations, as discussed above. When foreign bodies such as UNESCO and the Asian Development Bank (ADB) are involved in the destination, it creates extra tension in power relations as well as makes the decision-making process more complex (Ilbery and Saxena, 2011). The section further unpacks local-level power dynamics by focusing on political tensions and the disruptive role of local elites, which undermine good CBT governance.

Political will is central to CBT's long-term success (Sofield, 2003). The unwillingness of politicians and their supporters hinders the progress of participatory CBT in rural areas (Murray, 2021; Tosun, 2006). This is also true in Paharpur where political leaders frequently complain to the higher authority, hamper management activities, create obstacles and threats, impose blame, buy products at lower prices, enter the monastery without a ticket and expect food without paying while challenging the authority of local organisations.

Moreover, several respondents of the study pointed to different types of elite people trying to bring modernisation to the village, which impacts local authenticity, culture, norms, and values. Findings of the previous studies reveal that where tourism is developed based on a top-down approach, elite people of the area try to dominate CBT and the decision-making processes, and insist on controlling the local resources. Overall, they wish to control the tourism of local areas and grab the lion's share of the revenue from tourism (Brohman, 1996). It is a common

tendency for local elite people to discourage people from participating actively in CBT because of vested interests. They believe that if a large number of members from the host community actively participate in CBT, it will impact their share of revenue and control. Inequalities create challenging situations for CBT governance and even sometimes lead to poor CBT performance and failure (Stoeckl, 2008), and local leadership conflicts. Power imbalance and inequalities depend on several factors such as skills, resources, and capabilities (Knight and Cottrell, 2016), distribution of wealth, literacy rate and level of income, age, gender, and membership to particular social groups (Tosun, 2006). Notably, this study figured out several core factors that create power inequalities are the level of involvement in the network, attachment with the organisation, social status, personal traits and leadership quality.

Another major challenge for the CBT governance authorities in Paharpur is to get administrative support from the authorities, local officials, and local government. It is very difficult to sustain CBT without the support of the administration. The administration's support in the governance process is crucial because organisational power is more significant than personal power (Crosby and Bryson, 2005). However, several respondents from the community also stated that sometimes, the local government acts in favour of political leaders and ignores the local community. It is also seen in the context of developing countries that local government is too bureaucratic and influenced by local politics. So, they cannot play an effective, efficient, and favourable role in the local community's needs (Chili and Ngxongo, 2017). In the context of Paharpur, frequent change has been seen in the UNO, AC Land, and DC positions, which are the vital officials of the local level government. It seems that support for CBT development fully depends on the interests of the officials. In this regard, one of the tourism experts illustrated that when there is no uniform and central policy regarding CBT, then the support of local government fully depends on the willingness of the responsible officials. Traditional bureaucracy prevents them from ensuring coordination and cooperation among tourism stakeholders. Besides this, jealousy of local authority regarding taking credit acts negatively on smoothly governing destinations by the local community (Tosun, 2006).

## **8.6 Mechanisms for Overcoming Governance Challenges**

To ensure good CBT governance, a tailored and active governance structure is the central aspect of enhancing democratic processes and providing the right direction to attain the goal (Bramwell and Lane, 2011). There is no uniform governance structure for CBT in Bangladesh. As a result, governance structure varies from place to place. However, in most CBT destinations in Bangladesh, the most common governance structure is local-level governance.

In this regard, Paharpur is not exceptional, but as this study shows, local governance is complicated by the presence and influence of global actors.

Furthermore, based on hierarchical forms of regulation, the relative power balance, state relationship, and stakeholder autonomy, Hall (2011b) identified four types of governance structure: hierarchies, markets, networks, and communities. Network governance is directly associated with local-level governance among these four types of governance. In this regard, network governance coordinates several interdependent actors in an informal structure, where decisions are often made through consensus and relationships are based on trust, to attain a common goal, which is opposite to a bureaucratic structure (Mahadiansar, Wijaya and Wanto, 2021). This is evident concerning CBT in Paharpur, where a local community leader and officials from DoA are responsible for managing two different governance networks. Based on the structure of the network, Beaumont and Dredge (2010) classified network governance into three types: Participant-Governed Network (PGN), Lead Organisation-Governed Network (LOGN) and Network Administrative Organisations (NAO). In Paharpur, two types of network governance structures have been found. One is a PGN led by a local community leader, and another is a LOGN led by a DoA custodian.

However, Paharpur is facing several governance-related difficulties as revealed by this study. There is a lack of trust and power imbalances among the stakeholders. Trust among the stakeholders is crucial (Beritelli, 2011) because the effectiveness of the governance largely depends on trust among the members of the governance structure (Keast et al., 2004). In addition, power imbalances between stakeholders also act negatively and lead to inter- and intra-network conflicts (Zehrer et al., 2014). Several other issues, such as lack of administrative support for the PGN, difficulties in managing members of the PGN, lack of a skilled, knowledgeable, and experienced leader in PGN, lack of active participation of the members of the PGN, lack of coordination and cooperation and conflicts between PGN and LOGN support the case for a NAO by the members of the local community. A NAO has several advantages such as it can bring a positive culture of democracy, ensure constructive and regular communication among members, greater transparency and accountability, clear vision and quality leadership, diversified thinking, equitable distribution of benefits, development of knowledge and sharing expertise, more clarity regarding the roles of different actors, and a formal structure and process of the network (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010). This research, therefore, proposes that a democratic governance structure will be appropriate to deal with the identified CBT governance issues.

## **Chapter 9: Conclusions**

### **9.1 Study Approach**

This study adopted social constructivism epistemology to describe and analyse the activities of stakeholders directly and indirectly involved with CBT in Paharpur. The data gathering methods included semi-structured interviews and participant observation. The study included the views of local community members, and institutional representatives concerned with those who have direct and indirect involvement with CBT in Paharpur, and the insights of tourism experts (professionals and practitioners). The participants' geographic locations were mainly Paharpur and Dhaka, the capital city of Bangladesh.

The main focus of the thesis was to explore the development process of community-based tourism (CBT) in an archaeological heritage site in the Global South to better understand the influence of different factors on CBT governance. Accordingly, this thesis applied the Actor-Network Theory (ANT) and specifically focused on the translation process to trace the CBT development. The main contribution of this study is extending the translation process and aligning it to the TALC model. In addition, the study draws on political economy understandings to investigate CBT governance issues.

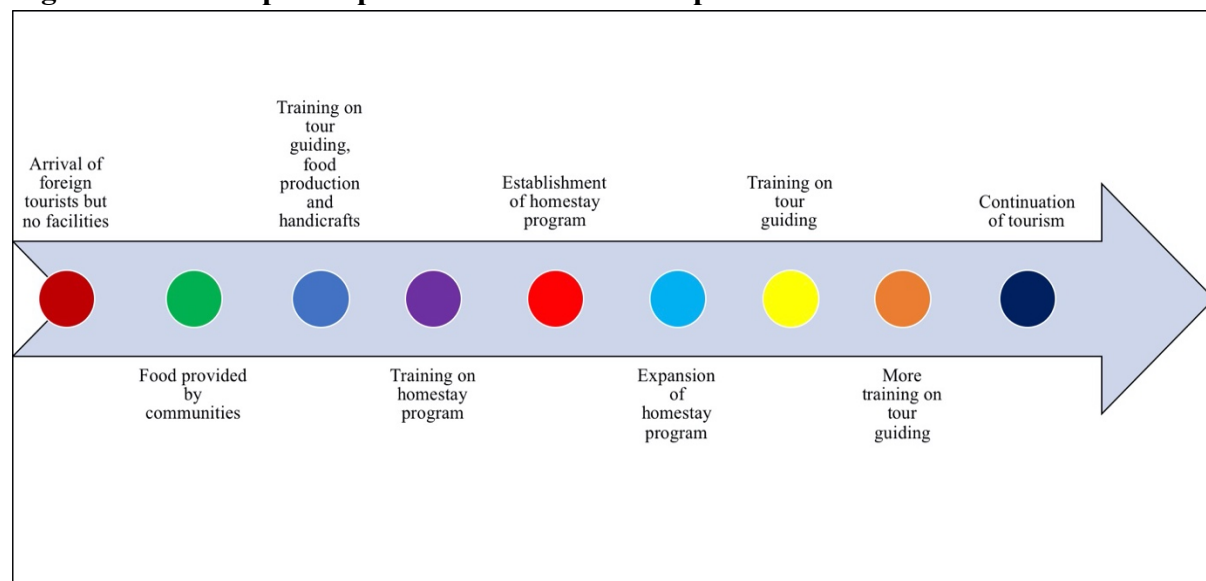
### **9.2 Research Objectives**

#### **9.2.1 Objective 1: To explain the development process of CBT at the archaeological heritage site of Paharpur.**

In order to achieve the first research objective, this study considered statements from the local community and institutional representatives involved in the CBT development process in Paharpur. Later, a thematic analysis was carried out through the lens of ANT. The findings of the study reveal that initially, local people had limited involvement in tourism activities. Later, initiatives from tour operators and government organisations enhance community participation in CBT. However, the lack of capacity in the local community and further assistance and support from the authorities led to the breakdown of the created CBT networks. The network was then revived by further government intervention. New networks were again created, and new leaders also emerged. The local community leader took the responsibility to continue the network, as well as create new networks by bringing in actors from other networks. In both cases, CBT was developed based on a top-down approach where government entities took initiatives for planning and implementation of the CBT by providing training and product development. While CBT in Paharpur was developed by the government, the involvement of

local stakeholders in CBT has increased. Studies from developing countries suggest that for ensuring the long-term success of CBT, the involvement of external actors, mainly state intervention, is crucial (Wan and Bramwell, 2015). However, local participation is considered the precondition for CBT success (Simpson, 2008; Stone and Stone, 2010). In this regard, community participation includes community control over the management and development of tourism (Honey, 2008; Scheyvens, 2002), ownership and direct financial benefits (Choi and Sirakaya, 2005; Manyara and Jones, 2007).

**Figure 9.1: Development process of CBT in Paharpur**



Source: Author

Figure 9.1 shows the broader aspects of CBT development in Paharpur. For instance, initially, there was no CBT development. After the declaration of the World Heritage Site, foreign tourists started to arrive, but there were no tourist facilities. Later, outside tour operators started to bring foreign tourists to the nearest villages and asked community members to provide them with food. In this way, the local community started to be included in tourism informally. After that, the government took the initiative to formally start CBT in Paharpur by providing training and product development. Presently, local authorities and a community leader are extending the existing CBT through their different initiatives.

### **9.2.2 Objective 2: To examine the factors that affect the stability of established CBT networks in Paharpur.**

The continuation and success of the established CBT networks largely depend on the stability of the networks. However, this stability depends on several factors, whereas study findings suggest that the tourism development stage significantly influences the networks' stability. For

instance, the stability of CBT networks in Paharpur is impacted by the participation of local people in tourism activities, the decision-making process, the mechanism of benefits distribution, the interference of powerful people, and other social issues, such as land acquisition. Besides this, interpersonal relationships among the actors also play a role as a catalyst to maintain the stability of the CBT networks. The governing entity in Paharpur is trying to ensure stability through equitable distribution of financial benefits to the wider group of people who are or are not involved in CBT. In addition, they also try to empower local people by involving them actively in the decision-making process as well as other tourism-related activities. Furthermore, authority focuses on maintaining checks and balances with respect to relationships with powerful actors. Importantly, a stable relationship among the stakeholders of CBT is necessary to reduce conflict among themselves and ensure the smooth running of established CBT (Tosun, 2006). Hence, active participation of local people can play a role as a catalyst, although it is hindered by several factors such as apathy, lack of financial resources, lack of information, lower level of education, unequal distribution of benefits, insufficient skilled human resources, central decision making, lack of coordination and several other conflicts (Bello, Lovelock and Carr, 2017).

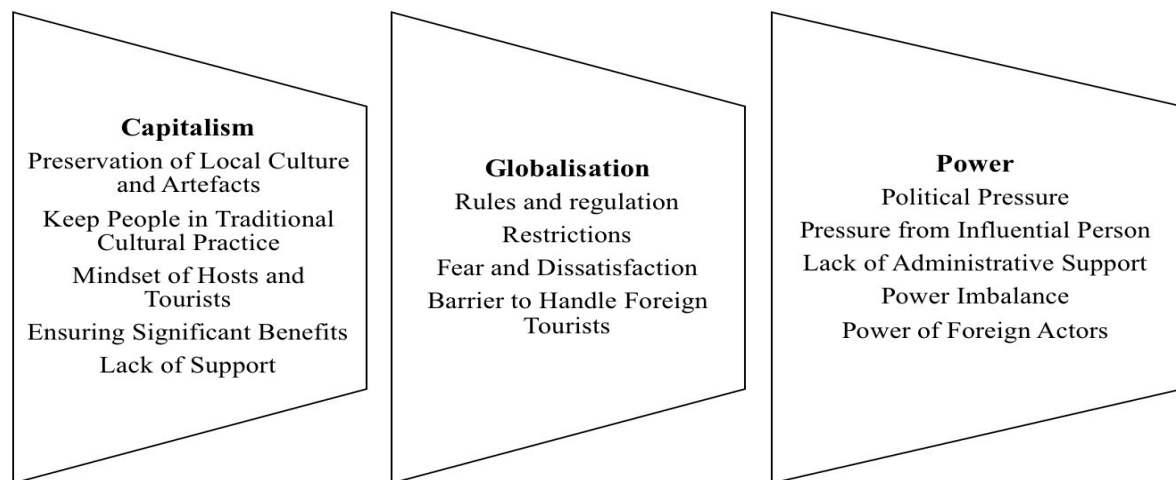
### **9.2.3 Objective 3: To explore governance challenges impacting the continuity of CBT.**

Stable networks perform different activities, and this study denotes governance as one of the actions of the CBT networks. However, previous studies found that several factors influence governance activities such as lack of role clarity among government and private sectors (Nunkoo, 2017), complex stakeholder relationships (Farmaki, 2015), issues related benefit sharing (Snyman and Bricker, 2019), nature of partnership (Mbaiwa and Stronza, 2010), involvement of local, national and international actors, and lack of cooperation and coordination (Bramwell, 2011).

This research analyses emerging issues in relation to CBT governance through the lens of political economy, paying specific attention to issues of capitalism, globalisation and power impacting CBT governance. The authorities face challenges in protecting the authenticity of the culture, keeping people participating in traditional livelihoods, and dealing with conservative hosts and progressive tourists. In addition, because of the status of the UNESCO World Heritage Site, authorities are facing difficulties because of the rules, regulations, and restrictions of UNESCO. Furthermore, power dynamics are very active in Paharpur. Authority feels political pressure, pressure from elite people in society, a lack of support from the

administration, and a power imbalance among community members. Lastly, UNESCO has direct control of this site, which also significantly influences the local authority.

**Figure 9.2: Contemporary issues in relation to CBT governance**



Source: Author

Figure 9.2 categorises the different challenges of CBT. Cultural commodification is a risk because authorities use local culture, tradition and artefacts as products to attract and motivate tourists. There are contestations between preserving local culture and heritage, ensuring the authenticity of cultural heritage and creating local benefits. However, limited demand for cultural programmes and traditional products are responsible for generating limited financial benefits for the cultural group of people, which ultimately leads them to leave their traditional cultural practices.

Globalisation creates the opportunity for global organisations to enter other countries' tourism sites and apply their control mechanisms, which impacts local governance. UNESCO influences the monastery site by imposing restrictions, and local authorities also need to follow the rules and regulations set. This ultimately creates fear and dissatisfaction among the local people, and the local governance body needs to deal with this issue as well. Furthermore, globalisation also creates scope for destination branding. Consequently, foreign tourists are visiting Paharpur regularly. However, local governance authorities need to handle several challenges related to foreign tourists because village culture is quite different from town culture, and the people of the villages are not always positive about receiving foreign tourists in their area. In addition to foreign influences, Paharpur faces difficulties related to local power dynamics. For instance, authorities face political pressure, pressure from elite people, and a lack of administrative support from the Department of Archaeology (DoA), tourist police and



local-level government. Importantly, power imbalance among community members is also responsible for creating challenging situations.

#### **9.2.4 Objective 4: To scrutinise mechanisms for overcoming the CBT governance challenges.**

To deal with the contemporary issues related to CBT governance, it is crucial to ensure the democratic CBT governance processes, which are getting more attention from researchers in recent times. Because destination management largely depends on the proper governance mechanism, specifically the democratic bureaucracy governance approach. In this regard, several studies have been conducted on democratic governance approaches. For instance, Wray (2015) analysed the relationship between governance, economic growth and performance. In addition, Higgins-Desbiolles (2011) explained that democratic governance helps to protect the environment. Furthermore, Jamal and Camargo (2018) argued about the inclusion of marginalised groups; Beaumont and Dredge (2010), Bramwell and Meyer (2007), and van der Zee and Vanneste (2015) conducted studies on power complexities and power imbalance in relation to destination governance and sustainable development. Hence, it is clear from previous literature that the importance of democratic governance is huge to ensure the viability of a CBT destination (Anjos and Kennell, 2019; Nunkoo, 2017).

Collaboration is crucial in sustainable development of a destination (Araujo and Bramwell, 1999), whereas democratic governance tries to collaborate between associate organisations of government (Lovelock, 2001), national, regional and local level of government (Dredge and Jenkins, 2003), local level stakeholders (Vernon et al., 2005) who are direct and indirect part of the tourism value chain and prioritises the public-private cooperation which is one of the centre points of the sustainable development. In Paharpur, although there are informal governance authorities, they also try to make coordination and collaboration among the associate organisations of government such as BTB and BPC, local level government representatives such as DC, UNO, Chairman, Member, local authorities such as DoA staffs, representatives of UNESCO and members of the host community to attain the goal of sustainable development.

Interaction among actors is another vital concern towards sustainable development (Islam, Ruhanen and Ritchie, 2018; Tosun, 2006), and democratic governance ensures wider participation by establishing links with all actors (Bramwell, 2010; Bramwell and Lane, 2011). For example, governance plays a crucial role in including all the relevant stakeholders,

including institutions and people, in decision-making and policy implementation (Beritelli, Bieger and Laesser, 2007). It also looked at the role of actors, networks and DMOs (Anjos and Kennell, 2019). In the case of Paharpur, authorities are trying to ensure the participation of a wider group of people in tourism by taking several initiatives such as CBT product development, making skilled by providing training, arranging seminars, conferences and community policing to make the host community aware and inspiring and preparing them to participate in decision-making.

Dealing with the complex nature of power is another concern of sustainable development, whereas democratic tourism governance also tries to overcome these problems and complexities of the destination (Torres-Delgado et al., 2023). For instance, it focuses on collaborative planning and private-public-community partnerships to deal with power complexities (Adu-Ampong, 2019; Amore and Hall, 2016) and cooperation among different actors (Saito and Ruhanen, 2017). In the aspect of Paharpur, governance authorities try to minimise the power complexities by involving powerful actors in tourism activities and the decision-making process.

### **9.3 Thesis Contributions**

Firstly, this research fills a gap in the literature by applying ANT in the field of CBT. More specifically, this research has a direct and immediate contribution to the analysis of CBT development processes in an archaeological site through the lens of the process of translation. To trace the development of CBT, several scholars proposed different CBT models and approaches (Rosa, Tur and Andreu, 2017). However, there are still no operationalizable or practice-oriented models and theories that will help to trace the CBT development process (Mendoza-Ramos and Prideaux, 2018). Based on the empirical evidence, this study introduces new phases in the translation process. By doing this, this study confirms important theoretical insights. For instance, networks cannot reach the final stage sometimes (Zapata et al., 2011), and failure to move into the mobilisation phase can revert the development process to the previous stages (Wang and Xiao, 2020).

Moreover, this research enriches ANT by exploring different mechanisms of every phase of the translation phase. In addition, the link is made between the translation process of ANT and the TALC model (Butler, 1980) to delineate the progress of the destination development, barriers that can halt the progress and mechanisms for overcoming challenging situations. Therefore, by extending the existing stages of the translation process, exploring mechanisms

in every stage, aligning with an established model, and proposing a new model of CBT development, this research contributes to the ANT literature, which in turn also contributes to the CBT literature by proposing that the success of a CBT destination largely depends on the approach and process of development. Therefore, the study shows that the application of ANT is suitable for analysing project-based CBT where the nature of the context is crucial.

Secondly, this study contributes to the ANT literature by addressing several criticisms of ANT. For instance, one of the criticisms is related to generalised symmetry (Callon, 1986a), where the main concern is whether human or non-human actors are treated equally. This study considers the significance of both human and non-human actors in the context of CBT. The results find that if human actors are the heart of CBT, then non-human actors are the lifeline of CBT development and success. In addition, another criticism is related to the reflexive approach of ANT (Murdoch, 2001). This study applied social constructivism in alignment with ANT to generate an understanding of the context based on the individual perceptions and explanations of the participants. Furthermore, ANT is being criticised because of the concept of Machiavellian orientation (Amsterdamska, 1990), which suggests that ANT overlooks the issue of power (Calas and Smircich, 1999). Bencherki (2017) also stresses that one of the criticisms regarding ANT is that it is not fascinating to study power-related issues and fails to describe the dynamics of network formation and its impact on power distribution. To address this criticism, this study added power dynamics as one of the components of ANT. More specifically, this study contributes to the ANT by exploring shifts of power from one actor to another in different stages of the translation process. This is further enriched by applying Arnstein's (1971) degree of citizen power to ANT. The findings suggest that power emerges, and shifts based on the level of participation of community people in the CBT networks. The level of power largely depends on the actor's relationships with other members who reside in the same or other networks. This study importantly considers the voices of both powerful and powerless actors to generate an understanding of a social phenomenon. Participants of this research included local community members, government representatives and other institutional participants.

Thirdly, this study contributes to the existing literature on ANT by developing a framework for tracing research participants and their connection through the lens of ANT as a methodological approach. The focus was on addressing Latour's (1996a) concern about the inclusion and exclusion criteria for the actors. In this regard, the researcher develops a framework of research participants where results show that there is a relationship and connection among the

participants, and in some cases, there is a strong connection and in other cases, a weak connection. To ensure an in-depth understanding, it was crucial to gather the views of both marginal and powerful respondents. By doing so, following the actors and their relationships is a fitting approach to reach the wider group of interconnected respondents. Fourthly, Michael (2017) claimed that ANT is unable to bring something new into the discussion. Hence, to deal with this claim, the researcher develops a CBT actor-networks mapping to explain the complexity of the networks. Notably, this actor-networks mapping brings something vibrant and new in the sense that it helps to trace and identify the position of every actor in the network and the relationship in the network and with other networks. Beyond this, it provides a clear picture of the relationship, which can be used as a base to manage the networks within the CBT context.

Fifthly, ANT is being criticised for its flat ontology (Reed, 1997). Therefore, to overcome this criticism, Walsham (1997) suggested incorporating other social theories and approaches to ANT. Consequently, this research uses a political economy approach along with the ANT to overcome this criticism. Notably, this research contributes to the literature by developing a conceptual framework that integrates both ANT and components of political economy in CBT governance studies at the local level of a rural area in a developing country. Bramwell and Lane (2011) mentioned that conceptual frameworks can assist in a better understanding of tourism governance and sustainable development. Hence, this study builds on the existing literature on tourism governance, describing how different factors significantly influence governance activities. Specifically, focus was given on components of political economy, such as capitalism, globalisation, and power and their relationship with CBT governance activities. This thesis, therefore, added several new findings in the current literature on tourism governance, such as mechanisms for the equitable distribution of benefits to a wider group of people; significance of participative decision-making in the planning and development stage as well as in the stage of management; the influence of powerful actors emerges along with the progress of CBT development; techniques of keeping the authenticity and keeping cultural groups of people practising their traditional livelihoods; ways of protecting the environment; techniques of dealing with foreign organisations towards community development; and ways of handling power dynamics.

In the sixth instance, this study drew on the political economy concepts to better understand the place-based dynamics of CBT in the Global South. The study specifically focussed on the key issues of tributes capitalism, globalisation, and power dynamics associated with CBT and

its governance in the case study site. With respect to the impact of capitalism component the emphasis was on the consequences of cultural commodification on the authenticity of culture, the nature of exploitation faced by cultural groups, and the alienation of cultural groups from tourism activities. In relation to globalisation and power dynamics, the influence of the often-unseen presence of global actors like UNESCO on local governance and exercise of global power over local and national authorities in addition to local-level power structures were examined. One of the findings of the study highlights that those with both network and positional power are considered the most powerful actors. Accordingly, this research enriches both the ANT and political economy literature in tourism studies from a Global South context.

#### **9.4 Policy Recommendations**

For CBT to flourish, there should be an appropriate policy. Therefore, an inclusive tourism policy which needs to be up to date as well as adjusted over a certain time frame is crucial for promoting tourism development in Bangladesh, and this policy should incorporate certain issues, such as the voices of pressure groups in the content of the tourism policy, emphasising market segmentations, formulating carrying capacities for destinations, involving destination host communities, focusing on climate change concerns, developing data frameworks, knowledge management and risk and crisis management plan for potential crisis events.

Policy recommendations for CBT in Bangladesh based on the field observations of the researcher and the empirical findings of the study are as follows. The findings demonstrate the significance of the government's involvement in CBT planning and development stages in rural areas. Because village people are marginal, they typically lack the financial capital and knowledge to take the initiative to develop CBT in their area. Therefore, this study demonstrates the significance of a top-down approach and the roles of external actors in CBT planning and development. At the same time, there is a need to ensure meaningful community participation and benefits in tourism, something the government can also play a role in.

There is no uniform or established model of CBT development in Bangladesh. The government can include a practice-oriented CBT development model in the CBT policy and guidelines. Significantly, this research develops a CBT development model for a rural area of a developing country, which can be used as a practical guideline for practitioners. However, CBT policy can also include several other things in policy guidelines such as a feasibility study or formal assessment plan before the selection of a site; selection of appropriate site such as availability of major tourist attractions, significance of the place, nature of the host community, basic

infrastructure, scope of participating in economic activities, involvement of the supporting agencies, activeness of the law enforcing agencies, cultural richness, strong bonding among community members, scope of developing wide range of CBT products and overall, interest of the tourists to visit that particular place; lesser barriers such as political barriers, number of political elements, presence of several classes, class conflict, power imbalance, cultural barriers and language barriers. Notably, policy should also incorporate the role and responsibilities of the external actors in the continuation of the established CBT in a rural area. The authority that will be involved in policy formulation must define the concept of CBT properly in the context of Bangladesh, as there is currently no proper definition, and unfortunately, there is a misconception about CBT in Bangladesh.

CBT policy should also highlight the conflict resolution mechanisms so that stability can be ensured. Particular focus may be given to building awareness among community members about CBT, increasing the capacity of the host community by giving training and arranging workshops, developing mechanisms for ensuring equity and transparency, and the participation of the host community in decision-making. Focus should also be given on the adaptive use of the local culture and tradition in alignment with the preservation and conservation of the authenticity of the culture, preparing a guideline to generate sufficient revenue for the culture group and making a guideline for linking local handicraft producers and intermediaries. Notably, policy formulation should also prioritise UNESCO rules and regulations without compromising the betterment of the local community. Most crucially, CBT policy guidelines must incorporate and recognise the influence of powerful and influential actors, along with a clear picture of dealing with these power dynamics, such as the process of involving powerful local actors and the process of distributing benefits.

Based on the interviews and participants' observations, it was identified that there should be a formal governance structure including stakeholders from the local level, such as the local community, local authority and representatives from the local level government, in line with the structure of Destination Management Organisations (DMOs). The emphasis should be on the involvement of relevant institutions that will coordinate, mediate and balance the power among stakeholders. This research recommends that policymakers should adopt a formal, uniform and democratic governance structure for CBT, specifically the Network Administrative Organisation (NAO).

## 9.5 Limitations and Future Research Avenues

One of the main criticisms of single case study research design is its generalisation issue (Yin, 2014). Although this discourse sheds light on the different aspects of CBT governance towards long-term continuation of a UNESCO World Heritage archaeological site, questions and doubts remain about the generalising of the findings of this discourse. This research tried to obtain a reliable level of diversity of views by gathering data from a wider group of stakeholders, such as the local community, local government representatives, institutional representatives and tourism experts. However, this study does not represent all the relevant stakeholders. This study tested the developed conceptual framework in a unique and complex setting where a great variety of actors were present. So, questions can arise about whether this result will be applicable to other tourism sites where the context is not as complex as well as the destination is in another stage of development. There is scope for testing the proposed framework more rigorously in other contexts while considering the diverse characteristics of CBT sites.

Although different components of political economy, were used with ANT to analyse CBT governance, several other dimensions of political economy were missing and unable to be incorporated. In addition, this discourse missed the chance for an in-depth analysis of various governance principles, such as accountability, transparency, equity, trust, etc., concerning the component of political economy and ANT. Therefore, additional research needs to be conducted to identify other dimensions of political economy and incorporate principles of governance in the mechanism of CBT governance. A more extensive nature of the framework for CBT governance studies is expected in further research.

In addition, this discourse thoroughly examines the different types of governance mechanisms to deal with challenges but misses out on the in-depth discussion of some of the mechanisms. Therefore, future research needs to focus on an in-depth analysis of several aspects, such as different techniques of equitable distribution of benefits, equitable participation of the members of the host community, participation of the host community in tourism activities as well as decision-making process, mechanisms for keeping cultural group of people in their traditional cultural practice and ways of dealing with power issues. Moreover, it is expected that more dimensions of sustainable development to ensure long-term continuation will be figured out in future research. Furthermore, this research was conducted based on the interpretation of the individual thinking of participants. Specifically, the philosophical paradigm was social constructivism, and the main focus was on the description of how certain things happen in the

social context. But for generating a more in-depth and critical understanding of the development process of CBT and its governance mechanisms, future research can be conducted from the perspective of critical thinking, where the focus should be given to why particular things happen in a complex social context. Critical realist researchers must be aware of the socio-cultural background and experiences. Besides this, they also need to be objective for minimising biases (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2009).

Beyond these, one of the weak sides of this research was that this discourse just briefly explained the role of members in the proposed governance structure. Upon reflection of the result, the details of the responsibilities of the participants are not clear, and there is no direction for setting connections among the members, such as government-community connection, government-local official connection, and community-community connection. Therefore, further research can be conducted on an in-depth analysis of the role of stakeholders in CBT governance towards sustainable development. Finally, this study recommends some policy guidelines for CBT sites, but based on the empirical findings and observation of a single CBT destination. Hence, future research can be focused on CBT policy formulation based on first-hand findings of multiple CBT sites in Bangladesh to strengthen the recommendations.



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## Appendices

### A. Respondents' Profile

Serial No	Date	Time	Location	Occupation	Age	Gender	Involvement with Tourism	Experience (Year)	Code
<b>Community Representatives</b>									
CR-1	22/5/22	4:00 PM	Malancha Village, Paharpur (Homestay)	Tour Guide	20	Male	Tour Guide	3	CR_01_TG_01
CR-2	23/5/22	4:00 PM	Malancha Village, Paharpur (Homestay)	Post Master	55	Male	Homestay Owner	8	CR_02_HO_01
CR-3	23/5/22	5:00 PM	Malancha Village, Paharpur	Housewife	30	Female	Handicraft Producer	8	CR_03_HP_01
CR-4	23/5/22	5:30 PM	Malancha Village, Paharpur	Housewife	35	Female	Handicraft Producer	8	CR_04_HP_02
CR-5	23/5/22	10:00 PM	Malancha Village, Paharpur (Homestay)	Homestay	30	Male	Homestay Member	5	CR_05-HM_01
CR-6	24/5/22	10:00 AM	Malancha Village, Paharpur	Tour Guide	20	Female	Tour Guide	3	CR_06_TG_02
CR-7	24/5/22	4:00 PM	Malancha Village, Paharpur	Housewife	30	Female	Handicraft Producer	8	CR_07_HP_03
CR-8	24/5/22	4:30 PM	Malancha Village, Paharpur	Housewife	40	Female	Handicraft Producer	8	CR_08_HP_04
CR-9	24/5/22	5:00 PM	Tea Stall (C.M.B), Paharpur	Business	40	Male	Poultry Supplier	8	CR_09_BP_01
CR-10	24/5/22	8:00 PM	Malancha Village, Paharpur (Homestay)	Farmer	45	Male	Homestay Owner	5	CR_10_HO_02
CR-11	25/5/22	11.00 AM	Malancha Village, Paharpur (Homestay)	Student	18	Male	Homestay Member	3	CR_11_HM_02
CR-12	25/5/22	11.30 AM	Malancha Village, Paharpur	Tour Guide	30	Male	Tour Guide	3	CR_12_TG_03

CR-13	25/5/22	8:00 PM	Malancha Village, Paharpur (Homestay)	Farmer	50	Male	Homestay Owner	5	CR_13_HO_03
CR-14	26/5/22	10:00 AM	Paharpur Bazar, Paharpur (Pharmacy)	Farmer	40	Male	Homestay Owner	5	CR_14_HO_04
CR-15	26/5/22	11:00 AM	Mithapur Village, Paharpur	Potter	50	Male	Handicraft Producer	25	CR_15_HP_05
CR-16	26/5/22	12:00 PM	Mithapur Village, Paharpur	Auto Driver	25	Male	Transportation Personnel	3	CR_16_TP_01
CR-17	26/5/22	1:00 PM	Bishpara Village, Paharpur	Farmer	40	Female	Cultural Performer	8	CR_17_CG_01
CR-18	26/5/22	4:00 PM	Malancha Village, Paharpur (Homestay)	Farmer	50	Male	Homestay Owner	5	CR_18_HO_05
CR-19	26/5/22	5:00 PM	Malancha Village, Paharpur	Souvenir Shop	32	Female	Souvenir Seller	5	CR_19_BS_01
CR-20	26/5/22	8:00 PM	Union Parishad Office (Paharpur)	Tour Guide	35	Male	Tour Guide	8	CR_20_TG_04
CR-21	27/5/22	4:00 PM	Paharpur Buddhist Monastery	Singer	50	Male	Cultural Performer	10	CR_21_CG_02
CR-22	27/5/22	8:00 PM	Malancha Village, Paharpur (Homestay)	Tour Guide	45	Male	Tour Guide	10	CR_22_TG_05
CR-23	27/5/22	8.30 PM	Malancha Village, Paharpur (Homestay)	Housewife	40	Female	Homestay Member	8	CR_23_HM_03
CR-24	28/5/22	8:00 AM	Nunus Village, Paharpur (Poultryfirm)	Poultry Business	45	Male	Poultry Supplier	8	CR_24_BP_02
CR-25	28/5/22	10:00 AM	Malancha Village, Paharpur (Homestay)	Furniture Business	30	Male	Furniture Business	2	CR_25_BF_01
CR-26	28/5/22	11:00 AM	Malancha Village, Paharpur	Tour Guide	25	Male	Tour Guide	3	CR_26_TG_06
CR-27	28/5/22	8:00 PM	Malancha Village, Paharpur (Homestay)	Farmer	50	Male	Homestay Owner	5	CR_27_HO_06

CR-28	28/5/22	9:00 PM	Malancha Village, Paharpur (Homestay)	Farmer	50	Male	Homestay Owner	5	CR_28_HO_07
CR-29	28/5/22	9:30 PM	Malancha Village, Paharpur (Homestay)	Housewife	25	Female	Handicraft Producer	8	CR_29_HP_06
CR-30	29/5/22	10:00 PM	Malancha Village, Paharpur (Homestay)	Tour Guide	45	Male	Tour Guide	20	CR_30_TG_07
CR-31	30/5/22	11:00 AM	Kocharmore, Paharpur	Business	40	Male	Grocery Seller	8	CR_31_BG_01
CR-32	31/5/22	10:00 AM	Paharpur Bazar, Paharpur (Pharmacy)	Business	40	Male	Homestay Owner	3	CR_32_HO_08
CR-33	31/5/22	1:00 PM	Malancha Village, Paharpur (Homestay)	Tour Guide	40	Male	Tour Guide	3	CR_33_TG_08
CR-34	31/5/22	4:00 PM	Paharpur Bazar, Paharpur (Business)	Tour Guide	25	Male	Tour Guide	2	CR_34_TG_09
CR-35	20/6/22	4:00 PM	Restaurant (C.M.B), Paharpur	Restaurant Staff	20	Male	Restaurant Staff	2	CR_35_BR_01
CR-36	20/6/22	6:00 PM	Paharpur Buddhist Monastery	Gardener	43	Male	Gardener	20	CR_36_GD_01
CR-37	20/6/22	7:00 PM	Paharpur Bazar, Paharpur (Business)	Fruit Business	38	Male	Fruit Seller	8	CR_37_BF_01
CR-38	20/6/22	7:30 PM	Paharpur Bazar, Paharpur (Business)	Business	35	Male	Restaurant Owner	8	CR_38_BR_02
CR-39	21/6/22	4:00 PM	Tea Stall (C.M.B), Paharpur	Business	30	Male	Tea Stall Owner	5	CR_39_BT_01
CR-40	21/6/22	4:30 PM	Grocery Shop (C.M.B), Paharpur	Business	35	Male	Grocery Seller	2	CR_40_BG_02
CR-41	21/6/22	7:00 PM	Organization Office (C.M.B), Paharpur	Organizer	40	Male	Transportation	10	CR_41_TP_02
CR-42	22/6/22	4:00 PM	Grocery Shop (Sudden Para), Paharpur	Business	30	Male	Re-settler	2	CR_42_RS_01

CR-43	22/6/22	5:00 PM	Paharpur Buddhist Monastery	Business	50	Male	Hawkers	20	CR_43_HW_01
CR-44	22/6/22	7:00 PM	Primary School, Paharpur Bazar	Teacher	45	Male	Head Teacher		CR_44_TE_01
CR-45	22/6/22	7:30 PM	Primary School, Paharpur Bazar	Teacher	50	Male	Head Teacher		CR_45_TE_02
CR-46	23/6/22	8:00 PM	Grocery Shop (C.M.B), Paharpur	Grocery Business	50	Male	Grocery Seller	2	CR_46_BG_03
CR-47	23/6/22	10:00 PM	Restaurant (C.M.B), Paharpur	Restaurant Business	35	Male	Restaurant Owner	5	CR_47_BR_03
CR-48	24/6/22	10:00 AM	Malancha Village, Paharpur (Homestay)	Housewife	45	Female	Handicraft Producer	8	CR_48_HP_07
CR-49	24/6/22	11:00 AM	Grocery Shop (Sudden Para), Paharpur	Grocery Business	55	Male	Re-settler		CR_49_RS_02
CR-50	24/6/22	12:00 PM	Souvenir Shop (C.M.B), Paharpur	Souvenir Business	55	Male	Souvenir Seller	20	CR_50_BS_02
CR-51	24/6/22	3:00 PM	Malancha Village, Paharpur (Homestay)	Farmer	35	Male	Homestay Member	5	CR_51_HM_04
CR-52	24/6/22	5:00 PM	Gate 2, Paharpur Buddhist Monastery	Business	50	Male	Grocery Seller	10	CR_52_BG_04
CR-53	7/8/22	7:00 PM	Paharpur Buddhist Monastery	Teacher	35	Male	Food Supplier	5	CR_53_BF_01
CR-54	8/8/22	7:00 PM	Souvenir Shop (C.M.B), Paharpur	Business	35	Male	Souvenir Seller	5	CR_54_BS_03
CR-55	9/9/22	5:00 PM	On-line	Banker	33	Male	Tourist	10	CR_55_TO_01
<b>Institutional Representatives</b>									
IR-1	28/5/22	4:00 PM	Police Outpost, Paharpur	Tourist Police	42	Male	Destination Security	3	IR_01_TP_01
IR-2	29/5/22	10:00 AM	Noagoan DC office	Magistrate	30	Male	Tourism Development	1	IR_02_DCO_01

IR-3	29/5/22	10:30 AM	Noagoan DC office	ADC General	35	Male	Tourism Development	1	IR_03_DCO_02
IR-4	29/5/22	11:00 AM	Noagoan DC office	NDC General	30	Male	Tourism Development	1	IR_04_DCO_03
IR-5	30/5/22	3:00 PM	Paharpur Buddhist Monastery, Paharpur	UNO	35	Female	Tourism Development	1	IR_05_UO_01
IR-6	6/6/22	10:00 AM	BTB Office, Dhaka	AD BTB	32	Male	Tourism Development	5	IR_06_BTBT_01
IR-7	6/6/22	1:00 PM	DOA Head Office, Dhaka	Director, DOA	50	Male	Archaeological Site Management	20	IR_07_DOA_01
IR-8	6/6/22	4:00 PM	National Museum, Dhaka	Custodian, National Museum	35	Male	Museum Management	8	IR_08_OA_01
IR-9	8/6/22	3:00 PM	Cumilla University, Cumilla	Teacher	45	Male	Teacher	10	IR_09_OA_02
IR-10	9/6/22	10:00 AM	Badda, Dhaka	Tour Operator	45	Male	Tourists Provider	30	IR_10_TO_01
IR-11	11/6/22	11:00 AM	Telephone	Director, MoCAT	40	Male	Tourism Development	10	IR_11_MIN_01
IR-12	14/6/22	9:00 AM	BPC Office, Dhaka	Marketing Manager, BPC	45	Male	Tourism Development	15	IR_12_BPC_01
IR-13	14/6/22	2:00 PM	Journey Plus Office, Dhaka	Tour Operator	55	Male	Tourists Provider	30	IR_13_TO_02
IR-14	22/6/22	4:00 PM	C.M.B, Paharpur	Member (Ward)	35	Male	Destination Management	1	IR_14_UP_01
IR-15	23/6/22	11:00 AM	Paharpur Buddhist Monastery, Paharpur	Custodian, DOA	35	Male	Destination Management	8	IR_15_DOA_02
IR-16	23/6/22	6:00 PM	Union Parishad, Paharpur	Chairman (Ward)	45	Male	Destination Management	1	IR_16_UP_02

IR-17	24/6/22	1:00 PM	Paharpur Buddhist Monastery, Paharpur	Assistant Custodian, DOA	35	Male	Destination Management	5	IR_17_DOA_03
IR-18	26/6/22	2:00 PM	Sonargaon hotel, Dhaka	DG, Public Library	58	Male	Project Leader	35	IR_18_DOA_04
IR-19	31/7/22	10:00 AM	On-line (Zoom)	UNESCO Staff	30	Female	UNESCO Site Management	3	IR_19_UNE_01
IR-20	23/8/22	9:00 AM	On-line (Zoom)	UNESCO Staff	35	Female	UNESCO Site Management	5	IR_20_UNE_02
IR-21	24/8/22	10:00 PM	On-line (Zoom)	Admin Cadre	33	Male	Tourism Development	5	IR_21_DO_01
<b>Tourism Experts</b>									
TE-1	14/6/22	4:00 PM	Dhaka	Teacher	35	Male	Tourism Professor	8	TE_01_TP_01
TE-2	20/6/22	10:00 AM	Paharpur, Homestay	Industrialist	45	Male	Tourism Product development	12	TE_02_IE_01
TE-3	18/7/22	3:00 PM	Dhaka University	Teacher	40	Male	Tourism Professor	12	TE_03_TP_02
TE-4	19/7/22	4:00 PM	Dhaka	Industry Expert	55	Male	Industry Expert	30	TE_04_IE_02
TE-5	21/7/22	3:00 PM	Dhaka University	Teacher	38	Male	Tourism Professor	10	TE_05_TP_03
TE-6	14/8/22	10:00 PM	On-line	Teacher	45	Male	Tourism Professor	15	TE_06_TP_04
TE-7	16/8/22	7:00 PM	Telephone	Teacher	55	Male	Archaeology Professor	25	TE_07_TP_05

## **B1. Participant Information Sheet (English)**



### **Participant Information Sheet Department of Work, Employment and Organisation**

#### **‘Community-Based Tourism (CBT) Governance and Sustainability: A Political Economy Approach’**

##### **Introduction**

This study is being conducted as a part of the PhD research project of doctoral research student Mr Biplab Roy. The study uses a political economy approach to investigate Community-Based Tourism (CBT), governance and sustainability in Paharpur, Bangladesh.

##### **What is the purpose of this investigation?**

The purpose of the study is to describe the process of tourism development and the actors involved, the form of governance structures along with the associated factors as well as relevant present and upcoming challenges for ensuring the sustainability of the CBT in Paharpur.

##### **Do you have to take part?**

Your participation is voluntary and the information you provide will be treated as confidential. You may withdraw from the research at any time (up until 6 weeks after completion of the interview) by contacting either the principal researcher i.e., myself or anyone from my supervisory team by email or phone (see contact details below). If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you and we thank you for considering our request.

##### **What will you do in the project?**

Your participation in this project will be face-to-face and on a one-to-one basis via a semi-structured interview. It is expected that the interview will take approximately 60-75 minutes to complete. The interview will take place at a time and location chosen by you.

The interview will either be audio recorded, notes taken or both depending on your consent. The whole session will be transcribed in full in English. As a follow-up to this activity, you will be asked for consent for the researcher to contact you if further information is required at a later stage of the research.

##### **Why have you been invited to take part?**

A number of people will be approached to help the researcher better understand the factors that impact on CBT in Paharpur and also in Bangladesh more broadly. Participants are sought from three main groups:

1. Local communities irrespective of whether or not they are directly involved in or benefitting from tourism

2. Institutional representatives from tourism related organizations such as Government (local, regional, and national), National Tourism Organizations (i.e. Bangladesh Parjatan Corporation, and Bangladesh Tourism Board), UNESCO, Asian Development Bank, NGOs, and tourism associations (i.e. Tour Operator Association of Bangladesh, Centre for Tourism Studies in Bangladesh); and
3. Tourism experts such as university professionals and tourism researchers.

### **What are the potential risks to you in taking part?**

The risks associated with participation in this study are no greater than those encountered in daily life.

### **What information is being collected?**

The interview will include the questions that will help to understand the tourism development process in the study area. The interview questions will also include several topics that will help to understand the destination management related challenges such as how stages of development impact on the management system, what types of changes in the originality of the society need to take into consideration, how multiple international actors are influencing the destination management system and finally how power relation comes into effect.

### **Who will have access to the information?**

*In line with the University of Strathclyde's Privacy Policy (attached), the information you provide will be treated as confidential. No-one other than the researcher and his supervisors will have access to this data.*

*The results of the project will be presented as a thesis and published as a paper in an academic journal. They may also be presented at an international conference. You may be assured of your confidentiality in this investigation and any associated publications. The published results and copies of research output will be made available upon request to study participants.*

### **Where will the information be stored and how long will it be kept for?**

The interview session will be digitally recorded with your permission. The digital files will be available only to the researchers and his PhD supervisors and will be stored electronically under full password protection. Data will be stored and maintained by following the data management guidelines of University of Strathclyde. That means this data will be securely stored and then destroyed after the dissertation has been marked and publication in journals. No individuals or organisations will be identified in the dissertation (unless explicit permission to do so is obtained). Any illustrative quotes that the researcher may use will be anonymised.

Thank you for reading this information; please ask any questions if you are unsure about what is written here before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate, we thank you. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you and we thank you for considering the request.

If you have any questions about this project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either researcher or chief investigator.



## **Researcher Contact Details:**

### **Biplab Roy**

PhD Candidate

Department of Work, Employment and Organization

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Tell: +447438510923 (UK), +8801790-337766 (Bangladesh)

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## **Chief Investigator Details:**

### **Dr Irma Booyens (Primary Supervisor)**

Lecturer

Dept. of Work, Employment and Organization

University of Strathclyde

Scotland, UK.

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This investigation has been granted ethical approval by the Research Ethics Committee of the Department of Work, Employment and Organisation.

If you have any questions/concerns, during or after the investigation, or wish to contact an independent person to whom any questions may be directed or further information may be sought from, please contact:

### **Dr Tony McCarthy**

Chair, Department Ethics Committee

Department of Work, Employment, and Organisation

University of Strathclyde

Sir William Duncan Building

130 Rottenrow

Glasgow

G4 0QU

Scotland, UK

Email: [joseph.mccarthy@strath.ac.uk](mailto:joseph.mccarthy@strath.ac.uk)

## B2. Participant Information Sheet (Bengali)



অংশগ্রহণকারী তথ্য অবহিতকরণ নথি  
ওয়ার্ক, এমপ্লয়মেন্ট এন্ড অর্গানাইজেশন বিভাগ

'গোষ্ঠী-ভিত্তিক পর্যটন ব্যবস্থাপনা এবং স্থায়িত্ব: একটি রাজনৈতিক অর্থনীতি প্রচেষ্টা'

### ভূমিকা

এই কাজটি করা হচ্ছে জনাব বিপ্লব রায়ের পিএইচডি গবেষণার অংশ হিসেবে। এই গবেষণাটি মূলত রাজনৈতিক অর্থনীতি প্রচেষ্টা ব্যবহার করছে গোষ্ঠী-ভিত্তিক পর্যটন অনুসন্ধান, ব্যবস্থাপনা এবং এর স্থায়িত্ব কিভাবে নিশ্চিত করা যায় পাহাড়পুর, বাংলাদেশে।

### এই অনুসন্ধানের উদ্দেশ্য কি?

এই অনুসন্ধানের উদ্দেশ্য হচ্ছে পর্যটন কিভাবে গঠিত হয় তা বর্ণনা করা এবং করা এর সাথে জড়িত তা খুঁজে বের করা, ব্যবস্থাপনার ধরণ কেমন তা বিশ্লেষণ করা সেই সাথে এর সাথে জড়িত বিভিন্ন বর্তমান এবং ভবিষ্যতের বিষয়সমূহ যা কিনা পাহাড়পুরের গোষ্ঠী-ভিত্তিক পর্যটন এর স্থায়িত্ব নিশ্চিতকরণে প্রভাব বিস্তার করে।

### আপনাকে কি অংশগ্রহণ করতে হবে?

আপনার অংশগ্রহণ ঐচ্ছিক এবং আপনার দেয়া তথ্য সমূহ সম্পূর্ণরূপে গোপন রাখা হবে। আপনি যেকোনো সময় এই গবেষণা থেকে নিজেকে সরিয়ে নিতে পারেন (সাক্ষাৎকার গ্রহণের সর্বোচ্চ ছয় সপ্তাহের মধ্যে) প্রধান গবেষক অথবা আমাকে দিকনির্দেশনা প্রদানকারী দলের যেকোনো কারো সাথে যোগাযোগ করে (নিম্নে যোগাযোগের বিস্তারিত দেয়া আছে)। আপনি যদি অংশগ্রহণ করতে না চান তাহলে কোনো সমস্যা নেই এবং আমার বিষয়টিকে বিবেচনা করার জন্য ধন্যবাদ জানাচ্ছি।

### এই গবেষণায় আপনার করণীয় কি ?

আপনাকে এই গবেষণায় মুকোমুখী এবং একক ভিত্তিতে সাক্ষাৎকার দিতে হবে যার ধরণ হবে আধা-গঠিত। আশা করা যাচ্ছে যে এই সাক্ষাৎকারটি ষাট মিনিট থেকে পঁচাত্তর মিনিট সময় লাগবে। আপনার নির্ধারিত সময় এবং স্থানে সাক্ষাৎকারটি সংগঠিত হবে।

আপনার অনুমতি সাপেক্ষে সাক্ষাৎকারটি ধারণ করা হবে অথবা সারমর্ম লিপিবদ্ধ করা হবে অথবা দুটিই করা হবে। পুরো পর্বটি ইংরেজিতে অনুবাদ করা হবে। পরিশেষে আপনার কাছে অনুমতি চাওয়া হবে যদি ভবিষ্যতে কোনো প্রয়োজন পড়ে তাহলে গবেষক আপনার সাথে যোগাযোগ করতে পারবে।

### আপনাকে কেন এই গবেষণায় আমন্ত্রণ জানানো হচ্ছে ?

কিছু সংখ্যক মানুষকে আমন্ত্রণ জানানো হবে যারা গবেষককে সাহায্য করবে তথ্য প্রদান করে যে কোন বিষয় গুলো পাহাড়পুরের গোষ্ঠী-ভিত্তিক পর্যটনের উপর প্রভাব বিস্তার করে এবং বৃহৎ ভাবে সমগ্র বাংলাদেশের পর্যটনের উপর। মূলত তিন ধরণের দল থেকে অংশগ্রহণকারীকে বাছাই করা হবে:

- ১। স্থানীয় জনগণ যারা কোনো না কোনো ভাবে পর্যটন এর সাথে জড়িত এবং সুবিধা ভোগ করে থাকে
- ২। পর্যটন সংক্রিষ্ট প্রতিষ্ঠানের প্রতিনিধিগণ যেমন সরকার (স্থানীয়, আঞ্চলিক, জাতীয়), জাতীয় পর্যটন প্রতিষ্ঠান (বাংলাদেশ পর্যটন কর্পোরেশন, বাংলাদেশ ট্যুরিজম বোর্ড), উনেস্কো, এশিয়ান ডেভেলপমেন্ট ব্যাংক, এনজিওস, ট্যুরিজম এসোসিয়েশন (আটার, টুয়াব), এবং
- ৩। পর্যটন বিশেষজ্ঞ যেমন বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের শিক্ষকবৃন্দ এবং পর্যটন গবেষকবৃন্দ।

### **এই গবেষণায় অংশ নেয়ায় আপনার সম্ভাব্য ঝুঁকি কি ?**

আপনার জীবনের সাথে জড়িত দৈনন্দিন ঝুঁকির বাইরে আর কোনো ঝুঁকি নেই এই গবেষণায় অংশগ্রহণ করে।

### **কি তথ্য সংগ্রহ করা হবে?**

সেই সব প্রশ্নই অন্তর্ভুক্ত করা হবে এই গবেষণায় যা গবেষককে অনুসন্ধানকৃত এলাকার পর্যটন গঠিত হওয়ার পেছনে ভূমিকা রাখে। আরো সেই সব প্রশ্ন অন্তর্ভুক্ত করা হবে যা বুজতে সাহায্য করবে পর্যটন ব্যবস্থাপনার সাথে জড়িত কঠিন বিষয়গুলো যেমন পর্যটন গঠনের বিভিন্ন স্তর কিভাবে ভূমিকা রাখে, সমাজের মৌলিকত্ব পরিবর্তন কিভাবে ভূমিকা রাখে, বিভিন্ন বিদেশী পক্ষের অংশগ্রহণ কিভাবে ভূমিকা রাখে , এবং ক্ষমতার শ্রেণীবিন্যাস কিভাবে ভূমিকা রাখে।

### **কারা তথ্যে প্রবেশ করার অনুমতি পাবে?**

স্ট্রাথক্লাইড বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের গোপনীয়তার নীতি অনুযায়ী সংগ্রহকৃত তথ্য গুলো গোপনীয় হিসেবে বিবেচনা করা হবে। শুধুমাত্র গবেষক এবং তার পরিদর্শকগণ অনুমতি পাবে তথ্যে প্রবেশ করার।

গবেষণার ফল থিসিস আকারে উপস্থাপন করা হবে এবং বিভিন্ন একাডেমিক পত্রিকায় প্রকাশ করা হবে। আন্তর্জাতিক সম্মেলনেও উপস্থাপন করা হবে। আপনাকে এটা নিশ্চিত করা হচ্ছে যে এই সব ক্ষেত্রে আপনার গোপনীয়তা সম্পূর্ণরূপে নিশ্চিত করা হবে। আপনি চাইলে গবেষণার ফল আপনাকে সরবরাহ করা হবে।

### **কোথায় তথ্য সংগ্রহ করা হবে এবং কত সময়ের জন্য তা সংগ্রহ করা হবে?**

আপনার অনুমতি সাপেক্ষে সাক্ষাৎকারটি ধারণ করে রাখা হবে। ডিজিটাল তথ্য ভাণ্ডারটি গবেষক এবং তার পরিদর্শকবৃন্দের নিকট সরবরাহ করা হবে এবং সম্পূর্ণ সুরক্ষিতভাবে জমা রাখা হবে। তথ্যগুলো স্ট্রাথক্লাইড বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের ডাটা ব্যবস্থাপনা দিকনির্দেশনা অনুযায়ী সংরক্ষিত এবং ব্যবস্থাপনা করা হবে। তার মানে তথ্যগুলো সম্পূর্ণ সুরক্ষিত থাকবে এবং প্রবন্ধ নম্বর দেয়ার পর এবং প্রকাশের পর ধ্বংস করে দেয়া হবে। প্রবন্ধে কোনো ব্যক্তি বা প্রতিষ্ঠানের নাম উল্লেখ থাকবে না। যেকোনো উদ্ভৃতি নাম গোপন রেখে উল্লেখ করা হবে।

তথ্যগুলো পড়ার জন্য ধন্যবাদ। কোনো বিষয়ে যদি অস্পষ্টতা থাকে তবে অংশগ্রহণ করার আগে জিজ্ঞেস করে নিতে পারেন। যদি অংশগ্রহণ করতে ইচ্ছুক হোন তাহলে আপনাকে ধন্যবাদ জানাচ্ছি। আপনি যদি অংশগ্রহণ করতে না চান তাহলে কোনো সমস্যা নেই এবং আমার বিষয়টিকে বিবেচনা করার জন্য ধন্যবাদ জানাচ্ছি।

এখন অথবা ভবিষ্যতে আপনার মনে যদি কোনো প্রশ্ন আসে তাহলে গবেষক অথবা প্রধান অনুসন্ধানকারীর সাথে যোগাযোগ করতে দ্বিধাবিহীন হবেন না।

## গবেষকের সাথে যোগাযোগের বিস্তারিত:

### বিপ্লব রায়

ওয়ার্ক, এমপ্লয়মেন্ট এন্ড অর্গানাইজেশন বিভাগ

স্ট্রাথক্লাইড বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়

স্কটল্যান্ড, যুক্তরাজ্য

মোবাইল: +889837510223 (যুক্তরাজ্য), +8801920379966 (বাংলাদেশ)

Email: biplab.roy@strath.ac.uk

## প্রধান অনুসন্ধানকারীর সাথে যোগাযোগের বিস্তারিত:

### ড. ইরমা বোয়েন্স (প্রাইমারি সুপারভাইসর)

প্রভাষক

ওয়ার্ক, এমপ্লয়মেন্ট এন্ড অর্গানাইজেশন বিভাগ

স্ট্রাথক্লাইড বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়

স্কটল্যান্ড, যুক্তরাজ্য

Email: irma.booyens@strath.ac.uk

এই অনুসন্ধানটি ওয়ার্ক, এমপ্লয়মেন্ট এন্ড অর্গানাইজেশন বিভাগ এর নৈতিকতা নির্ধারিত দলের কাছ থেকে নৈতিকভাবে অনুমোদন পেয়েছে।

ওপরে উল্লিখিত ব্যক্তির বাইরে যদি অন্য কারো সাথে যোগাযোগ করতে চান তাহলে নিম্নে উল্লিখিত ব্যক্তির সাথে যোগাযোগ করার জন্য অনুরোধ জানানো হচ্ছে:

### ড. টম মেক্যার্থী

চেয়ার, বিভাগীয় এথিক্স কমিটি

ওয়ার্ক, এমপ্লয়মেন্ট এন্ড অর্গানাইজেশন বিভাগ

স্ট্রাথক্লাইড বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়

স্যার উইলিয়াম ডানকান বিল্ডিং

১৩০ রোটেনরও

গ্লাসগো

স্কটল্যান্ড, যুক্তরাজ্য

Email: joseph.mccarthy@strath.ac.uk

## C1. Consent Form for Interviews (English)



### **Consent Form for Interviews** **Department of Work, Employment and Organisation**

**Title of the study: Community-Based Tourism (CBT) Governance and Sustainability: A Political Economy Approach**

- I confirm that I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet for the above project and the researcher has answered any queries to my satisfaction.
- I confirm that I have read and understood the Privacy Notice for Participants in Research Projects and understand how my personal information will be used and what will happen to it (i.e. how it will be stored and for how long).
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time, up to the point of completion, without having to give a reason and without any consequences.
- I understand that I can request the withdrawal from the study of personal information that identifies me and that whenever possible researchers will comply with my request.
- I understand that anonymised data (i.e. data that do not identify me personally) cannot be withdrawn once they have been included in the study.
- I understand that any information recorded in the research will remain confidential and no information that identifies me will be made publicly available.
- I consent to being a participant in the project.
- I consent to contact if further information is required at a later stage of the research.
- I consent to being audio and/or video recorded as part of the project Yes /No

(PRINT NAME)	
Signature of Participant:	Date:

## C2. Consent Form for Interviews (Bengali)



### সাফাংকাবের জন্য সন্মতিপত্র

ওয়ার্ক, এমপ্লয়মেন্ট এন্ড অর্গানাইজেশন বিভাগ, স্ট্রাথক্লাইড বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়

গবেষণার শিরোনাম: গোষ্ঠী-ভিত্তিক পর্মটন ব্যবস্থাপনা এবং স্বামিত্ব: একটি রাজনৈতিক অর্থনীতি প্রচেষ্টা

- আমি সন্মতি প্রদান করছি যে গবেষণার জন্য ব্যবহৃত পার্টিসিপেন্ট ইনফরমেশন শিট আমি পড়েছি এবং বুঝতে পেরেছি এবং গবেষক আমার সকল প্রশ্নের উত্তর দিয়েছে।
- আমি সন্মতি প্রদান করছি যে গবেষণার জন্য ব্যবহৃত গোপনীয়তা রক্ষা সংক্লিষ্ট তথ্য পড়েছি এবং বুজেছি সেইসাথে এই ও বুজতে পেরেছি এই গবেষণায় আমার ব্যক্তিগত তথ্য কিভাবে ব্যবহার করা হবে এবং ভবিষ্যতে কি ঘটবে (যেমন কিভাবে এবং কত সময়ের জন্য তথ্য সংরক্ষণ করা হবে)।
- আমি বুজতে পেরেছি যে আমার অংশগ্রহণ ঐচ্ছিক এবং এই গবেষণা থেকে যেকোনো সময় বিশেষ করে গবেষণা শেষ হওয়ার আগমুহূর্ত পর্যন্ত আমি নিজেকে সরিয়ে নিতে পারবো কোনো কারণ ছাড়া এবং এর কোনো প্রভাব আমার উপর পরবে না।
- আমি বুজতে পেরেছি যে আমার ব্যক্তিগত তথ্য সরিয়ে ফেলার জন্য যেকোনো সময় গবেষককে অনুরোধ করতে পারব।
- আমি বুজতে পেরেছি যে গবেষক ডাটা সেভাবেই ব্যবহার করবে যেন আমাকে শনাক্ত করা না যাই এবং গবেষণায় একবার ব্যবহার করা হয়ে গেলে আমি তা তুলে নেয়ার জন্য বলতে পারবো না।
- আমি বুজতে পেরেছি যে এই গবেষণার জন্য ধারণকৃত তথ্য গোপন রাখা হবে এবং কোনো তথ্যই যা আমাকে শনাক্ত করবে তা সর্বসাধারণের কাছে উন্মুক্ত করা হবে না।
- আমি এই গবেষণায় অংশগ্রহণের জন্য সন্মতি প্রদান করছি।
- আমি সন্মতি প্রদান করছি যে গবেষণার পরের দিকে যদি আরো তথ্যের প্রয়োজন পড়ে তবে গবেষক আমার সাথে যোগাযোগ করতে পারবে।
- আমি সন্মতি প্রদান করছি যে গবেষক শব্দ এবং ছবি ধারণ করে রাখতে পারবে হ্যা / না।

(নাম)	
সাক্ষর:	তারিখ:

## D1. Research Instrument (English)



### University of Strathclyde Department of Work, Employment and Organisation

#### Provisional Interview Guide for the PhD research titled 'Community Based Tourism (CBT) Governance and Sustainability: A Political Economy Approach'

#### Part 1: Basic information - Interviewee background (to be stored separately from the interview data)

**Table: Listing interviewees' basic information**

Interviewee No./Code:	
Informant Category:	
Types of Institution (if belongs to institution):	
Interviewee No. under Specific Category:	
Name	
Age	
Gender	
Occupational status	
Educational Status	
Any Kind of Involvement in Tourism Activities	
Time of Tourism Related Experience	
Specific Notes (If any)	
Time of Interview	
Place of Interview	

#### Part 2: Indicative interview questions for Local Communities

1. *Are you involved in tourism in the area? What do you do?*
2. *When did you start doing this and why?*
3. *How did tourism in this area come about? How did it start?*
4. *Who are the other actors (people/institutions) involved in tourism in this area?*
5. *What is your opinion about tourism in this area?*
6. *What factors (non-human actors) impact on tourism in the area?*
7. *How has tourism changed over the years?*
8. *Who (what kind of visitors) visit and why? What do they do here?*
9. *How did Covid-19 impact on tourism in this area?*
10. *Is tourism stable in this area? Why do you say so?*
11. *Who benefits most of tourism in this area? Why?*

12. *Who makes decisions about tourism in this area?*
13. *Who makes the rules about tourism in this area? How do you feel about that?*
14. *Do you think that people work together well for tourism in this area? Why do you say so? What factors impact on this?*
15. *Do you feel that there are enough opportunities for local people to participate in tourism in this area?*
16. *Do locals benefit from tourism in this area? Why do you say so?  
What can be done to ensure that more local people benefit from tourism?*
17. *Has there any change in previously existing setting at the local area? If yes, how this is being managed for ensuring sustainability?*
18. *How does the inclusion of several international actors impact on tourism in this area?*
19. *How does tourism impact on the economic, social, cultural, political, and environmental condition of this area?*
20. *What are the related challenges to ensure sustainability in this area?*
21. *What are the roles of community people to ensure sustainability in this area?*
22. *How does tourism can be better managed or governed in future in this area?*
23. *Is there anything else you would like to add or comment on? Are there any other suggestions?*

**Part 3: Indicative interview questions for Institutional Representatives (IR) who have involvement with the tourism in study area**

1. *Do you have any involvement with tourism in the study area? If so, how are you involved?*
2. *When did you become involved with tourism in the study area and why?*
3. *What is the role of your institution to develop tourism in the study area?*
4. *What is your opinion regarding tourism in the study area?*
5. *Who are the actors (people/institutions) involved in tourism in the study area?*
6. *What factors (non-human actors) impact on tourism in the study area?*
7. *How did tourism in the study area come about? How did it start? When? Why?*
8. *How has tourism changed over the years?*
9. *How did Covid-19 impact on tourism in the study area?*
10. *Is tourism stable in the study area? Why do you say so?*
11. *Who benefits most of tourism in the study area? Why?*
12. *Who makes decisions about tourism in the study area?*
13. *Who makes the rules about tourism in the study area? How do you feel about that?*
14. *Do you think that people work together well for tourism in the study area? Why do you say so? What factors impact on this?*
15. *Do you feel that there are enough opportunities for local people to participate in tourism in the study area?*
16. *Do locals benefit from tourism in the study area? Why do you say so?*
17. *What can be done to ensure that more local people benefit from tourism?*
18. *Who are involved in managing the tourism in the study area?*
19. *How does destination is being managed over the years?*



20. *Has there any change in previously existing settings at the local area? If yes, how this is being managed for ensuring sustainability?*
21. *How does the inclusion of several international actors impact on tourism in the study area?*
22. *How will you explain about the current scenario of circles of sustainability (Economic, social, cultural, environmental, and political) in the study area?*
23. *How does tourism can be better managed or governed in future in the study area?*
24. *Is there anything else you would like to add or comment on? Are there any other suggestions?*

#### **Part 4: Indicative interview questions for tourism experts**

1. How are you involved with the tourism?
2. When did you become involved in tourism and why?
3. Who are the actors (people/institutions) usually involved in Community-Based Tourism (CBT) in Bangladesh?
4. *What factors (non-human actors) impact on the development of CBT in Bangladesh?*
5. *How does CBT develop in the rural areas of Bangladesh?*
6. *Who gets maximum benefits and loses from the CBT?*
7. *What makes CBT stable? Why do you say so?*
8. *Who makes rules and decisions about CBT in Bangladesh?*
9. *Who are mainly responsible for managing the CBT in Bangladesh?*
10. *How does the stages of tourism development impact on the governance of CBT destination in Bangladesh?*
11. *How does the destination management authority consider the changes in authenticity of the local area for governing the destination in a sustainable manner?*
12. *How does the inclusion of several international actors impact on tourism development and management?*
13. *What is the way forward to consider power relations in the governance of tourism destination?*
14. *Is there anything else you would like to add or comment on? Are there any other suggestions?*

## D2. Research Instrument (Bengali)



স্ট্রাথক্লাইড বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়  
ওয়ার্ক, এমপ্লয়মেন্ট এন্ড অর্গানাইজেশন বিভাগ

পিএইচডি গবেষণার সাফাৎকারের সম্ভাব্য প্রশ্নমালা যেখানে শিরোনাম

গোষ্ঠী-ভিত্তিক পর্যটন ব্যবস্থাপনা এবং স্বাস্থ্য: একটি রাজনৈতিক অর্থনীতি প্রচেষ্টা

অংশ ১ : মৌলিক তথ্য - অংশগ্রহণকারীর তথ্য (মূল সাফাৎকারের তথ্য হতে আলাদাভাবে সংরক্ষণ করা হবে )

ছক: অংশগ্রহণকারীর মৌলিক তথ্যের সারণি

অংশগ্রহণকারীর নাম/কোড:	
শ্রেণীবিভাগ:	
প্রতিষ্ঠানের ধরণ:	
নির্দিষ্ট শ্রেণীবিভাগ নাম:	
নাম:	
লিঙ্গ:	
পেশা:	
শিক্ষাগত যোগ্যতা:	
পর্যটন কাজের সাথে সম্পৃক্ততার ধরণ:	
পর্যটন কাজের সাথে সম্পৃক্ততার অভিজ্ঞতা:	
নির্দিষ্ট বিশেষ তথ্য:	
সাফাৎকারে সময়:	
সাফাৎকারের স্থান	

### অংশ ২: স্থানীয় সম্প্রদায়ের জন্য সাফাৎকারের প্রশ্নসমূহ

- ১। আপনি কি পর্যটনের সাথে জড়িত? আপনি কি করেন?
- ২। আপনি এখন যা করছেন তা কবে শুরু করেছেন এবং কেন?
- ৩। আপনার এলাকায় পর্যটন কিভাবে উদ্ভব হয়েছিল? কিভাবে তা শুরু হয়েছিল?
- ৪। অন্য আর কারা (ব্যক্তি/প্রতিষ্ঠান) এই এলাকার পর্যটনের সাথে সম্পৃক্ত?
- ৫। আপনার এলাকার পর্যটন নিয়ে আপনার কি মতামত?
- ৬। কোন কোন বিষয়গুলো আপনার এলাকার পর্যটনের উপর প্রভাব বিস্তার করে?
- ৭। বিগত বছর গুলোতে পর্যটন কিভাবে পরিবর্তিত হয়েছে?
- ৮। কি ধরণের দর্শনার্থী ভ্রমণ করে এবং কেন? তারা সেখানে কি করে?
- ৯। কবিড-১৯ কিভাবে আপনার এলাকার পর্যটনকে প্রভাব বিস্তার করে?
- ১০। আপনার এলাকার পর্যটন কি স্থিতিশীল? আপনি কেন তা বলছেন?
- ১১। আপনার এলাকায় পর্যটন থেকে সবচেয়ে বেশি সুবিধা কে পায়? কেন?

- ১ ২। আপনার এলাকায় পর্যটন সংক্রিষ্ট সিদ্ধান্ত কে নেয়?
- ১ ৩। আপনার এলাকার পর্যটন সংক্রিষ্ট নিয়মকানুন কে বানায়? এ ব্যাপারে আপনার অনুভূতি কি?
- ১ ৪। আপনার কি মনে হয় পর্যটনের উন্নতির জন্য আপনার এলাকার সব মানুষ একসাথে কাজ করে? আপনার বলার কারণ কি? কোন বিষয়গুলো এর উপর প্রভাব ফেলে?
- ১ ৫। আপনার কি মনে হয় স্থানীয় মানুষজনের জন্য পর্যটনে অংশগ্রহণের পর্যাপ্ত সুযোগ আছে?
- ১ ৬। স্থানীয় মানুষজন কি পর্যটন থেকে উপকৃত হচ্ছে? আপনার কেন তা মনে হয়? আরো বেশি সংখ্যক স্থানীয় মানুষজন যেন পর্যটন থেকে উপকৃত হয় তার জন্য কি কি করা যেতে পারে?
- ১ ৭। আপনার এলাকার মৌলিকতায় কি কোনো পরিবর্তন এসেছে? যদি হয়, কিভাবে তা বিবেচনা করা হচ্ছে স্থায়ী নিশ্চিতকরণের জন্য?
- ১ ৮। বিভিন্ন আন্তর্জাতিক পক্ষেয়র অন্তর্ভুক্তি কিভাবে আপনার এলাকার পর্যটনকে প্রভাবিত করছে?
- ১ ৯। এই এলাকার পর্যটন কিভাবে অর্থনৈতিক, সামাজিক, সাংস্কৃতিক, রাজনৈতিক এবং পরিবেশের উপর প্রভাব বিস্তার করে?
- ২ ০। এই এলাকার পর্যটনের স্থায়ী নিশ্চিতকরণের সাথে কি কি বাধা জড়িত?
- ২ ১। এই এলাকার পর্যটনের স্থায়ী নিশ্চিতকরণের জন্য স্থানীয় লোকজন কি ভূমিকা পালন করতে পারে?
- ২ ২। পর্যটনের সুন্দর ব্যবস্থাপনার জন্য ভবিষ্যতে কি কি করা যেতে পারে?
- ২ ৩। উপরিউক্ত বিষয়গুলোর বাইরেও আপনার কি কিছু যোগ করার বা মন্তব্য করার আছে? আপনার কি আর কোনো পরামর্শ আছে?

### **অংশ ৩: প্রাতিষ্ঠানিক প্রতিনিধিদের জন্য সাক্ষাৎকারের প্রশ্নসমূহ যারা গবেষণা এলাকার পর্যটনের সাথে সম্পৃক্ত**

- ১। গবেষণা এলাকার পর্যটনের সাথে আপনার কি কোনো ধরনের সম্পৃক্ততা আছে? যদি হয়, তাহলে আপনি কিভাবে সম্পৃক্ত?
- ২। গবেষণা এলাকার পর্যটনের সাথে আপনি কখন এবং কেন সম্পৃক্ত হয়েছিলেন?
- ৩। গবেষণা এলাকার পর্যটন উন্নয়নের জন্য আপনার প্রতিষ্ঠান কি ভূমিকা পালন করে?
- ৪। গবেষণা এলাকার পর্যটন নিয়ে আপনার কি মতামত?
- ৫। গবেষণা এলাকার পর্যটনের সাথে কারা কারা (মানুষ/প্রতিষ্ঠান) জড়িত?
- ৬। কোন কোন বিষয়গুলো গবেষণা এলাকার পর্যটনের উপর প্রভাব বিস্তার করে?
- ৭। গবেষণা এলাকায় পর্যটন কিভাবে উদ্ভব হয়েছিল? কিভাবে তা শুরু হয়েছিল? কখন? কেন? কারা এর সাথে সম্পৃক্ত ছিল?
- ৮। বিগত বছর গুলোতে পর্যটন কিভাবে পরিবর্তিত হয়েছে?
- ৯। কবিড-১৯ কিভাবে গবেষণা এলাকার পর্যটনকে প্রভাব বিস্তার করে?
- ১ ০। গবেষণা এলাকার পর্যটন কি স্থিতিশীল? আপনি কেন তা বলছেন?
- ১ ১। গবেষণা এলাকায় পর্যটন থেকে সবচেয়ে বেশি সুবিধা কে পায়? কেন?
- ১ ২। গবেষণা এলাকায় পর্যটন সংক্রিষ্ট সিদ্ধান্ত কে নেয়?
- ১ ৩। গবেষণা এলাকার পর্যটন সংক্রিষ্ট নিয়মকানুন কে বানায়? এ ব্যাপারে আপনার অনুভূতি কি?
- ১ ৪। আপনার কি মনে হয় পর্যটনের উন্নতির জন্য গবেষণা এলাকার সব মানুষ একসাথে কাজ করে? আপনার বলার কারণ কি? কোন বিষয়গুলো এর উপর প্রভাব ফেলে?
- ১ ৫। আপনার কি মনে হয় স্থানীয় মানুষজনের জন্য পর্যটনে অংশগ্রহণের পর্যাপ্ত সুযোগ আছে?

- ১ ৬। স্থানীয় মানুষজন কি পর্যটন থেকে উপকৃত হচ্ছে? আপনার কেন তা মনে হয়?
- ১ ৭। আরো বেশি সংখ্যক স্থানীয় মানুষজন যেন পর্যটন থেকে উপকৃত হয় তার জন্য কি কি করা যেতে পারে?
- ১ ৮। গবেষণা এলাকায় পর্যটন ব্যবস্থাপনার সাথে কারা কারা জড়িত?
- ১ বিগত বছর গুলোতে এই এলাকায় পর্যটন কিভাবে পরিচালিত হয়ে এসেছে?
- ২ ০। গবেষণা এলাকার মৌলিকতায় কি কোনো পরিবর্তন এসেছে? যদি হয়, কিভাবে তা বিবেচনা করা হচ্ছে স্থায়ী নিশ্চিতকরণের জন্য?
- ২ ১। বিভিন্ন আন্তর্জাতিক পক্ষের অন্তর্ভুক্তি কিভাবে গবেষণা এলাকার পর্যটনকে প্রভাবিত করছে?
- ২ ২। এই এলাকার পর্যটন কিভাবে অর্থনৈতিক, সামাজিক, সাংস্কৃতিক, রাজনৈতিক এবং পরিবেশের উপর প্রভাব বিস্তার করে?
- ২ ৩। পর্যটনের সুন্দর ব্যবস্থাপনার জন্য ভবিষ্যতে কি কি করা যেতে পারে?
- ২ ৪। উপরিউক্ত বিষয়গুলোর বাইরেও আপনার কি কিছু যোগ করার বা মন্তব্য করার আছে? আপনার কি আর কোনো পরামর্শ আছে?

#### **অংশ ৪: পর্যটন বিশেষজ্ঞদের জন্য সাক্ষাৎকারের প্রশ্নসমূহ**

- ১। আপনি পর্যটনের সাথে কিভাবে সম্পৃক্ত?
- ২। কখন থেকে আপনি পর্যটনের সাথে সম্পৃক্ত এবং আপনার সম্পৃক্ত হওয়ার কারণ কি?
- ৩। সাধারণত বাংলাদেশের গোষ্ঠী-ভিত্তিক পর্যটনের সাথে কারা কারা (মানুষ/প্রতিষ্ঠান) জড়িত?
- ৪। কোন কোন বিষয়গুলো সাধারণত বাংলাদেশের গোষ্ঠী-ভিত্তিক পর্যটনের উপর প্রভাব বিস্তার করে?
- ৫। বাংলাদেশের গ্রাম অঞ্চলে কিভাবে গোষ্ঠী-ভিত্তিক পর্যটন গঠিত হয়?
- ৬। কারা সবচেয়ে বেশি সুবিধা এবং অসুবিধা ভোগ করে গোষ্ঠী-ভিত্তিক পর্যটন থেকে?
- ৭। কোন বিষয়গুলো গোষ্ঠী-ভিত্তিক পর্যটনকে স্থিতিশীল করে?
- ৮। গোষ্ঠী-ভিত্তিক পর্যটন সংক্রিষ্ট নিয়মকানুন কে বানায়? এ ব্যাপারে আপনার অনুভূতি কি?
- ৯। সাধারণত বাংলাদেশের গোষ্ঠী-ভিত্তিক পর্যটন ব্যবস্থাপনার সাথে কারা কারা জড়িত?
- ১ ০। বাংলাদেশের গোষ্ঠী-ভিত্তিক পর্যটন উন্নয়নের বিভিন্ন ধাপ কিভাবে এর ব্যবস্থাপনায় ভূমিকা পালন করে থাকে?
- ১ ১। গন্তব্য ব্যবস্থাপনা কর্তৃপক্ষ কিভাবে মোকাবেলা করে স্থানীয় এলাকার মৌলিকতা পরিবর্তনকে?
- ১ ২। বিভিন্ন আন্তর্জাতিক পক্ষের অন্তর্ভুক্তি কিভাবে গোষ্ঠী-ভিত্তিক পর্যটনকে প্রভাবিত করছে?
- ১ ৩। পর্যটন ব্যবস্থাপনার জন্য ক্ষমতার সম্পর্কে কিভাবে মূল্যায়ন করা হয়?
- ১ ৪। উপরিউক্ত বিষয়গুলোর বাইরেও আপনার কি কিছু যোগ করার বা মন্তব্য করার আছে? আপনার কি আর কোনো পরামর্শ আছে?